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TRAVELS

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IN

SICILY GREECE AND ALBANIA

BY THE

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REV. THOS. SMART HUGHES

LATE FELLOW OF SAINT JOHN'S AND NOW FELLOW OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE.

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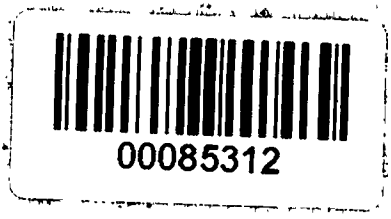

BARNARD AND FARLEY,
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TO

ROBERT TOWNLEY PARKER, ESQ.

OF

CUERDEN HALL,

IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER,

THESE VOLUMES

ARE

DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR,

IN TOKEN OF

HIS SINCERE REGARD.

PREFACE.

IT is not intended to detain the Reader by a long Preface. If the Work submitted to his notice be worthy of approbation, it will be conceded without solicitation; if not, the Author would disdain to seek from favour that which justice should deny. With regard to the assistance which he has received from friends and others, all such instances are noticed, as he hopes, with a proper sense of gratitude, in the several pages where they occur. His opinions throughout have been expressed freely and conscientiously, but without bigotry; since he is very ready to acknowledge the weakness of human judgment, and will be as anxious to retract an error, as he would be averse to supporting any doctrine or position from interested and selfish motives. He has long wished to

fulfil his engagement in the publication of these volumes, that he might give a more exclusive attention to studies connected with a profession adopted subsequently to his Travels; but that wish has been prevented by several causes with which it is not necessary to make the Public acquainted. Whatever may be the fate of his Work, the Author's intention has been to instruct and amuse the Reader; but if he shall have only succeeded partially in this design, and amused him without vitiating his taste or corrupting his principles, he will even then think his time has not been unprofitably employed.

Cambridge,
June 17, 1820.

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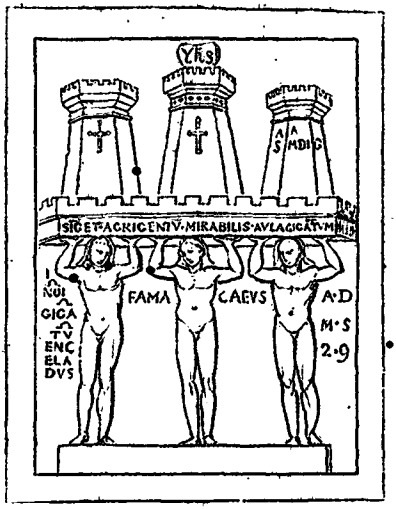

Modern Arms of the City of Girgenti, from a Bas-relief in a Church near that City.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from England—Arrival at Gibraltar—Excursion into Spain—Arrival in Sicily—Bay of Palermo—City and Noblesse—Experiment of the British Constitution—Sicilian Parliament—Errors of the British Authorities—Concise Account of Manners, &c. in the Sicilian Capital—Reflections on the general State of the Island—Departure from Palermo, and Arrival at Girgenti—Ancient Republic of Agrigentum, Commerce, Luxury, and fine Arts—Splendid Site of the City—Description of its Temples and other Antiquities—Modern City of Girgenti upon Mount Camicus—Cathedral, Public Library, &c.—Festival at the Dominican Convent—Excavations among the Tombs—Departure from Girgenti—Peasantry—Celebration of Harvest-home—Music—Arrival at and Description of Castro Giovanni—Temple of Ceres—Lake of Proserpine—Ancient Castle converted into a Gaol—Scene among the Felons—Administration of Justice, and Prison Discipline—Account of Riots and Execution at Palermo.

IN the latter end of the year 1812, I accompanied the friend to whom these pages are dedicated, in a tour through several countries

bordering on the Mediterranean, those theatres of the most interesting events recorded in the annals of history. Having completed our preparations in London, and engaged a servant experienced in foreign travel*, we embarked at Portsmouth, on board His Majesty's ship the Revenge, which, after a more than usual variety of storm and calm, cast anchor in the beginning of January 1813, under the rock of Gibraltar.

This inestimable jewel of the British Crown, and key of those important straits over which "Europe and Afric on each other gaze," rises so majestically from the waves, amidst scenery so strikingly sublime, as to command universal admiration; but it is peculiarly adapted to excite surprise and pleasure in the bosom of an Englishman, who finds himself, as it were, at home in a strange land, after having measured that long tract of ocean which rolls betwixt him and his native shore! Here, in the passing crowd his eye recognises the faces of his countrymen, and his ear the familiar sounds of his own language; in the shops he observes the manufactures of Great Britain, in the garrison her defenders, in the port her ships: above all, he enjoys the comforts of social life and the blessings of civil liberty, upon a barren rock, from whose lofty heights he may look down upon the confines of two quarters of the globe, peopled with the victims of ignorance, tyranny, and superstition. The light of freedom on this beacon-hill shines brighter from the surrounding gloom; he feels the glow of patriotism more ardent in his bosom, and he learns to appreciate more truly that glorious constitution for which his forefathers bled, and which they have left him as his best inheritance.

After we had exhausted the natural and artificial curiosities of Gibraltar, our residence was protracted by the agreeable society and hospitality which it afforded, and was diversified by an excursion into Morocco, as well as by a tour in the south of Spain, at a very re-

* Luigi Antonietti, a native of Piedmonte, whose honesty, fidelity, and good temper, well deserve this public acknowledgment.

markable period of its political history. The splendid entertainments of the carnival with its bull-fights, those extraordinary exhibitions of skill, courage, and inhumanity, which we witnessed in Cadiz, the architectural beauties of Seville, with its pompous mummeries of degraded worship, were much less interesting to us than to behold the struggles of a great people for independence, and to mark the light of reason and truth, gleaming out from beneath that darkness which had so long covered the nation. It was for a long time painful to see those generous struggles terminated by the annihilation of all rights, and the reorganization of tyranny and superstition; to discover that chains and dungeons were become the rewards of patriot eloquence and undaunted valour; to find the rising hopes of a generous people crushed by an iron sceptre in the hands of a liberated monarch, who in his captivity was the idol of their blind attachment, for whom their best blood was spilt, and whose name was joined in all their aspirations after liberty. But Ferdinand seems at length to be recovering some of the sympathies of human nature and brighter prospects appear to hang over the destinies of Spain.

April 10th.—Having bid a final adieu to Gibraltar, we proceeded, from necessity more than choice, to Alicante, which was at this time the seat of war, on the south-east coast of Spain: we landed in hopes of enjoying the novel spectacle of military operations, but soon found that affairs were in no train to gratify the curiosity of amateurs; we therefore seized a very early opportunity of re-embarking on board the Pilot brig of war, in which after various adventures, we beheld the classic shores of Sicily on the 1st of May.

It was a fine evening in this delightful season of the year when we cast anchor in the bay of Palermo. The land-breeze wafted fragrance from the orange groves in its environs; the sea was covered even to the horizon, with innumerable little vessels, whose white triangular sails, crossing each other to catch the gale, seemed like the extended pinions of aquatic birds; whilst the deep radiance of the setting sun gilded the

fantastic summits of that grand semicircle of mountains, which surround the "conca d'oro," that "golden shell," in which Sicilian poets represent Palermo as set like a beauteous pearl. In these delightful retreats*, which rival even the shores of Parthenope, we were fortunate enough to land just before news arrived of the plague in Malta, by which means we escaped the tedious intervention of quarantine.

Palermo has been so often and so well described, that I need not enter into a particular detail of its beauties. It is a city worthy of the fine island of which it is the capital; it is divided into four parts, by two long streets, terminated with lofty gates, and forming, at their intersection, a fine piazza, called the "Quattro Cantonieri." It contains many superb edifices, profusely adorned with native marbles, amongst which the following deserve particular observation:—The college of the Jesuits, at this time used for the session of parliament; the cathedral, whose oriental gothic outside puts to shame its modern interior; and the royal palace, to which a curious chapel is attached, in the arabesque style, covered from top to bottom with rich mosaic.

The island, though at this time menaced with invasion by a strong force upon the Calabrian coast, was secured from all the horrors of war by a protecting British army; and as Palermo was the residence of those Neapolitan nobles who had fled with Ferdinand, few capitals in Europe could vie with it in splendour; though it must be confessed, this splendour was chiefly external, for the prime comforts of domestic life, as well as the pleasures of refined taste and rational society, were lamentably sacrificed to vain parade and ostentatious decoration: ambitious poverty was preferred to elegant economy, and the appearance of

* The gardens in the suburbs of Palermo, and the conca d'oro, are unrivalled in beauty. "La città di Palermo (says Bisaccione, Lib. i. Mem. Hist.), ha d'intorno una corona di monti, che rendono il piano et la città in forma di conca." "Palermo, città magnifica, ha un contado ove contende l'amenita con la dovitia d'ogni cosa, et si chiama perciò conca d'oro"—(Rosacci descrizione di Sic.) It is called by Fazzello, the Sicilian historian—"Ager non Siciliæ modo sed Italiæ quoque pulcherrimus." Its beauty in ancient times may be learned from Athenæus: ἡ δὲ Πανορμῖτις τῆς Σικελίας πᾶσα Κῆπος προσαγορέυεται, διὰ τὸ πᾶσα εἶναι πλήρης δένδρων ἡμέρων· Lib. xii. 524.

happiness to its reality. Thus, though the public promenade of the Marina glittered every evening with its costly equipages and gaudy liveries, many noble mansions exhibited most disgusting scenes of penury and nakedness. A few families, however, ought, in justice, to be excepted from this general censure: that of the Prince Grammonte, in particular, appeared a pattern of conjugal virtue and domestic felicity: its members were sensible, well-informed, and polite; educated in the English system, and able to converse in our language with nearly as much fluency as in their own: the same encomiums will apply, in every particular, to the family of the Duke di Sangro; and I should be very much wanting in gratitude, if I omitted to mention the continuance of that genuine hospitality in the Prince Butera, which so many Englishmen have experienced, in happier times, at Naples.

Painful as it was to remark the extreme imbecility of the reigning family, the dissolute morals of the nobles, the perversion of justice, the iniquity of the laws, and the general venality and corruption, in a country which requires only the co-operation of man with the bounty of Providence, to make it a paradise upon earth, it was still gratifying to an Englishman to observe the efforts made by Great Britain to recover this ally from such a state of national degradation. By her influence Ferdinand had resigned the authority, though he retained the name of king: the queen, who had too long indulged in the most atrocious acts of tyranny, and connected herself with the interests of Buonaparte*, waited only for a favourable wind at Marsala to quit for ever the Sicilian shores; whilst the hereditary prince, glad to purchase present power at the expence of future privilege, consented to adopt

* Several conspiracies were detected at Messina, in which she was clearly implicated, for delivering up the citadel and flotilla, and betraying our army to the French. In the last of these her correspondence was disclosed with the chief officer of police in Messina, called the captain of justice (Capitano della Giustizia). This agent of hers was tried by a jury of his own countrymen, condemned, and hanged. At the place of execution the poor man made loud lament, complaining bitterly of his hardship in suffering the punishment of death for executing the commands of his own sovereign, whom he thought it his duty to obey.

the representative system of government. In this state of things the experiment of a political regeneration was attempted; but the pure blood of the English constitution refused to mix with the corrupt mass of the Sicilian state; and it was found impracticable to engraft an enlightened code of laws upon a nation immersed in ignorance, superstition, and immorality. Whether it is necessary that the constitution of a state, like that of the human frame, should grow up by degrees to strength, and pass through the stages of infancy and youth before it arrives at the maturity of manhood, it is difficult to determine: but it would seem that both political and moral constitutions owe many of their characters to physical causes and the peculiarities of climate; and though it would be wrong to yield so far to the doctrine of temperament as to measure national virtues and vices by parallels of latitude, yet such is found to be the ardent and inflammatory temper of the more southern tribes, that they seem absolutely to require the strong coercion of monarchical power, whilst the popular deliberative assembly seems better suited to a northern atmosphere, where no violent ebullitions of passion destroy the dignity of debate, or excite measures of impulse rather than of reflection.

In the moral as well as in the natural world there is an inexhaustible variety of good, which constitutes perhaps the greatest charm of existence; and, though it must be confessed, that no form of government has ever been devised, so admirably calculated to secure the blessings of social order as the British constitution, yet it does not follow that the rights of civil liberty may not be secured by a different organization of power more adapted to the peculiar character of a people. Be this as it may, no words can describe the scenes which daily occurred upon the introduction of the representative system in Sicily. The house of parliament, neither moderated by discretion nor conducted with dignity, bore the semblance of a receptacle for lunatics, instead of a council-room for legislators; and the disgraceful scenes so often enacted at the hustings in England, were here transferred to the

very floor of the senate. As soon as the president had proposed the subject for debate, and restored some degree of order from the confusion of tongues that followed, a system of crimination and recrimination was invariably commenced by several speakers, accompanied with such furious gesticulations and hideous contortions of countenance, such bitter taunts and personal invectives, that blows generally ensued: this was the signal for universal uproar; the president's voice was unheeded and unheard; the whole house arose, partisans of different antagonists mingled in the affray, when the ground was literally seen covered with combatants, kicking, biting, scratching, and exhibiting all the evolutions and manœuvres of the old Pancratic contests. Such a state of things could not be expected to last a long time: indeed this constitutional synod was dissolved in the very first year of its creation, and martial law established. The fault of the British government seems to have consisted in this, that it went too far for the furtherance of tranquillity, and not far enough for the security of civil liberty: it endeavoured to make a representative government amalgamate with feudal rights, ecclesiastical privileges, and a wretched system of bigotry and intolerance: either it ought to have first levelled these obstructions before it built up the sacred edifice of freedom, or have contented itself with introducing some practical reform into the established system of Sicilian legislature; for instance, it might have obliged the nominal authorities to correct their worst abuses, to abolish certain rights and tenures relating to the non-alienation of land, to reform the police, the courts of justice, and the iniquitous tribunal of patrimony, to destroy monopolies, and abrogate the odious corn-laws, which not only deprive the agriculturist of his fair reward, but press upon the people more heavily than those of the Romans under the administration of the infamous Verres: these, or some of these advantages might have remained to our unfortunate allies at the conclusion of the war, whereas that constitution, so beautiful in theory, which rose at once, like a

fairy-palace, to perfection, vanished also like that baseless fabric without having left a trace of its existence.

The amusements at Palermo appeared to us very insipid. The opera, which was once considered a school of music, owed now its principal attraction to the talents of an *English lady*, who sustained the post of Prima Donna. The orchestra was respectable, and contained many amateurs, who volunteered their services. The same piece repeated nightly to disgust, is sometimes varied, it scarcely can be said relieved, by the introduction of a tragedy, in which rant and declamation take the place of feeling and expression: the only thing that seemed worthy of imitation was a classical attention to the unity of place: the scene being rarely changed, is carried on without any interruption of a green curtain, or dissipation of ideas by musical interludes between the acts. Annexed to the opera-house is a fine suite of rooms, called the Conversazione, though from it all conversation seems banished by universal consent: it is, indeed, a temple over which the joint Demons of Gambling and Intrigue preside, and on that account is a very favourite resort of the Sicilian nobility and gentry: here, if the husband loses his money at the gaming-table, Signora may recover it by the sale of her charms; for in no country upon earth does a man bear the burthen upon his brows with greater patience: immorality, in this point of view, is at its height, and though immodesty does not shock the stranger, as in more northern cities, by daring with unblushing front the public gaze, yet her pandars meet you at every corner of the street, and are scarcely less disgusting to a mind not totally devoid of sensibility and moral principle. Notwithstanding this representation, I think the female sex in Sicily, with regard both to manners and morals, are superior to the men, to whom indeed the greatest part of their vices are attributable; for as soon as one sex disregards virtue, the other will rarely be at any pains to keep it: much mischief also is deducible from the faulty education of their

girls within the gloomy unsocial cloisters of a convent, from the restraints of which they rush at once into a deceitful world without the guidance of example or experience, with few accomplishments either useful or ornamental, but with minds imbued in all the frivolities of superstition, eager only to make themselves compensation by a surfeit of pleasure for that time which they have spent without any enjoyment at all. Intellectual acquirements indeed are considered quite superfluous, where the only end of a woman's being is to dispose of herself in marriage; and as marriage is made a matter of traffic, all ideas of mutual attachment, all that refinement which dignifies the institution is totally unknown: a young lady of high rank in Palermo was offered to my friend with less ceremony than a horse or a parcel of ground would be submitted to a person desirous to purchase. Both men and women are ill dressed, and appear still worse to an Englishman who sees the old cast-off fashions of his country revived here in the highest circles: in their address, they use that profusion of compliments to which the Italian language is so disgustingly accommodated: they are easy of access, civil to foreigners, and ready to devote their whole time to their service; though time, by the bye, is a possession to which they attach the least possible value. From the defects of their education proceeds that degrading familiarity with inferiors which is too prevalent amongst the higher classes. I have seen a Sicilian nobleman, a court favourite, and superintendant of a royal palace, seated in an old chair at his own door between his cook and butler, to enjoy a social chat in the cool of the evening. I have also seen the head servant in a family of the first rank help to entertain his master's guests by his skill at billiards in the morning, and by his powers of conversation at the dinner-table, where he stood to carve the meat: no very high estimate of manners will be formed where both sexes spit without ceremony upon the floor of a drawing-room, and carry off in their pockets confectionary and other relics of a dinner.

Literature and science are at a very low ebb in Sicily, chiefly through want of encouragement, for I believe the people are not deficient in native genius: the Latin language is still cultivated with some success, but the Greek is almost an unknown tongue: amongst the literati I met with more antiquarians than scholars, and more pedants than either. The middle and lower classes are generally kept in good humour by festivals and processions, or now and then a lottery, for they love gambling as well as their betters; give them these amusements, with bread and iced water, and the care of politics will scarcely ever spoil their sleep or digestion. The management of the lottery is admirably calculated both to stimulate cupidity and to disappoint it. The capital prizes are held up to public view, like the pictures of a show, disposed in figures formed of Spanish dollars, representing a ship, a lion, sun, a star, or any aother device: the grand prize this year was an allegorical representation of the new constitution, which in the end turned out quite as delusive to the people as its prototype, for all these valuable lots invariably find their way, by some fatality or instinct, into royal pockets. A hundred tickets, neatly rolled up in very small bits of paper, are sold at the low price of one dollar; thus, for a very trifling sum, a person may keep his mind in a state of pleasurable excitement during the whole day. As for the superstition of the lower orders, it is extreme; in many instances turning to infidelity, in others to a vile debasement of intellect, and in some to downright blasphemy; for instance, the devil is very commonly invoked as a Saint, and the public-houses hang out for a sign of invitation, not the chequers or a Turk's head, but the extraordinary phrase of "Viva la Divina Providenza,"—"Long life to Divine Providence*!"

* The author is inclined to think that the subjoined publication, sold, with a great variety of a similar description, by the common hawkers, through the towns of Sicily, like ballads in England, will justify any expressions he may have used in this and the following pages, respecting the idolatrous superstitions imposed upon the people of this country, instead of pure and genuine Christianity. He gives it in the original; for it is too shocking to translate.

Inebriety is a vice of rare occurrence, inasmuch as iced water occupies the place of ardent spirits and fermented liquors; but the stiletto is still used by the populace; and many of our soldiers, in their nocturnal rambles, fell beneath its blow. Jealousy is chiefly prevalent amongst the common people: the Herculean arm of Cecisbeism has nearly crushed the monster in the higher ranks. No such thing is ever dreamt of in Palermo, as a preventive police, where the streets are lighted by a few glimmering tapers that burn before the images of saints and martyrs; and when the most atrocious crimes are committed, no measures are ever taken for the discovery of the perpetrators. An English gentleman of our acquaintance was awoke in the dead of the night by two assassins standing over him with drawn daggers: being enjoined silence, on pain of instant death, he was made to deliver up his money, and to empty his drawers, the contents of which were handed out to an accomplice in the street: this being done, the villains leaped over the balcony and escaped. Next morning intelli-

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Copia della Relazione che fu ritrovata nel Santo Sepolcro di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, La Quale Sua Santità tiene scolpita nel suo Oratorio.

Avendo S. Elisabetta Regina d'Ungheria, e S. Brigida fatte molte Orazioni a Nostro Signore, e desiderando di sapere le pene maggiori di Lui patite nella sua Santissima Passione, egli per sua divina bontà così le parlò.—Sappiate mie Sorelle carissime qualmenti i Soldati che mi fecero prigioniere furono 161, oltre altri 33 Ministri della giustizia, quelli che mi presero e mi legarono furono 11, e mi diedero 333 pugni nella testa, e quando fui prigioniere mene diedero altri 100 e due fieri spinte: Cascai in terra 7 volte, alla casa di Anna mi seguitarono 190 battiture, e per farmi levare da terra mi diedero 18 colpi sulle spalle, fui strascinato per terra con la corda, e per i capelli 70 volte, e sortirono dal mio petto 161 sospiri, fui tirato per la barba 20 volte, mi diedero alla colonna 6600 battiture: mi sputarono in faccia 121 volte, mi diedero una spinta mortale, e mi fecero cadere a terra con la Croce alle spalle: mi diedero colla Croce tre spinte mortali: Le goccie di sangue che sortirono dal mio corpo furono 30,160.

A tutte le persone, che per lo spazio di 12 anni diranno ogni giorno 7 Pater ed Ave sino a compirne il num°. delle goccie di sangue sparse da Gesù Cristo, e viveranno col santo timor di Dio, saranno concesse le infrascritte grazie, cioè, indulgenza plenaria, e remissione dei loro peccati; saranno liberate dalle pene del Purgatorio, e benchè morissero avanti di aver compita detta devozione sarà lo stesso, che averla terminata; saranno riputati come Martiri, che avessero sparso il loro sangue per la Santa Fede, scenderà il Signore dal Cielo in Terra a prendere le anime loro nell' ora della morte, e finalmente de' loro Parenti sino alla quarta generazione. Portando questa medessima Relazione addosso e dicendo ogni giorno come si è detto i detti 7 Pater ed Ave saranno libere dal Demonio, non moriranno di mala morte nè di morte subitanea. Con questa divozione le Donne partoriranno senza pericolo, ed in quella Casa dove vi sarà non vi regneranno visioni cattive, nè altre cose spaventevoli: Per ultimo nell' età della di loro morte vedranno La SS. Vergine Madre di Dio.

Questa Relazione e Divozione è stata veduta ed approvata dalla Sacra Inquisizione di Spagna ed altri sacri tribunali.

gence was given to the proper officers of police; but they seemed as ignorant of the commonest method of investigation, as they were indignant at the idea of being taken for thief-catchers. If common report be true, and every one affirms it, justice is often put up to the highest bidder: certainly, the powers of the magistrate are scarcely able to support his authority; and his salary is so small and badly paid, that the rogue must be poor indeed, who cannot afford to bribe him. There is no such thing known as prison-discipline; the gaols are literally schools of corruption, where the innocent are abandoned to ruin, and the guilty hardened in iniquity; but on this subject I shall touch in another place. Such briefly are some of the traits which distinguish Palermo and the other large Sicilian cities. Society and good government have hung upon loose hinges in this unfortunate island ever since the Roman conquests, and the anarchy to which it is, in some measure, a constant prey, is the accumulated evil of many centuries. Though in later times its inhabitants have not, indeed, suffered those revolting cruelties of tyranny at which the mind shudders, still perhaps, the sum of human misery has been equally great: for the most cruel princes are not always the most insufferable tyrants, and imbecility sometimes leads to greater evils than unrestrained brutality: such has been the case with Sicily, most especially under the present reign; during which a set of dissolute courtiers, and an imperious woman, abusing the confidence and employing the authority of the sovereign, have filled the state with interminable disorders. Favouritism has existed in its most injurious forms, and court intrigue has been the sole study of the great: privilege has monopolized all honours, offices, and distinctions; property and civil liberty have had no security from rapacity and caprice; justice has become venal; murder knows the price of its impunity; and the unequal distribution of the criminal law has instigated individuals to become their own avengers: commerce has been fettered by the most grievous ties; the pressure of taxation has fallen upon the necessaries, not the luxuries of life, whilst

the revenue thence arising has been expended in profligacy, to the neglect of all improvements physical and moral;---add to all this, that the diffusion of knowledge has been prohibited by the darkest veil that superstition ever spread before its enlightening rays, that liberty has invariably been opposed by the priesthood, a body of men too bigoted, too intolerant, too dependent to endure its very name, and the reader will have some faint idea of the political state of Sicily; nor will he wonder that difficulties environed those who endeavoured to resuscitate the embers of a patriotism nearly extinct, and break the fetters of a nation who rather chose to hug them, that civil liberty was received with an hypocrisy more injurious to its cause than open enmity, and that returning without any efforts of the people, it returned without vigour, and excited neither talent nor enthusiasm; that those amongst the higher classes who received it at all, received it like a toy, which they played with for a time, and then broke to pieces; and that the populace, having penetration sufficient to discover the weakness of their rulers, were clamorous for the English authorities to dissolve the whole constitution and take the power into their own hands.

After about a month's residence in Palermo we prepared to gratify our curiosity in visiting the remains of those magnificent cities, which abounded in this once flourishing island, and still attest, even in their fall, that unrivalled taste and grandeur of sentiment, which distinguished the Grecian colonies no less than their mother-country.

Having crossed the island in two days, we arrived in view of the sea, and of those beautiful temples, whose ruins still adorn the site of Agrigentum, a city, which, as an eminent historian observes, "was such a phenomenon of political prosperity, that these very relics are necessary documents for supporting the truth of its historical records*." History, it is true, has given us very scanty information respecting the government, laws, and commerce of this extraordinary people: from

* Vide Mitford, Hist. of Greece, c. xxix. § 3.

thinly-scattered notices, however, we may collect that its constitution, like that of most other cities in Magna Grecia, was democratical, disturbed occasionally by an aristocratic party, and sometimes overturned by the success of individuals denominated tyrants, who were rarely able to overcome the original spirit of the constitution, or to legitimatize their authority. The goodness of its laws may partly be inferred from the great accumulation and security of private wealth, from the long intervals of peace which it enjoyed, and its general freedom from domestic commotions, the more extraordinary in such an immense population, where the citizens bore a very small proportion to the free settlers and slaves*. The extent of its commerce must have been prodigious: Diodorus extols highly the fertility of its vineyards and olive-grounds, and the excellence of their produce; but, however abundant this may have been, however advantageous in commercial exchange, it will never account for the almost unexampled prosperity of a state whose whole territory scarcely exceeded in size the smallest English county; not even if we add to its articles of exportation that breed of horses, for which it was so renowned in the great games of Greece, and the sulphur, which is still dug in vast abundance from the mines in its vicinity†. It is more probable, that a city so conveniently situated opposite the Carthaginian coast, soon became a great emporium for the mutual barter of commodities between Africa and Sicily; and that its ingenious artisans, being highly superior to the semi-barbarians with whom they traded, enjoyed the great commercial advantage of exporting manufactured articles, and receiving a return in specie, or in

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* The account quoted by Diogenes Laertius (lib. viii.) respecting the population of this city, seems nearest the truth, amounting to 800,000 souls: of these about 20,000 were citizens, 180,000 free settlers, and the rest slaves: this is nearly two-thirds of the whole population of Sicily at the present day.

† ——— "altor equorum
Mille rapit turmam atque hinnitibus aera flammat
Pulveream volvens Acragas ad inania nubem." Sil. Ital. xiv. 209.
——— "magnanimûm quondam generator equorum." Virg. Æn. iii. 704.

The sulphur-mines are at Palma, on the road to Alicata. The stone sulphur is dug out of a mountain and liquefied in furnaces, from whence it is drawn off into vessels, and left to cool for exportation.

raw materials. The wealth which thus flowed in upon Agrigentum, was expended in works of great magnificence and public utility; for, being a Grecian colony*, its inhabitants, like the rest of that people, were not more studious in acquiring wealth, than profuse in expending it upon the elegancies of life. The brightest era of its prosperity extended from the reign of the patriotic Theron, to the capture of the city by the Carthaginian Himilco: it was at that time foremost in celebrity among the states of Magna Græcia (Polyb. ix. c. 27); its citizens, like Tyrian princes, rivalled monarchs in extent of wealth, in hospitality, and encouragement of the fine arts: they built, according to the saying of their great Empedocles, as if they were about to live for ever, and lived as if they expected to die on the morrow†. During this period, those stately edifices arose, whose ruins still command the admiration of posterity, where they stand, the images of calm repose, the memorials of a mighty state, and the vindicators of its ancient grandeur. Time has spread over them its sombre tints, which blend harmoniously with the surrounding landscape, and throw, as it were, a sacred charm around its rocks and mountains.

Agrigentum, in its site, possessed something of the magnificent peculiar to itself. Nature traced out its plan in a vast platform of rock; Art

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* Strabo erred in calling it an Ionian colony: it was planted by the people of Gela, who derived their origin from Rhodes, and the Rhodians were of Dorian descent. Hence the Agrigentines are rightly styled Dorians by Lucian (Ἕλληνές τε ὄντες καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Δωριεῖς· Phal. prior 14). Perhaps in ages subsequent to its foundation, an Ionian colony may have settled there, which would reconcile historical discrepances. The best authors derive its Grecian name (Ἀκραγας) from a neighbouring river that washed its E. and S. S. E. sides, which itself seems to have derived its appellation from the abrupt and craggy ground through which it flowed, ἐν τῇ γῇ ἄκρα—See also an epigram quoted by Diogenes Laertius, lib. viii.:

Ὦ φίλοι οἱ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθὸν Ἀκράγαντος
Νάιετε ΑΚΡΑ ΠΟΛΕΩΣΣ, &c.

To this river the people paid divine honours, under the form of a youth, and dedicated its statue in ivory at Delphi. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 33. The river Hypsas, which flowed on the other side of the city, seems to have a similar derivation (ὕψος altitudo), and therefore, however bold the assertion may appear, I cannot help thinking, that Polybius is wrong, or that Stephens has mistaken him, in deriving the name of the city διὰ τὸ εὔγειον.

† Ælian ascribes this saying to Plato, Var. Hist. lib. ii. Athenæus gives a curious account of a large building at Agrigentum, called the Trireme, adapted to the purposes of public luxury.

had but to perfect the design of that great architect. This magnificent area, which is nearly square, is elevated to a very considerable height above the surrounding territory; its perpendicular precipices formed the basis for walls; ravines penetrating into the interior offered most commodious situations for gates, whilst numerous little eminences scattered about within, seemed as if designed for the advantageous display of noble edifices *. Imagination can scarcely conceive a more glorious prospect than that which the southern cliff of this great city once displayed, surmounted by a long unbroken line of the finest monuments of Grecian art! Amongst them stood six majestic temples, of that severe Doric order, which so happily combines elegance and simplicity with solidity and grandeur. The S.E. angle is still seen crowned with the ruinated colonnade of Juno Lacinia † surrounded by broken masses of its entablature: next to it is a very fine temple nearly entire, except the roof, commonly supposed to have been dedicated to Concord, being indebted for this extraordinary state of preservation to the piety of those ages which converted it into a Christian church. That of Hercules, the next in order, seems to have been demolished by the violence of an earthquake, as it lies in all the confusion which such an overthrow would be expected to occasion. This was one of the finest temples of Agrigentum, and held by the citizens in peculiar veneration; in size and plan it resembled the Parthenon of Athens, and contained several chef d'œuvres of painting and statuary. Its inimitable picture of Hercules strangling

* Pindar calls Agrigentum καλλίστ αν βροτεᾶν πολίων—'Ακράγαντος ἔνδματον κολώναν. Pyth. Od. xii. Polybius thus accurately describes its site: 'ο δὲ περίβολος ἀντῆς καὶ φύσει καὶ κατασκευῇ διαφερόντως ἠσφάλισται· κεῖται γὰρ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου καὶ περιῤῥῶγος, ᾗ μὲν ἀντοφυῶς, ᾗ δὲ χειροποιήτου· περιέχεται δὲ ποταμοῖς, &c. Lib. ix. c. 27.

† It is commonly called the temple of Juno Lucina, though Fazzello calls it that of Pudicitia, but quite upon conjecture: if it was dedicated to Juno at all, it was probably under the title of Lacinia, which was derived from Lacinium, a city of the Bruttii, where she was held in high esteem: vid. Epig. Nossidis in Brunck. Analect. vol. i. p. 194: and this is confirmed by Pliny (Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. c. 9.) Tantus diligentia (sc. Zeuxis) ut Agrigentinis facturus tabulam quam in templo Junonis Laciniæ publicè dicarent, inspexerit virgines eorum nudas et quinque elegerit, ut quod in quâque laudatissimum esset, pictura redderet. But the same story is told by Cicero of the temple of Juno at Crotona.

the serpents, was presented to the Agrigentines by Zeuxis; the adytum was adorned with a miracle of art, a statue of the presiding deity by Myro, who inscribed his own name upon the thigh, in small studs of silver. Cicero, in his lively description of a nocturnal attempt made by the emissaries of Verres to carry off this statue, takes notice of a circumstance, which shews how similar are the effects of superstition in all ages: he observes, that its mouth and chin, though made of bronze, were actually worn by the kisses of its admiring votaries; "oscula perspicuo figunt impressa metallo." By a similar instance of zealous devotion Jupiter Capitolinus, who was catholically metamorphosed into a St. Peter *, and at present occupies his chair at Rome, has nearly lost the toes of one foot.

Le peuple se livrant aux transports de son zèle
Baise le pied d'airain de son premier pasteur;
Et le métal usé par la lévre fidèle,
De la foi des Latins atteste la ferveur †.

The locality assigned to this temple, receives some confirmation from an expression of Cicero, in which he describes it as near the forum. "Herculis templum est apud Agrigentinos, non longè a foro, sanè sanctum apud illos et religiosum ‡." Now at a little distance from this spot on the right hand as you advance westward, are the remains of a long building raised on pilasters, and which, from its situation near the sea-gate, did very probably form part of the ancient forum of this great commercial city.

But of all the edifices which Agrigentum, or perhaps any other state could boast, none exceeded in magnitude and grandeur the temple of

* Thus also Apollo transferred his claims in a statue to Constantine the Great, which was placed on the top of his pillar at Constantinople, and struck by a thunderbolt in the reign of Nicephorus Botoniates. Vid. Excerp. Scylitz. Curopal. in fin. Cedreni Hist. p. 867.

† Charlemagne, Chant 1er. p. 23, to the note upon which passage the reader is referred.

‡ In Verrem, Act. ii. lib. 4.

Olympian Jupiter, which next occurs in the range we are describing. It is highly extolled by Polybius and Diodorus, and considered a specimen of the magnificence of the age itself; but the accounts of both these historians are lamentably deficient: from the latter we learn that its dimensions were on the extensive scale of 340 feet in length by 120 in height and 160 in breadth *; and when he wishes to give an astonishing proof of its magnitude, he observes that a man could shelter himself in the strigæ or fluting of the columns. Although no shaft either in whole or in part now remains, I was able to prove the truth of this assertion by measuring some fluting attached to one of the prostrate capitals, which I found exactly twenty inches in curvature: this by the gradual swell of the column would have expanded at the base to about two feet, a space quite sufficient to admit the body of a moderately sized man. Many peculiarities are remarkable in the construction of this edifice: it was technically termed, Pseudo-dipteral, *i. e.* it was not encircled by a colonnade or portico, but the pillars projected from the wall rather more than a semi-circumference, the intercolumniation being closed up by massive masonry, accurately joined without cement †: that part of the column which appeared in the interior of the temple, was in form of a square pilaster: each pediment was supported by the unusual number of seven columns, and the flanks by fourteen, including those at the angles; all these rested, contrary to the general practice of Doric architecture, upon their pedestals, instead of the common stylobate or sub-basement. The temple was hypæthral, and upon the vast pilasters of the cella, stood enormous statues, thirty feet in height, representing the giants, who having been vanquished in the Titanic war were represented here, after

* All the editions of Diodorus have 60; an incredible supposition in itself, which I proved to be false by actual measurement. How inferior to these dimensions were even those of its great cognate temple at Elis, which according to Pausanias was only 230 feet long, 95 broad, and 68 high. This also was of the Doric order, but surrounded with a peristyle. Eliac. c. x. 2.

† Thus, as Diodorus Siculus observes, it partook of the nature of a dipteral temple and one in Antis.

the manner of caryatids, sustaining on their elevated arms the ponderous entablature of their conqueror's temple *. From this circumstance the structure itself, in more modern times, was denominated the Temple of the Giants, and hence the city arms of Girgenti (three giants supporting a tower) derive their origin: in fact three of the original caryatids remained perfect till the year 1401, when they fell down by the shameful neglect of the inhabitants †. They who first raised this mighty monument of human genius, seem to have built it for eternity; by that strange chance which frequently confounds all the devices of man, every trace of it is nearly swept away, whilst more humble and frail structures remain around it. There was but little ornament on the exterior of this temple, nor did it require any: its sublimity and majestic proportions accorded not with decoration; even without it they were worthy of that Deity whose arm was thought to guide the thunderbolt. In the pediment, however, of the eastern portico was sculptured in high relief the Gigantomachia, or Assault of Heaven by the Titans, and on the opposite side was portrayed the capture of Troy with its attendant horrors, so admirably executed, that each Homeric hero might be distinguished by his costume and characteristic traits of countenance. A similar subject upon a temple of Carthage thus offers itself to the admiring eyes of Æneas.

——" videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
Belleaque jam famâ totum vulgata per orbem,
Atridas, Priamumque, et sævum ambobus Achillem." Æn. i. 456.

The French traveller Denon makes a very erroneous and extraordinary assertion in his description of this fabric, viz. that the ancient

* Their measure, as well as the complete plan and proportions of this wonderful temple, which has hitherto been a crux to every architect or antiquarian, was taken with incredible perseverance, ingenuity, and scientific skill, by my friend Mr. R. C. Cockerell, who intends soon to lay his discoveries before a public already taught to appreciate his uncommon talents.

† The words of Fazzello are as follow: "Pars tamen ejus, tribus gigantibus columnisque suffulta diu post superstitit: quam Agrigentina Urbs insignibus suis additam adhuc pro monumento habet."

architects *never* placed sculpture in the pediments of their temples: the fact is so much against him, that we are almost warranted to conclude the practice to have been universal*. Those lofty and conspicuous receptacles were indeed destined to contain the boldest combinations, or the most graceful portraitures of Grecian art: there the sculptor aimed to rival the bard, embodying his ideas in the most animated forms, and giving a local habitation to the characters of his imagination: there the mysteries of religion or the actions of the gods, figured with impressive grandeur, struck the beholder with awe as he entered into their sanctuaries, or scenes of national glory and renown, by consecrating the past, excited the most enthusiastic patriotism in the breasts of future heroes. A battle, either of gods or men, was a very favourite subject with the artist, not only for the passions which it inspired, but because the different attitudes of the combatants, the dying, and the dead, were so well accommodated to the varying altitude of the pediment under which they were placed: the statues themselves were finished with a kind of religious exactitude even in parts which could not meet the spectator's eye, as may be observed in those beautiful specimens from the pediments of the Parthenon, which now adorn our national Museum. Leaving these Olympian ruins, the scattered fragments of whose vast entablature and capitals appear at first sight like disjointed rocks, we next arrived at the platform of a temple, commonly said to have been dedicated to Castor and Pollux; though the existence of such a temple is founded solely upon a passage in Pindar (Olym. Od. iii.) who ascribes the victory of Theron in the Olympic games, to the interference of these deities, the patrons of equestrian contests, and in whose honour sacred festivals called Theoxenia, were instituted at Agrigentum.

The SW. angle of the cliff is adorned by two elegant columns of the

* It is plain he never could have read the account of this very temple in Diod. Sic. nor have looked with any attention into Pausanias, who is full of examples against his theory: it is rather odd too, that he had not seen the Marquis de Nointel's drawings from the pediments of the Parthenon.

temple of Vulcan, in which the same juggling tricks were played off upon the credulous votaries, that Horace ridicules at Egnatia: they are attached to a pretty rural casino in the midst of vines and olives, whose green foliage adds much to their picturesque effect. Opposite this point, on the other side of the river Hypsas, under a hill called 'il Campo Romano,' is the site of a spring of petroleum, commemorated by Pliny and Solinus; but it now contains very few bituminous qualities; we found the surface of the water covered merely with a thick scum or greasy substance, in appearance like the suds of soap. The spring itself, which Solinus says existed in the vicinity of Vulcan's temple, tends to identify the locality of this edifice. At a little distance from hence northward are two conical hills, containing a beautiful plain of turf between them, called La Meta, or 'the Goal.' Nature herself seems to have marked out the spot which tradition thus assigns to the exercise of those noble Agrigentine steeds, which so often bore away the prize of the Olympic games. Between the two temples last mentioned is still seen the celebrated Piscina, a vast reservoir, the construction of which employed that portion of Carthaginian prisoners, taken in the battle of Himera, which were allotted to the Agrigentine state. According to Diodorus, whose measurement seems accurate, it was seven stadia, nearly one mile, in circuit, and 20 cubits deep: its shape is triangular. In ancient times it served as a place to exercise the youth in swimming, an art considered by every state of primary importance: it supplied also delicious fish for the sumptuous public entertainments; its surface was covered with stately swans and other aquatic birds, whilst the umbrageous walks upon its banks rendered it a favourite resort of the Agrigentine citizens. The limpid streams still flow in deep channels bored through the surrounding hills, adding freshness and luxuriance to the orange groves and gardens, which now occupy this cool and agreeable retreat. Luckily for the credit of Strabo, the saline springs have entirely vanished, upon the surface of which iron floated, according to the assertion of that ingenious, but inaccurate author. We have thus described every thing worthy of notice upon this once

splendid southern barrier of Agrigentum: we shall briefly advert to a few other objects connected with the city. Between it and the sea, about two miles from the walls, is the conflux of the rivers Hypsas and Acragas*, which, when united, flow into the ancient port, from whence all vestiges are vanished of that magnificence which rendered it an emporium that might almost have vied with the Athenian Piræus†: a little above this union of the rivers are seen some remains of the temple of Esculapius, which will be thought to have been properly or improperly situated within the precincts of an extensive cemetery, according to the reader's opinion of that art which its Deity was supposed to patronise. Its site is determined by the authority of Polybius‡. Verres took from this shrine a beautiful statue of Apollo, which Scipio had restored to the Agrigentines after the capture of Carthage. It appears to have been a pseudo-dipteral temple, like that of Jupiter Olympius, though much smaller in dimensions: two columns and a pilaster, attached to the wall, still remain, together with a circular stone staircase, which formed an ascent to the upper parts of the building§. From this spot the ruins on the southern precipice appear like fine monuments upon the proscenium of an immense theatre. Passing from hence towards the city we leave at a short distance on the left hand, near the sea-gate, a curious square building of composite architecture, which has been generally denominated the tomb of Theron‖: if this be true, it is a monument of considerable

* These rivers are accurately distinguished by Polybius, lib. ix. c. 27. They are mistaken by the modern antiquaries of Girgenti.

† Large remains seem to have existed in the days of Fazzello. (Prior. Decad. lib. vi. sub init.) The modern harbour is about three miles distant W. on the other side of Monte Tauro: there is a mole and the great caricatorio or granary cut in the rock, in which all the corn of the district is kept till government receives its dues.

‡ Τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀσκληπιεῖον. Polyb. lib. i. c. 18.

§ Around this temple one division of the Roman army was encamped during the siege of Agrigentum, in the first Punic war, when after various success it fell into the hands of the Romans.

‖ It is conjectured by some to have been one of those monuments which the Agrigentines were in the habit of raising to their horses. (Vid. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 42. Agrigenti complurium quorum tumuli pyramides habent.) This custom was not confined to them alone. Hadrian raised a splendid mausoleum to his favourite horse Borysthenes, inscribing it with an epitaph. (Dion. Cass. l. lxix.)

interest, having been the only one which escaped the rage of Hannibal the Carthaginian general, who, after he had satiated his vengeance upon Himera and Selinuntum, attacked Agrigentum, and destroyed all the tombs of this suburb in the course of military operations: it appeared as if Heaven itself had interposed to protect the ashes of a virtuous prince; for as the barbarians were on the point of demolishing the sepulchre, they were terrified into forbearance by a tremendous flash of lightning, which at that moment struck the building. Soon after this violation of the dead, a pestilence broke out in the besieging army, to which the savage Hannibal fell a sacrifice with thousands of his troops: the soldiers referred it to the wrath of Heaven; in their affrighted imaginations they beheld spectres wandering about like avenging demons during the gloom of night, and Himilco, who had succeeded to the command of the army, endeavoured to appease the violated manes by the abominable expedient of human sacrifices *. On this part of the plain the traveller will observe with surprise, enormous fragments of those celebrated walls which formed a most distinguishing feature in the prospect of Agrigentum †; so immense were these ramparts, that they appear to have been used even for sepulchres, and turned into a vast mural cemetery; in one fragment alone I counted twenty-three niches or sarcophagi.

The eastern and western cliffs, which formed boundaries on those sides, contain no monuments worthy of particular remark, except a few remains of gates, and bridges across deep ravines, which formed a communication between the ancient city and its extensive suburbs, Neapolis on the east, and the great Agrigentine suburb under Mount Camicus on the west; each of these had the right of citizenship, and

* The Deity to whom the Carthaginians usually offered these horrid rites was Saturn. "Pescennius Festus in libris historiarum per satiram refert, Carthaginienses Saturno humanas hostias solitos immolare, et cum victi essent ab Agathocle rege Siculorum, iratum sibi Deum putavisse, itaque ut diligentius piaculum solverent, ducentos nobilium filios immolasse." Lactant. de fals. relig. l. i. c. 21. vid. etiam Justin. lib. xviii. c. vii. Sil. Ital. lib. iv. 767. Diod. Sic. lib. xx. p. 756.

† Arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longè
Mœnia. Æn. iii. 703.

their immense population is attested by numerous cemeteries, where the ploughshare or the wild fig-tree has broke open the tombs, or the more destructive rapacity of the antiquary exposed them in his search after those beautiful vases, termed Etruscan*, of which Girgenti has furnished some of the finest specimens. In the deep vale of San Leonardo, between Mount Camicus and the ancient platform of Agrigentum, are seen the exits of those vast cloacæ or public sewers, termed Phæacians; the appellation being derived from an ingenious architect named Phæax, who employed the Carthaginian prisoners in their construction.

That edge of the platform which faces the north rises gradually to a great height, and is terminated by an impregnable precipice; yet even this was surmounted by stupendous walls, whose fragments lie scattered on the plain below: about mid-way a fine peak rises, called 'La Rupe Atenea†,' from a tradition that the temple of Minerva and Jupiter Atabyrius stood here, which Gellias, its founder, the most wealthy and

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* They are more properly styled Grecian. The Etruscans are supposed to have been originally a Celtic tribe, which settled in Etruria about one thousand years before Christ; their taste and workmanship in the Ceramic art was greatly improved by Demaratus, a Corinthian emigrant, six hundred and sixty years before Christ.

† Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἔκτισαι καὶ Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου. Polyb. His worship was brought from Mount Atabyrium, at Rhodes, vid. Pind. Olymp. Od. vii. 160. This was probably a double temple, dedicated to the worship of two Deities, like the Erecthéum at Athens, the Temple of Venus and Mars, near Argos, which Pausanias calls an ἱερὸν διπλᾶν, (Corinth. c. xxv. 1.) or the Zenoposeidonion, a joint temple of Jupiter and Neptune, concerning which Athenæus (lib. viii. p. 327.) quotes the humourous verses of Machon, which are thus translated by Grotius.

Igitur in fano sede
Quod propter urbis ipsa adstabat mœnia,
Ubi cum videret sacra facientem popam,
Per te Minervam, per Deos, inquit, precor,
Dic bone vir, templum hoc cui sacratum est numini?
Respondens ille; est, ait, hoc Jovineptunium.
Quis ergo jam mortalis inquit Dorio
Hospitium speret urbe in illa quæ Deos
Duos conjungit unum in contubernium?

This custom did not obtain very early at Rome, for Plutarch in his life of Marcellus says, that when that conqueror wished to erect a temple out of his Sicilian spoils, to the deities Glory and Valour conjointly, he was prevented by the priests, who objected to put two gods into one temple: yet, in after times, we find them not so scrupulous. Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes mention of a triple temple at Rome, dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva (τρεῖς σηκοὶ παράλληλοι). The Deities who thus

hospitable of the Agrigentine citizens, turned into his funeral pile at the conquest of the city by the Carthaginians: the barbarians being about to violate the sanctity of his asylum, he set fire to the edifice, and was consumed together with his treasures and his friends: the platform of a temple is certainly visible on this spot.

At a short distance in the descent below, is one of those large quarries which supplied materials for the buildings we have been describing; the stone is a concretion of sand and small shells, of a yellowish tint, and would not, I think, be very durable, except in such a climate as this, where the effects of damp and frost are rarely felt: but there is good reason to believe, that all the public edifices were coated with a fine cement. From the summit of the *Rupe Atenea* the eye ranges over one of the finest prospects imaginable, comprehending the modern city and the ancient ruins, the surrounding hills, every one of which is noted for some Grecian, Roman, or Carthaginian encampment, the more distant mountains, and the grand expanse of the Mediterranean sea.

Proceeding to the south-west angle of the platform, we find a very antique Grecian temple, transformed into a modern church, and dedicated to St. Blaze; for this conversion the simplicity of its style peculiarly adapted it, being of that species which is called "in Antis" or "ἐν παραστασιν," not containing an interior cella, nor surrounded by a peristyle; its only external ornament being a pediment supported by two Doric columns between the Antæ, or pilasters, at the angles *: its

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dwelt under the same roof, were styled Θέοι σύνναοι, ὁμόναοι, or συνέστιοι and Deos Contubernales by the Latins.

Καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναία παρὰ δὶ χθόνιον Βασιλῆα
Νηῷ ἐγκατέθηκε ΣΥΝΕΣΤΙΟΝ ἔμμεναι ἱρῶν.

Herod. Att. Rhet. v. 30.

Jupiter enim sine contubernio conjugis filiæque coli non potest. Lactant. de fals. relig. c. xi. § 39. Cicero calls Cæsar 'Quirini contubernalem,' because his statue was placed in the temple of Quirinus. Ad Att. lib. xiii. ep. 28. Somewhat similar is the Christian dedication of churches to St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Michael and All Saints, &c.

* Parietes qui cellam circumcludunt, habent in (utràque) fronte antas, et inter antas in medio columnas duas.

extreme length is ninety-one feet, and its breadth forty. Some suppose this to have been the temple of Proserpine, to which Pindar may allude, when he calls Agrigentum the seat of Proserpine *; (Φερσεφόνας ἕδος) others consider it as a joint temple of Proserpine and Ceres, though it is generally ascribed to the latter deity alone; this, however, is a matter of little consequence. A grand flight of broad steps cut in the rock on the south side, led from hence towards the city, the interior of which is now divided into farms and vineyards, though the direction of its principal streets may still be traced by the deep-worn furrows of the chariot-wheels: but solitude has succeeded to the tumultuous throng which once circulated there; corn waves over the regal mansion of Phalaris †, and the reign of silence is disturbed only by the shepherd's pipe or reaper's song.

The modern city of Girgenti occupies the summit of Mount Camicus ‡, the seat of Cocalus §, that most ancient and powerful king of the Sicanians; it was fortified by the Cretan Dædalus, who fled hither to avoid the rage of Minos, and in succeeding times it served probably as a citadel to Agrigentum. It would be difficult to trace the progress of its decay, for want of authentic records: under Roger the Norman its consequence revived a little, when it was erected into a bishop's see by Pope Urban II. The cathedral is a fine building modernized, and contains some valuable remains of antiquity; the most curious is a fine sarcophagus, said to have been restored to the Agrigentines, with many other treasures, by Scipio Africanus: its animated sculpture is supposed to represent the

* Pyth. Od. xii. 3.

† A farm-house belonging to the Bishop of Girgenti, once the convent of St. Nicolo, is supposed to occupy a part of its site: some travellers talk of the remains of a theatre in this vicinity, but I could discover none. I believe that no historian makes mention of such an edifice at Agrigentum, except Julius Frontinus, in his third Book of Stratagems, but his text is evidently corrupted, and for Agrigentum we ought to read Catania.

‡ It is so named by Herodotus, Aristotle and Strabo; but Pausanias, if his text be not corrupt, calls it Inycus (in Achaic. c. iv. 5.).

§ Siciliæ primo Trinacria nomen fuit; postea Sicania cognominata est. Hæc à principio patria Cyclopum fuit; quibus extinctis, Cocalus regnum insulæ occupavit; post quem singulæ civitates in tyrannorum imperium concesserunt, quorum nulla terra feracior fuit. Justin. lib. iv. c. 2.

death of Phintias, a tyrant who was expelled from Agrigentum, and killed in a wild-boar chase at Carthage *; though others pronounce it the death of Adonis, or the adventures of Hippolytus †. The shrine of San Gherlando, first bishop of Girgenti, is composed of massive silver finely wrought. The bones of this venerable impostor were discovered by his own spectre to an affrighted sexton, who neglecting to make known so important an acquisition, was nightly visited, and at length scourged terribly by the enraged ghost: the bones were then dug up, canonized, enshrined, and the poor sexton slept peaceably in his bed. In the church of Sta. Maria dei Greci, near the cathedral, are some remains of the very ancient temple of Jupiter Polyænus, in constructing which, the tyrant Phalaris took an opportunity of usurping the sovereignty: there is also an excellent public library, bequeathed to his native city by Don Andrea Lucchese, of the family of Campo Franco. It contains about 20,000 volumes, and is rich in the best editions of the classics, topography, antiquities, and a cabinet of medals; though this latter has been considerably reduced by the visits of antiquarians. Let the traveller seize the earliest opportunity of inspecting the library and consulting its treasures, for it is shut on all festivals, and he may find it difficult to make his way through that army of Saints and Martyrs, which the Romish calendar has stationed to block up the avenues of knowledge ‡. Girgenti is a meanly built town, containing little worthy of notice, except its extreme poverty, that usual concomitant of a weak and oppressive government: it reckons about 15,000 inhabitants, eleven convents of monks, six of nuns, five parish churches, including the cathedral, and a large col-

* A representation of the coins of this tyrant with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ is given by Mionnet, vol. i. p. 339. The obverse is marked by a beautiful head of Diana with her quiver, and the reverse by the figure of a wild-boar; some have the laureated head of Apollo, and a horse in full gallop.

† The reader has now the power of exercising his own judgment upon this subject, since very fine casts of the monument are preserved in the British Museum.

‡ I understand that the same cause acts almost as a prohibition of access to the library of the Vatican for any useful purpose of learning. It is shut not only on saint's days, but also on their vigils and octaves.

lege, in which Divinity, Ethics, and the Belles Lettres are supposed to be taught by able professors. The streets are narrow, miserably paved, and for the most part inaccessible to carriages, or even mules, on account of their steep and craggy acclivities: they swarm with ragged children, whose numbers attest the noted fecundity of the women*: the place does not contain an inn fit for the accommodation of an Hottentot; the filth of that into which we were at first introduced was perfectly revolting, common decency will not allow of its description. In the absence therefore of a Gellias, we accepted the hospitality of the venerable Padre Scrivani, sub-prior of the Dominican convent, who put us in full possession of his neat and comfortable apartments. Nothwithstanding all that may have been said against them, we found the monks of Sicily in these days, with a few exceptions, neither rich nor luxurious. The Benedictines of Catania, indeed, inhabit a most superb palace; their revenues are princely, and their fraternity all of noble birth. The annual stipend of our host did not exceed forty-five dollars; the daily fare in the refectory was of Pythagorean simplicity; a little shell-fish, eggs, salad, and bread, formed the principal diet, wine being very moderately used, and meat rarely seen: the robust and ruddy appearance, therefore, of the religious orders, might be ascribed by their advocates to the effects of temperance rather than of luxury: out of their scanty revenues they make a daily distribution of bread or soup to the poor, and afford lodging to those who would otherwise depend upon casual benevolence. Bating therefore the injury done to religious truth, by their spiritual occupations, which consist chiefly in the propagation of legendary impostures, and the infusion of saintly virtue into wax candles, I can scarcely agree with those who would drive them out of society like drones from the hive.

Whilst we resided in this convent, we had an opportunity of witness-

* Fazzello mentions the case of an Agrigentine woman, in his own time, who brought forth seventy-three children at thirty births; the credibility of which, he endeavours to confirm by examples ancient and modern. (De reb. Sic. Dec. Pr. lib. vi.)

ing the festival of its patron saint. Night and day were both made hideous by the constant sound of drums, trumpets, and pateraroes, with processions of mummeries, in which every convent of the city endeavoured to distinguish itself by the most pompous display, and each sturdy monk endeavoured to carry a crucifix more ponderous than his fellow. Our worthy host was field-marshal on this occasion, and no general ever shewed greater activity in the disposal of his forces; he was up at least ten times during the night to fire off his trains of pateraroes, and at each exhibition of fire-works, he discharged rockets, and exploded mines with the precision of an engineer. After these laborious duties, he sat with all the dignity of a conqueror, beneath a splendid canopy, surrounded by different orders of monks and friars, to hear a Te Deum chaunted in the chapel, which was brilliantly illuminated: between each pause a band of drummers, on their knees, beat their detestable instruments with a violence bordering upon phrensy, till they deafened the very ears of the audience, and two of the performers were carried out of the chapel in a state of complete exhaustion: these rallies were accompanied by cries and groans, and vehement exclamations from the people, who pressed forward with a tumultuous zeal, to kiss the crucifixes which the monks held out, and to touch them with their tapers. The pageant concluded with a sermon, by a very celebrated orator, whose chief excellence consisted in the tremendous tones of his voice, and an action so furious as to approach the gestures of a maniac. The discourse was delivered, according to custom, extempore, and lasted more than an hour; the pronunciation was so rapid, that I could with difficulty catch its meaning, except that it treated generally upon mysteries; at times the preacher apostrophized a large crucifix, which another monk held behind him in the pulpit, and then the audience seemed affected by a violent sobbing, groaning, and vehement exclamation. It was near eleven o'clock when the assembly dispersed: I expected to have found our venerable host exhausted by fatigue; but he entered our room in

high spirits, with unshaken nerves, and held with me a long argument upon auricular confession, before he went to bed.

During our residence at Girgenti we instituted an excavation in an ancient cemetery, of vast extent, below mount Camicus, where, although we penetrated into several sepulchres, unopened before, we were much disappointed in our search after antiquities; we discovered only a few common lamps and funereal vessels, most of them broken, and lying buried in a fine greasy mould, with which the tombs were partly filled: these receptacles were generally constructed of large square stones, in the form of parallelograms, about seven feet long, four broad, and three deep. At a much less expence than our excavation cost, we purchased a large box full of antique pottery, from the peasants, who brought them to the convent, from whom we also procured several ancient coins, with the impress of an eagle, a hare, a crab, or an ear of corn, denoting the various produce of the Agrigentine territory.

In the beginning of June, we bid adieu to our hospitable Dominicans, and proceeded towards the interior of the island, with the intention of visiting Castro Giovanni, anciently called Enna, the supposed capital of the kingdom of Ceres. Our journey was enlivened by joyous songs and choruses of the country-people, now finishing their harvest, and celebrating the season with festive mirth and bands of music: we frequently observed long trains of both sexes, with garlands of flowers, following their coryphæus or leader, whose solo verse was repeated by the rest in chorus, and which was interrupted only for the purpose of casting a few jeers and harmless jests at the casual passenger. Sometimes also a Madonna, decked in ribbons, or a pasteboard saint, accompanied their processions. The features and complexion of these peasants seemed to denote in general a Saracenic origin, but amongst them is still observed that remarkable contour and expression of countenance, called Grecian, which is so beautifully pourtrayed upon the ancient Sicilian coins: like all the nations of southern Europe,

they are fervently addicted to music, which entering into their amusements and employments, and almost all the acts of life, seems to cheer and console their labour, as it agreeably employs the hours of relaxation: its beneficial influence tends to preserve them from the overwhelming gloom of superstition, the ferocity of barbarism, and the commotions of popular phrensy; and though the guitar of the peasant and his Doric flute be not calculated to excite the sublimer passions, yet their tender and pathetic tones impart taste and feeling to his mind, and supply such a source of consolation under the unequal dispensations of an oppressive constitution, as almost to compensate for the absence of liberty itself.

On the second day, at noon, we began to ascend a lofty mountain, upon whose spacious summit, the highest inhabited ground in Sicily, stands Castro Giovanni, as near as possible in the centre of the island *. Its great elevation gives it so delightful a temperature during the violent heats of summer, that many foreigners and Sicilian families retire thither in that season. The town has a very singular and picturesque appearance, being every where intersected with deep valleys or ravines, whose sides are literally honey-combed with Saracenic caves, some of which have two or three apartments, and are still inhabited by the poorer classes. From the rocks gush out, as in days of old, perennial streams and crystal fountains, amidst a vast profusion of shrubs, creepers, and wild flowers; whilst the fine cypress groves and gardens of the convents form a shade impervious to the sun. One quarter in this town is inhabited by a settlement of Greeks, who retain their native dialect, though corrupted by a strange intermixture of barbarisms.

On the second day of our sojourn here, a novel scene, at least for Sicily, took place; this was the election of a member of parliament:

* Hence called by Cicero "Umbilicus Siciliæ." In his concise and beautiful description of Enna, the modern traveller will still recognise the chief features of the place. "Enna—est loco præcelso atque edito: quo in summo est æquata agri planities, & aquæ perennes: tota vero ab omni aditu circumcisa atque directa est: quam circa lacus lucique sunt plurimi, et lectissimi flores omni tempore anni."

it was conducted as quietly as that of a parish clerk in England. Our cicerone was a very obliging priest, named Padre Alessio, who conducted us to the cathedral, an antique Norman building, with a curiously carved roof, and containing some fine paintings by Paladino; to the house of one of the canons, who possesses an interesting collection, and from thence to the east end of the great plain, where he pointed out to our notice the platform of the temple of Ceres, on the very edge of a tremendous precipice, probably 2000 feet in perpendicular height, in view of the whole dominion over which she reigned *. Here we first beheld the gigantic Ætna, that "pillar of the heavens," as the Grecian poet calls it, towering aloft into the region of mid-air.

From this spot also is seen, to great advantage, the beautiful circular lake, where, as the poet sings,

> "Proserpine gathering flowers,
> Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
> Was gathered †."

Its dark surrounding woods are vanished from this fair field of Enna, together with those flowers whose powerful odour was able to deprive dogs of their scent in the pursuit of game; yet the blessings of Ceres still remain, and the corn yields a fifty-fold increase: in the vicinity are many valuable mines, producing sulphur, coal, marcasite, copper, gold in small quantities, and rock-salt in great abundance, of a beautiful violet colour. Pliny mentions the peculiar tint of this salt at Centorbi, in the neighbourhood of Enna ‡. This impregnable mountain was the retreat or citadel of Eunus and the revolted slaves

* This temple was founded, as well as another of the same goddess, in his own capital, by Gelo, the illustrious tyrant of Syracuse: that valiant and patriotic prince, after having saved his country from its foreign enemies, seems to have been aware that an attention to agriculture was the best foundation of its future security and prosperity. The remains of this temple, which time and barbarism had spared, seem to have been destroyed by an unfortunate fall of the cliff on which they stood. "Ejus porro minima atque indigna hodie spectantur vestigia: nam cum præcipiti loco staret, temporis processu cum montis visceribus in præceps collapsum est."—Fazzello, Decad. prior, lib. ix.

† Cicero makes a neat allusion to this fabulous incident, in his severe invective against the infamous Verres. "Hic dolor erat tantus, ut Verres, alter orcus, venisse Ennam, et non Proserpinam asportasse, sed ipsam abripuisse cererem videretur."

‡ Nat. Hist. l. xxxi. c. 7.

in the first servile war; and here they defied, for several years, the whole force of Rome, and defeated three prætorian armies before they were subdued. No site could have been better adapted for their purpose.

The last object of curiosity we inspected, was the shell of a large castle built by Frederic II. King of Sicily. Having ascended the chief tower, which has been converted into a prison, to enjoy the extensive view from its summit, we were induced, by a confused clamour of voices and clanking of chains below, to peep through the holes of the floor on which we stood: our eyes met a crowd of felons, murderers, and assassins of the worst description, some lying prostrate on the ground, others drinking, many playing at cards or dice, and uttering the most horrid blasphemies and imprecations. It was a group fit for the terrific scenes of Udolpho! I have before adverted to the reform which is imperiously called for in the interior arrangement of prisons, and the administration of Sicilian justice, each of which is turned into a frightful source of that guilt which they are devised to correct. As a gaol delivery never takes place, these receptacles are crowded to excess with wretches of the most abandoned character; and as no classification is thought of, what places do they become to receive the suspected or innocent person, or even him who has but just commenced the career of crime! The noxious effluvia which he breathes, the manacles with which he is shackled, the want of air and exercise, the contagion of filth and disease, are slight miseries in comparison with that moral contamination, that familiarity with guilt, to which he is exposed! If he escape, he is let out upon the community fit for the commission of the greatest enormities; if he be retaken, and condemned, he is still able to defraud society of that exemplary punishment due to his crimes, and to remain in confinement for the corruption of his incarcerated companions: if his money fails, he will perhaps suffer when his faults are forgotten, and his fate is likely to excite pity rather than indignation.

An affair took place during our own residence in Palermo which so strongly illustrates this subject, that I cannot forbear to mention it. The trade of baker being a monopoly under Government, an arbitrary price is fixed at the public ovens for the very staff of life. This price had for a long time been so excessive, and so disproportionate to an abundant harvest, that the lower classes joining this to their other causes of discontent, rose simultaneously in open rebellion, pulled down or burned several houses, with the adjoining ovens, and sacrificed some lives to their ungoverned fury: perhaps nothing but the presence of an English garrison with its artillery preserved the capital at this time from the sword and flames. On the third day of the riot, a preconcerted scheme had nearly taken effect, which would probably have been accompanied with such a scene of horror, before any remedy could have been applied. Two companies of a Neapolitan regiment, stationed opposite the public prison, observed the great doors gently open, and several persons drawing back, as if alarmed at the presence of the soldiers: presently a general tumult was observed through the grated windows of the building, to which a dead silence succeeded: in a few minutes afterwards the doors grated on their hinges, and the whole body of felons, in a fit of desperation, endeavoured to force their way out: they were received, however, by such a steady and destructive fire from the Neapolitans, that the foremost fell dead, or wounded, and the rest, intimidated, retreated hastily into their cells; a constant discharge of musketry was then kept up through the doors and windows till the British artillery arrived. According to the best information, the number of these miscreants was about eleven hundred, many of whom had lived in confinement from ten to twenty years since their capital condemnation, and some were so affected with the tædium of life, for want of all employment, manual, moral, or religious, that they were anxious for death as a relief: they of course entered without reserve into the plans of the rioters, who supplied them with instruments to file off their irons,

through the grated windows next the street, where the prisoners are allowed to sit during the day, and annoy passengers by their clamorous demands for charity.

Upon the failure of this desperate attempt, the riots were very soon repressed, and a military commission being convened next day, it was determined to sacrifice two of the prisoners, like scape-goats, for the sins of the people: vigour and dispatch were now the order of the day, and we could get little or no rest during the night for the noise of axes and hammers, which resounded through the great square, in which workmen were erecting a scaffold for the execution of the criminals. Early in the morning the garrison was drawn out under arms, and nearly the whole population of the city assembled in the Piazza Marina. At eight o'clock the first culprit was brought out upon a moveable platform, on which stood two executioners and a priest, who, as the machine was wheeled along, repeated a set of prayers in a loud voice that echoed round the square: three monks, clothed in long robes of white, that covered the whole person except the eyes, marched before, holding crucifixes, attached to long staves, before the face of the criminal. Arrived under the gallows, whilst the rope was adjusted, the confessor repeated his last prayer, in which he was joined by the unhappy man, who probably foreseeing the fatal signal, hesitated in repeating the concluding words of *Giesu Christo:* the priest again distinctly pronounced them in a tone which made one shrink with horror, and seemed to recal the spirit that had already almost left its mortal frame: with an expiring effort the name of Him who died to save mankind, was repeated by the malefactor, when one of the executioners, who had seated himself like a demon upon the top of the gallows, jumped down upon his head, as the other, clasping him round the body with his arms, swung him from the platform: there they all three hung together in a terrific group which might vie with the imaginary horrors of a Dante. In about five minutes, life being quite extinct, the body was lowered upon the ground; the head

and hands were cut off with a sharp knife, enclosed in an iron case, and suspended over the great door of the prison. Curiosity being now satisfied, we left the multitude to enjoy the remainder of this bloody spectacle, and returned to our lodging. Terrible as this punishment may appear, it is, in fact, much more lenient towards the criminal than the plan pursued in our own country, and much more efficacious in the impressive warning which it conveys to others. The reader will be astonished to learn that the two felons thus executed had been capitally condemned, the one eleven and the other fifteen years before, for commission of the most horrid crimes and foulest murders that ever stained the human character;—he will observe also, with surprise, what an extraordinary inversion of right and wrong the case presents: justice was, in this single instance, twice defrauded of her due: the malefactors escaped punishment for the faults to which their lives were really forfeit, and were illegally executed for an offence to which the punishment of death is not annexed.

CHAPTER II.

Journey to Syracuse—Excavations in the Rock at Lentini—Eastern Coast of Sicily—Arrival at Syracuse—Gates shut—Sleep on the Edge of the Great Harbour—Appearance of the same—Pass the fortified Isthmus—Quarrels of the Sicilians—Small Harbour—Hotel of the Leon d'oro—History of our Host—Visit to Arethusa—Account of Arethusa and Alpheus—Castello di Maniace—Transportation of Santa Lucia's Corpse, &c. to Constantinople—Infamous Conduct of a Marquess Geraci—Ancient Granaries, Walls, Towers, and Strength of Ortygia—Circuit of the Ramparts—Author attacked by Fever—Convalescence, and Visit to the celebrated Antiquary D. Giuseppe Capodieci—Public Library of Syracuse—Monument of Hierocles—National Musæum, Torso of Venus, Statues of Esculapius, Apollo, &c. Head of Jupiter Eleutherius, Marble Sarcophagi, Greek Paintings, epitaphial Inscriptions, Monument of Perpenna; Terra-cotta Vases; Handle of a Vase inscribed with the Name of Agathocles; Character of that Prince—Return to the Leon d'oro—Sail in the Great Harbour—Promontory of Plemmyrium—Piazza, or great Square of Syracuse—Cathedral—Temple of Minerva—its Conversion into a Christian Church—Temple of Diana—Baths of Daphne—Fortifications of the Isthmus—Fortress of Dionysius I.—Palace of Hiero—Roman Prætorium—Saracenic Fort, 'Il Castello di Mahrietto'—Compendious History of Syracuse.

FROM Castro Giovanni we directed our course towards Syracuse, through Palagonia and Lentini. Near this latter place, amidst the ruins of ancient Leontium, we observed a great number of excavations in chasms of the rock, similar to those with which Castro Giovanni abounds; they bear every appearance of having been

formed for human habitations, and are generally attributed to the Saracens, numerous tribes of whom, during the reigns of the Norman dynasty, kept possession of strong fastnesses in the interior of the island *, where, bidding defiance to the weak disorderly police of those times, they subsisted by a regular system of depredation upon the property of their conquerors. From Lentini we descended towards the coast, by a circuitous route, through scenery romantically beautiful, and valleys rivalling the poetical descriptions of Tempe or Arcadia; nearer to the sea we found the hills covered from their summits down to the edge of the shore with flowering myrtles, rhododendrons, and a variety of aromatic shrubs; amidst the olive trees which are thinly scattered about the country, the cicale, a species of grasshopper, made the air resound with their shrill and piercing notes, illustrating with great accuracy those expressions of the Bucolic poets †, relative to this insect. Having had a very fatiguing ride of thirteen hours from Palagonia, under a burning sun ‡, we arrived at the gates of Syracuse, after the shades of night had descended on its plains: unfortunately the barriers were shut, and the plague, which was at this time raging in Malta, rendered the guards inflexible to

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* Under the reign of William the Bad, says an elegant writer, "Les Sarrasins, cantonnés dans les montagnes, occupoient encore la plus grande partie de l'interieur de l'île; ils n'obéissoient qu'à des chefs de leur nation, & la soumission de ceux-ci au roi étoit plus que douteuse." Sismondi, Vol. II. p. 263.—It is not impossible, however, that the excavations alluded to here and in other parts of the island, may have been the work of the ancient Greek inhabitants.

† "Rumpunt arbusta cicadæ." Virg.

Τοὶ δὲ ποτὶ σκιεραις ὀροδαμνίσιν ἀιθαλίωνες
Τέττιγες λαλαγεῦντες ἔχον πόνον. Theocrit.

This latter expression of the Sicilian is particularly appropriate: the cries are fatiguingly unceasing. In Greece I was in like manner struck with the remarkable similarity of sound in the croaking of frogs to that combination of words by which Aristophanes endeavours to represent it.

‡ The following is a statement of the highest and lowest degrees at which the thermometer stood in Sicily during the three years preceding our arrival. The scale is that of Reaumur, which is generally used by foreigners.

1810.	Greatest heat, August 6	-	23.04
	Greatest cold, February 23	-	7
1811.	Greatest heat, August 12	-	24
	Greatest cold, January 26	-	9
1812.	Greatest heat, August 31	-	23.06
	Greatest cold, January 23	-	8

entreaties or to bribes: in this dilemma we made a virtue of necessity, and retiring to a heap of straw upon the shore, soon lost all sense of our vexations in the oblivion of sleep. The earliest rays of the morning sun roused us to the contemplation of the most charming scene imaginable. The great harbour lay expanded before us like a spacious mirror, reflecting in its crystal surface the modern city of Syracuse with all its towers and fortifications, reduced now to the little Island of Ortygia, the cradle of its infancy: our eyes followed with delight its grand circular boundary adorned with the beauties of nature, surrounded with the vestiges of antiquity, and rich in scenes of historic interest, till they rested upon a bluff point, opposite the island at its entrance: this spot is the ancient promontory of Plemmyrium, where the unfortunate Athenians saw every hope of ill-directed ambition blasted in the destruction of their fleet. At the very head of the port stood the famous temple of Jupiter, surrounded by a suburb and fortifications, and called the Olympiæum: two broken columns still mark its site, faint memorials of ancient splendour, like the footsteps of a traveller upon the desert.

Our baggage being replaced upon the mules, we again advanced to the outer gate of the citadel, and having delivered up our passports to the most cautious examination, we received permission to enter: a considerable time, however, elapsed before we could force our way through the immense crowd of Sicilian peasants who had been waiting for ingress and egress ever since the dawn of day: their impetuosity and irascibility of temper, thwarted not more by the active exertions of contending parties, than by the inflexible obstinacy of their mules and asses, occasioned a scene of indescribable confusion, in which the two-legged brutes had evidently the advantage over the quadrupeds in point of noise, though the latter exerted their lungs with might and main under the inspiring influence of the cudgel. As we passed over the strongly fortified isthmus, with its batteries and bastions, trenches and portcullisses, we had the great harbour on our right hand, and on

our left the small one, anciently distinguished by the epithet 'Marmoreus*,' from the marble edifices with which it was surrounded, or 'Laccius,' from the Greek word λάκκος, signifying a cistern. The bottom of this harbour is said by Fazzello to have been paved with large square stones, under which an aqueduct, formed of the same materials, conveyed a copious source of water to different parts of the island: the mouth was defended by two noble towers, raised for its defence by the celebrated Agathocles, and inscribed with his name†: the great Dionysius furnished it with an excellent arsenal or dock, capable of containing sixty triremes, shut in by gates which permitted only one vessel at a time to pass. We crossed the water over deep trenches no less than five times before we arrived at the interior lines of fortification, which having passed, we were soon housed in a very comfortable inn, called the Leon d'oro, near the edge of the great harbour, over which it commands a delightful prospect, bounded by the crags of Epipolæ and the range of Hyblæan mountains. We found our host of the golden Lion an obliging well-informed man, and a great sportsman, who owed his residence and occupation at Syracuse to his favourite diversion: Çatania was his native city, from which he had been banished for shooting, not into a covey of partridges, since no game-laws are established in Sicily, but into one of those sacerdotal seminaries with which this country abounds: the consequential little urchins who are there trained up in the mysteries, rather than the pure doctrines, of their profession, frequently walk out in long rows decked with strait-cut coats and cocked hats, under the care of a spiritual director, who is not over diligent in restraining that insolence and scurrility of language in which they are very apt to indulge. They had often attacked Don Luigi with impunity, but unfortunately meeting him one day when he was irritated from bad success in his sport,

* The expression, however, of Florus is obscure, and there seems as much reason to suppose he means the great harbour as the small one, by the words "portus ille Marmoreus."

† Diod. Sic. xvi. 553.

and assailing him with more than usual impudence, he raised his fowling-piece to his shoulder, and fired into the midst of them: several fell, and Don Luigi fled: but in Sicily the only crimes which meet with universal indignation and certain punishment are those committed against the priesthood: the whole country was up in arms; men, women, and children joined in the pursuit, and the culprit was soon taken: by dint of large sums of money he continued to defer his trial till the wounded all recovered, when, after the sacrifice of his whole property, and an imprisonment of two years, he was merely sentenced to perpetual banishment from Catania.

Our first movement at the Leon d'oro was to go to bed: having there enjoyed a few hours of comfortable repose, after the bivouac of the preceding night, I arose before my companion, and hastened, or rather flew on the wings of impatience to the fountain of Arethusa. I needed no guide but Cicero, who directed me along the ramparts of the city towards the extremity of the island, where I found the fountain, in the very situation which he designates, protected by a bastion of the wall from the encroachment of the sea, but diminished in size, and possessing neither its sweet waters, nor those sacred fish, which even in the extremity of famine were not to be touched without the vengeance of offended deities; not a vestige remained of its former splendour, of Diana's grove, or that statue of the goddess which adorned its banks; but I beheld Arethusa, the lovely Arethusa, so celebrated in songs of ancient minstrelsy, and so honoured in the choicest specimens of numismatic art, despoiled of all her charms, and degraded to the vile office of a public wash-tub. Instead of Diana's train, a tribe of bare-legged nymphs, with their petticoats tied above their knees, were dabbling in the stream, and soiling its purity by their daily occupation. Sad mortification this to one's classical predilections! The appearance of a stranger excited the most clamorous demands for charity amidst the conclave, and I was obliged to throw them all my small change for the sake of quiet. I then ventured to inquire, if this were the fountain

Arethusa? "Chi saccia?" (or who knows?) was the interrogative answer, which, amongst the Sicilians, always implies ignorance of the question: one good woman, however, of more respectable appearance than the rest, wishing to impart all the information in her power, scrambled up the rock, and with much naivetè and vast variety of gesture, repeated to me a long story about a beautiful signorina of ancient times, who being persecuted by a terrible magician, fled to this spot and drowned herself in the fountain; her pursuer coming up and finding her dead body, changed the water out of revenge from sweet to bitter, and then threw himself headlong into the sea, where the waves have been in a state of perturbation ever since: the narrator then directed me to look over the wall into the great harbour, where I might see them still boiling up from the efforts of that wicked enchanter endeavouring to escape the pains of purgatory. I was amused with this piece of popular superstition, of which the principal circumstances bear a near resemblance to the old Grecian legend, and having rewarded the communicator, I turned towards an angle of the bastion, from whence I perceived a very strong ebullient spring rising with considerable violence to the surface of the water. It is called *l'Occhio di Zilica*, and is supposed by Arezzi and others to be the identical Alpheus emerging from his submarine excursion. This, however, is but the dream of an antiquarian: the ancients imagined, absurdly enough to be sure, that Alpheus rose in the very fountain of the nymph*; nor does any one, among the ancient poets or historians, allude to his exit in the harbour, or make mention of this ebullition: it proceeds probably from the same source as the fountain itself, and has been occa-

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* Thus Virgil:—Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem
Occultas egisse vias subter mare, qui nunc
Ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis.—Æn. iii.

And also Silius Italicus, lib. xiv.

Hic Arethusa suo piscosó fonte receptat
Alpheum sacræ portantem signa coronæ.

Pindar alludes to the exit of Alpheus within the *island*, by the expression Ἀμπνεύμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφεοῦ.

sioned by some of those violent earthquakes, which are recorded as having frequently changed the waters of Arethusa from sweet to bitter, and from bitter to sweet: some antiquarians even suppose the situation of the fountain itself to have been changed by the same causes, and that it formerly existed in the vicinity of Diana's temple; in which opinion I should be inclined to coincide, did not Cicero's description so accurately designate the present locality. Few things are more extraordinary than this blind belief of the ancients in the incredible story of Alpheus and Arethusa: poets indeed are licensed persons, and regular traders in fiction since the world began; but when so grave a character as Pliny * assures us seriously, in a treatise upon natural philosophy, that the garlands of conquerors and the dung of victims at the Olympian games, when thrown into the Alpheus, reappeared at Syracuse in the fountain of Arethusa, it is impossible to forbear smiling at the philosophy of antiquity. The origin of the fable is difficult to be accounted for; perhaps it may be referred to the lively genius and imagination which distinguished the Greeks, joined to that natural attachment of the mind to whatever in a foreign country recals to its recollection the beauties of our native land. At Pisa in Arcadia, was a beautiful spring from which two streams issued, called Alpheus and Arethusa; the Ortygian colonists observing a submarine stream in the island, for that of Arethusa is found to flow under the small harbour where it branches out in different directions †, invented the fable, and applied the old names to this newly-discovered favourite; the

* "Quædam flumina odio maris ipsa subeunt vada, sicut Arethusa Fons Syracusanus, in quo reduntur jacta in Alpheum qui per Olympiam fluvius Peloponnesiaco littori infunditur." Nat. Hist. lib. ii. "Et illa miraculi plena, Arethusam Syracusis fimum redolere per Olympia, verique simile quoniam Alpheus in ea insula sub ima maria permeat." Lib. xxxi. This idea spread also in Peloponnesus itself, for the priests of the Goddess of Safety at Ægium in Achaia used to throw offerings from the altar into the sea, saying, they sent them to Arethusa in Sicily. Pausan. in Achaicis, xxiv. 2.

† The channels were seen by Fazzello, and the waters are always found discoloured after heavy rains, probably from the soil of Acradina, in which are the springs.

story grew, and Arethusa increased in fame with the celebrity of Syracuse *.

Proceeding along the walls to the extreme point of the island, I observed a strong fort, called 'Il Castello di Maniace,' which defends the entrance of the harbour opposite to Plemmyrium. An ancient castle stood on this spot, which the Saracens destroyed in the year 878, when Syracuse was conquered by these barbarians, and lost its title of capital of Sicily. In the year 1038, George Maniaces, a general of the Byzantine emperor, with the assistance of the Normans, dispossessed the Mahometans of their conquest, and built the present fortress: after a lapse of two years, the infidels returned in great force, and obliged the governor to evacuate, not only the fort, but the city; which he did by capitulation, reserving to himself the right of carrying off what christian relics he pleased. Happy ages! when the piety of a general could atone for the failure of his arms, and when the possession of a beatified mummy was deemed an equivalent for the loss of a capital! Maniaces, by virtue of his treaty, pounced upon the canonized bones of St. Eutychius, a worthy old bishop of Syracuse, and St. Clement, an honest Benedictine monk: but his greatest treasure was the body of Santa Lucia herself, the virgin martyr, and patroness of Syracuse, which he tore from the marble jaws of the tomb, and conveyed on board his ship; to make the party complete, he then sailed to Catania, where either by entreaties or by menaces, or both, he gained possession of its patroness Saint Agatha with her sacred veil, leaving thereby the unfortunate inhabitants exposed, without protection, to the next torrent which Mount Etna should vomit forth †. With this ines-

* It seems from Procopius (Vand. Rer. l. iii.) that in his time this fountain gave its name to the great harbour.

† This veil, which covered the body of the Saint at her martyrdom, is the only infallible remedy that has yet been discovered by the Catanians, against an eruption of lava: being spread out before the torrent, it has the power of arresting its progress, or turning its direction. This surprising quality was discovered exactly one year after her death, during a terrible eruption of Mount Etna, when the in-

timable cargo, he sailed to Constantinople, and laid his trophies at the feet of Theodora: the ultimate fate of the bishop and abbot is unknown; but the ladies have been recovered by their respective cities, and reinstated in their former honours*.

The castle, after its capture, was completed by the Saracens, and was a noble structure; but in 1704, the magazine being struck with lightning, 300 barrels of gunpowder exploded, and blew the greatest part of it into the air, destroying thirty-three Spaniards belonging to the garrison. Although a vast quantity of stones fell into the city, not a single inhabitant was injured; a miracle which was dutifully ascribed to the beatified Lucia, who, with outstretched wings, hovered over the island, and protected her devoted Syracusans: could their former patroness, the Diana Σωτεῖρα, have done more than this? The castle has been since repaired, but the only Saracenic part remaining, is a richly ornamented gateway, upon which stood formerly two brazen rams, of exquisite Greek workmanship: turning upon pivots, like vanes, they served to point out the direction of the wind, which, blowing into their mouths, is said to have imitated the natural bleating of the animal. These monuments of ancient art were considered of such value as to be accepted by the infamous Giovanni Ventimiglia, Marquess of Geraci, from Alphonso King of Arragon and Sicily, as a recompence for his base services to that monarch; he having decoyed twenty Syracusan nobles, suspected of treason, into this fortress, and treacherously murdered them all during the conviviality of an entertainment†. When this wretch died, the memorials of his infamy were placed upon his

habitants bethought themselves of such a defence. "Nec spes eos fefellit," says Guarnerius (Dissert. iii. de Martyr. S. Agathæ, p. 58), "Simul ac enim sanctum illud vexillum furenti flammæ opponebatur, immobilis ea consistebat, nec amplius grassabatur. O vim fidei! O summam amoris potentiam! O immotum divinarum promissionum robur!" According to the abovementioned historian, the speeches and actions of this young lady before the Roman governor Quintianus, like those of many other virgin martyrs, were very devoutly immodest.

* Saint Agatha was brought from Constantinople by two men named Geslibert and Goselin, and deposited in her native city, August 7th, 1127. These two benefactors were buried at Catania, and held in high estimation for their good services.—Vid. Guarnerii Dissert. iv. de translatione S. Agathæ, p. 66.

† This horrid transaction occurred A. D. 1448. Vide Fazzello, Dec. 1, lib. iv.

tomb; but his grandson having been executed for rebellion, they were removed to the royal palace at Palermo. In the vicinity of this castle, excavations having been made, some foundations were discovered, belonging probably to those stupendous granaries mentioned by Livy*, which, together with the admirable walls and towers, with which Dionysius surrounded the island, and the impregnable fortress which he built upon the isthmus, rendered Ortygia so strong, that its possessor was always master of Syracuse, however the rest of the city, with its immense population, might be disposed of: by its means the elder Dionysius preserved his authority till his death; and even his weak, tyrannical son and successor held it for a long time in perfect security, though each other quarter of the city was in possession of a separate enemy. Marcellus himself, having subdued Acradina, Tycha and Neapolis, was indebted to treachery for the reduction of the island; and so conscious was that great commander of its natural and artificial strength, that he would allow no Syracusan citizen to dwell within its walls†.

From the Castello di Maniace, I followed the course of the ramparts, computed at about two miles in circuit, observing that they still retain near the base considerable remains of the old Greek masonry, formed of immense blocks, and closely joined without cement: I also remarked several ancient wells, cut in the rock, between the fortifications and the sea. When I returned to the hotel, after this excursion, I felt very unwell, and retired to bed with all the symptoms of an approaching fever: by proper precautions, however, and an immediate application of the remedies with which a medical friend in England had kindly supplied me, I kept off this enemy, and in two days was able to proceed with my companion in our researches. Our first care, after my

* Locus saxo quadrato septus atque arcis in modum emunitus, l. xxiv.

† "Ille vir clarissimus summusque Imperator M. Marcellus cujus virtute captæ misericordiaque conservatæ sunt Syracusæ, habitare in eâ parte urbis, quæ Insula est, Syracusanum neminem voluit." Cic. Act. in Ver. ii. l. v.

convalescence, was to wait upon that worthy ecclesiastic and oracular antiquarian of Syracuse, D. Giuseppe Capodieci, chaplain of the Military Hospital, arcadian of Rome, member of the Society *del Buon Gusto* of Palermo, secretary and sub-conservator of the antiquities of the Val Demoni and Val di Noto, &c. &c. &c. After several fruitless attempts, we succeeded in gaining an audience of this dignified antiquarian, whom we found immersed in a multiplicity of duties, not the least of which was that of embodying the history of his native city in forty-four volumes folio! There was something indescribably curious in his appearance, seated like the very genius of antiquarian lore, in his sanctum-sanctorum, clothed in a flowered dressing-gown, with a night-cap on his head, and surrounded by an interminable chaos of broken vases, monumental tablets, ancient weapons, old books, and skins of reptiles. The old gentleman, who, from long poring over antiquities, had contracted some portion of their rust, received us with ceremonious gravity; and in his conversation alluded chiefly to the multiplicity and importance of his own occupations: continuing to write in a large folio which lay open before him, he informed us, that this was but one out of forty-four volumes which he intended to compose upon the Antiquities of Syracuse; and when time had been given us to digest this pithy fact, he raised his eyes to the ceiling, and waving both his hands up and down, as if impressed with the magnitude of the design, exclaimed several times, in a ludicrous tone of voice and elevation of eyebrow, "Quaranta quattro tomi, Signori, quaranta quattro tomi*!" We found some difficulty in withstanding such a temptation of our risible faculties: but as I found our laborious compiler endeavouring to exhaust the history of this greatest and most beautiful of Grecian cities, with a very slender knowledge of the ancient languages, I assisted him in translating a few inscriptions; nor did Mr. Parker please him less by purchasing some antique lamps and pateræ, at a very handsome price. In the good humour thus produced, he promised to lay aside the forty-

* "Forty-four volumes, Sirs, forty-four volumes!."

four volumes for one morning, and conduct us through the public library and museum. Accordingly, next day he made his appearance at the Leon d'oro, with all his decorations of silver keys, golden crosses, and other badges of distinction.

In slow and solemn state we thence proceeded to the library, the doors of which, even though it was a festival, flew open at his approach. The room is very handsome, but its finely painted ceiling is half obliterated by the damp: it possesses few MSS. but is well stored with a choice collection of classics: at the head of the staircase lies a broken monument, curious only from containing the name of Hierocles, father of Hiero II., but valuable from its having allayed a stormy controversy about this important fact amongst the antiquarians of modern Syracuse.

From the library we adjourned to the museum, not without signs of great satisfaction from our conductor, who considers that as the arena upon which his prowess is most advantageously displayed: he looks upon it in the light of a foster-child, and spends in it all the time he can spare from his multifarious occupations: it certainly bore evident marks of his arranging hand, for the same lucid order ran through it which was so conspicuous in his own repository of arts. In the strange mixture of things, ancient and modern, sacred and profane, our eyes were chiefly attracted by an exquisite torso of Venus, discovered in the year 1804 by the Cavaliere Landolina, whilst he was excavating some baths in Acradina. The goddess appears in the act of ascending from the bath, and drawing gracefully with her left hand the folding drapery around her body: the head and right arm are unfortunately broken, but the position of the latter was evidently across the bosom: her emblems, a dolphin and a concha marina, appear sculptured upon the pedestal. The height of this statue, which is of the finest Parian marble, was six feet, and the beauty of its design, the delicacy of its attitude, the roundness and voluptuous grace of its limbs, and its high finish, mark it as one of the first order, as a fine example of that beau ideal in which the Greeks excelled every other nation, when they col-

lected and concentrated in one object those charms which are found diffused over the species, elevating and adorning even the laws of Nature herself. Our antiquarian guide expatiated largely upon this torso: he had formed a decided opinion in his own mind, from which no arguments could turn him, that it was the identical statue mentioned in Athenæus (lib. xii.) as dedicated to Venus, surnamed Callipyges*, from the agreeable adventure of the two Syracusan damsels there related: but the ancient sculptors, when they represented the goddess under this title, always turned the head gracefully behind, as if to indicate the origin of the appellation. There is a greater chance of this being the statue upon which Theocritus composed one of his most beautiful epigrams, the statue of Venus Urania, dedicated by the chaste Chrysogona†.

Another monument, discovered by the Cavaliere Landolina, is a statue of Esculapius, about three feet and a half high, more antique than the Venus, but inferior to it in sculpture, though the drapery is excellent. The right arm alone is broken; but as part of the club remains, with the tail of an entwined serpent, and on the pedestal appears an hemisphere, covered by a reticulated veil representing the cortina spread over the oracular tripod, this statue has offered no bone for connoisseurs to pick, but is decided at once to be a genuine son of Apollo. A mutilated image of the beardless father himself, imberbis Apollo‡, [though the son, by some unaccountable freak, has this ornament of the

* Καὶ Καλλιπύγῳ θύουσι· Συρακόσιοι ἢ Νίκανδρος ὁ ποιητὴς καλλίγλουτόν πω κέκληκεν. Cl. Alex. V. II. p. 33. Havercamp thinks that some of the beautiful heads which decorate the Syracusan coins, and are thought to represent Arethusa, are to be rather attributed to this goddess, on account of the Polypus on the reverse, which animal was peculiarly dedicated to Venus: for the reason see Oppian. lib. Halieut. I. 536.

† Vide Theoc. Epig. v.

‡ Dionysius I., whose wit at least equalled his tyranny, when in want of money, is said to have carried off a magnificent golden beard from the Epidaurian Esculapius, under plea of this unequal distribution between the father and son. The statue mentioned in the text was discovered in a bath, where, indeed, it would be most appropriately placed. The bath of Hippias, described by Lucian, was similarly adorned. Καὶ εἰκόνες ἐν ἀντῷ λίθου λευκοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐργασίας, ἡ μὲν Ὑγείας ἡ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. Hippias, § 5.

face a foot in length,] lies neglected on the floor of the museum, by the side of a goddess of plenty: they were discovered, with five others, now lost, on the site of Hiero's palace, which, as it is supposed, they once adorned: these, together with a colossal head, found near the same spot, and thought to have belonged to a statue of "Jupiter the Deliverer," erected by the Syracusan people after the expulsion of Thrasybulus*, are the only fragments in the museum (for there is not one entire statue) which are worthy of notice. Extensive excavations, promoted either by spirited individuals, or by a liberal and enlightened government, would probably bring to light treasures of ancient art sufficient to extort for this museum the admiration of Europe. Syracuse, like other Grecian cities, abounded in baths, which were repositories of the choicest sculpture; not one of these has hitherto been opened without amply † repaying the expense and trouble of excavation.

At the end of the room stand two fine marble sarcophagi, the largest of which measures seven feet and a half in length, by three feet three inches in breadth: it was found in the year 1616, near the site of the Olympiæum; it contained a human skeleton with a fine terra-cotta lamp, and on the outside, at each corner of the lid, stood a beautiful alabaster vase, with handles in the shape of lions; two of these vases were tainted with smoke and full of ashes, but they were all unfortunately broken by the discoverer, an ignorant peasant, in his eager expectation of finding a treasure within.

Suspended on the walls are some old and curious specimens of Greek painting, works of the middle ages, whilst this art was more

* It was inscribed ΔΙΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΩι, and the people established an annual festival, called the Eleutheria, binding themselves by a vow to sacrifice each year 450 bulls to Jupiter the Deliverer (Diod. Sic. l. vi. and xii.)—See Torremuzzæ, Sicil. Numis. Vet. Tab. lxx. 1, 2.

† One would rejoice to see this museum adorned by the statue of the glorious Gelo, which was alone permitted to rest upon its pedestal by an infuriated Syracusan populace after the expulsion of Dionysius II.: they had good taste and good feeling enough to spare this memorial of a brave and virtuous prince in their indiscriminate rage against their other kings and tyrants. What different treatment did Henri IV. receive from the French revolutionists!

a labour of the hand than of the mind; when it was satisfied to copy unmeaning features and inflexible attitudes without aiming at sentiment or expression, and when the representation, like the monochromatic style of the ancients, was unassisted by a gradation of shade and perspective colouring. Some of the figures are raised like embossed work, and relieved with ornaments of gold: we had scarcely time to examine these early attempts in the graphic art, when our guide, who had been restless and uneasy for some time, hurried us on towards the class of monumental inscriptions, which we soon discovered to be the fruit of his own indefatigable researches amongst the tombs. They have been chiefly collected from the various catacombs, and may all be referred to the times of the Lower Empire: few are worth notice, except as they tend to shew the alterations and corruptions of the language in ages succeeding the prosperity of Syracuse. I copied two or three which partake of that simplicity, modesty, and brevity, which shine so conspicuous in the epitaphial language of the Greeks, and are so much more affecting than the laboured strains of modern panegyric*.

From a pedestal which had once supported a statue I traced the following inscription, for the elevated sentiments of gratitude which it records, and the elegance with which they are expressed.

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* Θ. Χ.
ΝΕΘΑΡΙΟΝ.ΓΑΥΚΥ.
ΧΑΙΡΕ.
ΘΑΝΕΙΝΠΕΠΡΩΤΑΙ.

ΧΡΥϹΗϹ.
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ϰΕΙΤΑΙ.
ΟΑΙΓΗΚΟΝΙϹ.

Θ. Χ.
ΕΥΦΡΟϹΥΝΗ.
ΧΡΗϹΤΗ.ΚΑΙ.ΑΜΕΜΠΤΟϹ.
ΕΖΗϹΕΝ.ΕΤΗ.Μ.

ΛΕΟϹΘΕΝΗϹ.
ΛΕΠΙΔΟϹ.ΚΑΙ.ΕΡΑϹΜΙΟϹ.
ΕΖΗϹΕΝ.ΕΤΗ.Κ.
ΜΗΝ. Δ. ΗΜΕΡ. Η.

PERPENNAE ROMANO
VICONSPQSYRAC*
ANEPIOYΠΡΑΠΙΔΕCCI
CYPHKOCIΩNTOΔEACTY
EKKAMATΩNANEΠΗΝΕΥCE
KAIEIΔENONIATOCΩPHN
TOYNEKAΛΑΙΝΕΗΝΜΕΝ
ANECTHCANΘOIAPICTOI
EIKONATHCCOΦIHCΔE
KAIENCTHΘECCINEXOY
CIN

TO PERPENNA, THE ROMAN, OF CONSULAR DIGNITY,
THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF SYRACUSE.

A man by whose wise counsels this city of the Syracusans hath breathed from its labours, and seen the hour of repose. For these services the best of its citizens have erected to him an image of marble, but they preserve that of his wisdom in their hearts.

History is silent respecting the eminent character recorded in this inscription: one of the most remarkable things to be observed in it is a total change of the Syracusan dialect†, from its ancient broad Doric to the Ionic forms; which, together with the similarity of the letters to those upon the monumental tablets, inclines me to refer it to the times of the Eastern Empire, when the language of Syracuse probably experienced a second change from the Latin of its Roman conquerors to the Byzantine Greek. That Latin became at last the vernacular tongue at Syracuse, after the Roman conquest, though Verres was obliged to employ an interpreter‡, and Cicero to speak Greek in the Syracusan senate, appears evident§ not only from the commencement of this and other bilingual inscriptions, but from some others which I observed in

* This inscription was so illegible, that I was obliged to correct it from two other copies. I can scarcely now reconcile the S.P.Q.SYRAC. with the OIAPICTOI in a succeeding line. It may be, perhaps, that the senate overlooked the people; a case not entirely without a parallel in those times.

† Πελοπονναστὶ λαλεῦμες.

Δωρίσδεν δ'ἔξεστι, δοκῶ, τοῖς Δωριέεσσι, says the Syracusan woman in Theocritus, when reviled by an Alexandrian for the broadness of her dialect.

‡ Aulus Valentius was the name of this wretch: Quo iste interprete (says Cicero) non ad linguam Græcam sed ad furta et flagitia uti solebat. Act. ii. in Ver. l. iii. 37.

§ Probably this change was completely effected when Augustus planted a Roman colony at Syracuse, about 20 years before the Christian era.

the museum where Latin words are inscribed in Greek characters, where Greek and Latin words are indiscriminately mingled together, and where even the letters of each alphabet are used in the same word: this is the very confusion one would naturally expect in the case of such an alteration, before the people had entirely forgotten one language or learned the other.

Our attention was lastly engaged by the fine collection of Terra-cotta vases which this Museum contains, Syracuse being considered by Pausanias superior to all nations in the Ceramic art, except Bœotia and Rhodes. Many of the subjects represented upon the pateræ and lamps were extremely elegant, some very ludicrous, and others indescribably indecent: nothing in the character of the ancients appears more extraordinary than that coarseness of ideas which could tolerate the public representation of such images, or listen with complacency to the gross ribaldry and obscene jests of their comedians; so inconsistent does it seem with that refined taste which has left us such examples of literature and the arts: two causes seem to have co-operated mainly in the production and toleration of such libidinous depravity; first, that contempt of women, that neglect of their education, and that stupid insensibility to the charms of female society, which disgraced the ancient world; secondly, the constant recurrence of gross and scandalous ceremonies in a religion which was totally void of that purifying principle which can reach the heart and controul the imagination. Yet it is the vapid philosophy of such a religion, that some persons of the present day are anxious to recommend in preference to the pure doctrines of the Christian revelation.

The Cavaliere Landolina possesses the greatest curiosity amongst the remnants of Syracusan pottery; it is the handle of a vase inscribed with the name of the celebrated Agathocles. That extraordinary man, adorned by his talents as much as he was disgraced by his vices, was the son of a potter, named Carcinus, a native of Himera, whom Timoleon enrolled in the number of his new Syracusan citizens: at an early age he left the occupation of his father, and speedily advanced

himself by his talents and spirit of chivalrous enterprise to the throne of Syracuse; thence he extended his influence over the greatest part of Sicily, and reduced the empire of its inveterate enemy to the very extremity of danger. With the intrepidity of genius he set the first example of carrying war into the heart of Libya, whilst a strong Carthaginian army was at the gates of his own capital; and, but for domestic treachery, he would probably have met with that success which attended his more fortunate imitator, the great Scipio Africanus*: like many other usurpers, he lost the crown which his valour and genius had won, by the subsequent rashness and tyranny of his conduct. Our antiquarian friend assured us, I forget upon what authority, perhaps his own, that the courtiers of Agathocles very much affected the use of these earthen vessels in preference to those of gold or silver, out of compliment to their sovereign. If so, time has made a revolution in the art of flattery as in other arts: I fancy there are but few courtiers of the present day who would endeavour to conciliate their master's favour by reminding him of his original obscurity†.

Having finished our survey of these curiosities, we parted with the greatest, in the person of our reverend Cicerone, at the door of the museum: he with solemn step and slow, proceeded to his historical laboratory, and we adjourned to dinner at the Leon d'oro, taking no other excursion during the day except a sail in the great harbour, to enjoy the delicious evening breeze.

We proceeded under the city walls to the Occhio di Zilica, or pseudo-Alpheus, where we found the water bubbling up very impetuously, more cold and less salt, than it is at a distance from the spot: from thence we glided along that part of the shore which seems in ancient times to have been a fine public promenade, and which was ap-

* Scipio seems to have intimated his obligation in this respect to the Sicilian tyrant, when upon being asked what men, in his opinion, united the powers of intellect and courage in the most eminent degree, he replied, Agathocles and Dionysius of Syracuse.—Polyb. xv. c. 35.

† We do, however, learn from Plutarch, in his apophthegms, that it was the custom of this prince himself to mix earthen vases together with those of gold at his entertainments, as a lesson to the younger guests, and an incitement to industry and valour.

propriated by Verres as the scene of his infamous debaucheries. Here, upon this shore, selected on account of the beauty of its climate (for at Syracuse the sun was said never to be obscured entirely during any one day of the year by clouds or tempest *) he was accustomed to pitch his splendid tent, denying access to all except the companions or the pandars of his lust, or his youthful son, who was thus early initiated into his father's vices. "Here," says the indignant orator, "whilst the fleets passed out of the Syracusan harbour, stood a prætor of the Roman people dressed in sandals, with a purple cloak, and a tunic reaching to his ankles, reclining upon a wretched harlot †."

Arrived at the entrance of the port, the vast expanse of the Mediterranean opened finely on our view, with the bold projection of the Plemmyrian promontory: opposite, on the Syracusan side, stood formerly a temple of the Olympian Juno. Here it was that the Syracusans, by the advice of their illustrious countryman Hermocrates, blockaded the Athenian fleet by throwing chains over a line of barks from the extremity of the island to Plemmyrium, a distance of one mile. Fancy eagerly retraced the various scenes which occurred in that last and memorable conflict upon this spot ‡; the gloomy silence of the forlorn Athenians on one side, cut off from every hope of escape, tormented by the shame of recent defeat, the thoughts of home, and the pledges of affection there which they were destined never to behold again: on the other, the ardent courage of the Syracusans burning for revenge upon their unprovoked assailants and animated at the sight of parents, wives, and children, by whom the shores of Ortygia were lined. In the midst Nicias rising above himself, reproving some, encouraging others, exhorting all, shewing an example of undaunted bravery, and

* Urbem Syracusas elegerat cujus hic situs atque hæc natura esse loci cœlique dicitur, ut nullus unquam dies tum magnâ turbulentâque tempestate fuerit, quin aliquo tempore ejus diei Solem homines viderent. Cic. Act. in Ver. ii. l. v.

† Cic. Act. in Ver. ii. l. v.

‡ In hoc portu (says Cicero) Atheniensium nobilitatis imperii gloriæ naufragium fractum existimatur. Act. ii. in Ver. l. v.

shining far more bright in misfortune than success—then the shock and tumult of battle—the shouts of the victors—the terror and despair of the vanquished* aggressors. These incidents, so admirably portrayed by the pen of Thucydides, passed rapidly in succession across the mind: but in the midst even of such grand historical remembrances, the great harbour of Syracuse acquired additional interest in our eyes as Englishmen, from its association with one of our most brilliant naval victories. It afforded a rendezvous to the British fleet, and that prompt supply of provisions, which enabled the Hero of the Nile to meet the French squadron upon the coast of Alexandria. With certain feelings of exultation, inspired by that glorious event, we returned to our hotel, and arose early in the morning, to view the remaining objects of curiosity in Ortygia.

Our first steps were bent towards the Piazza, or principal square, which concentrates within itself all the good buildings of modern Syracuse: it is principally adorned by the episcopal palace and seminary, by the palace of the Barone di Bosco, and by the western façade of the cathedral, which is dedicated to the 'Madonna delle colonne,' or 'our Lady of the columns,' from the circumstance of its enclosing within its walls the ancient celebrated temple of Minerva, with twenty-four columns of the peristyle and posticum. The height of these columns, composed of immense blocks of stone, equals, 28 feet 7 inches, the diameter being 6 feet 6 inches, excepting in the case of two, which occupied the space between the antæ or pilasters of the posticum, and which now stand at the commencement of the middle aisle of the church: these are superior in height and breadth, resting upon a species of pedestal and plinth, a remarkable singularity, unobserved, I believe, in any other ancient Doric temple. The number of columns in flank was thirteen, those in front six; they were, as it is technically termed,

* The event of this expedition seemed to justify an observation of the sage Hermocrates, which he made to cheer his fellow citizens, viz. "that few large armaments either of Greeks or barbarians, sent out upon remote expeditions, ever returned successful;" a remark well worth consideration.

pycnostyle; that is, the breadth of an intercolumniation was very small in proportion to the diameter of the pillars. The nave of the modern church is formed out of the ancient cella, the walls of which have been perforated to admit of passages into the side aisles, which consist of the N. and S. porticoes of the peristyle: thus the breadth of the temple can be accurately determined *; the length not so easily, as the pillars of the E. and W. porticoes are wanting. Cicero is diffuse in his description of the gorgeous magnificence of this edifice, which, spared by the generosity and piety of Marcellus †, was stript to its bare walls by the cupidity of Verres ‡. Its doors, according to the Roman orator, were the theme of universal eulogy: there the labours of Hercules were curiously wrought in ivory, the corners of each separate pannel being adorned with large golden bosses of exquisite workmanship, whilst a Medusa's head, formed of the same rich material, shone above the portal, surrounded with its bristling snakes §. The interior walls were covered with noble paintings, amongst which was an equestrian combat of King Agathocles, considered one of the rarest works of Syracusan skill: seven-and-twenty more admirable pictures did the infamous prætor carry off from this sanctuary, amongst which were many portraits of Sicilian kings and tyrants, that delighted the spectators not more by their wonderful execution than by their striking resemblance to the originals ‖. Upon the exterior summit of the roof,

* The breadth of each side-aisle is seventeen feet, and that of the nave thirty-two, making the whole breadth of the temple = sixty-six.

† It is pleasant to be able to applaud the conduct of an enemy. I observed with satisfaction at Seville, that Marshal Soult had in like manner spared its glorious cathedral from plunder, and left undisturbed upon its walls the chef d'œuvres of the inimitable Murillo.

‡ "Omnia præter tectum et parietes abstulit." (Act. ii. l. v.)

§ Cic. Act. in Ver. ii. l. iv. 55.—See also Pausan. l. v. c. 10.

‖ In this temple were preserved the Hastæ Gramineæ mentioned by Cicero, which have so puzzled the editors of that author. Paulus Manutius altered the text, and substituted 'fraxineæ,' induced probably by the well known line of Ovid, "Et coryli fragiles et fraxinus utilis hastis;" but in fact there seems no reason to alter the text at all. A multitude of authors tell us that Mars was by many nations even worshipped under the form of a spear; pro diis immortalibus veteres hastas coluere, says Justin, lib. xliii. c. 3. Probably therefore these spears were objects of ancient veneration, formed of grass twisted into the shape of the weapon—for which material we may find a reason given by Servius in Æn. i. 296.

probably that of the eastern pediment*, was elevated an enormous shield consecrated to Minerva, which was visible to a great distance, especially by the reflection of the solar rays: Athenæus † mentions a custom which prevailed among the Syracusan sailors, to secure a safe return, of carrying, when they left the port, ashes from an altar near the temple of Juno at the extremity of the island ‡, in a chalice, which with flowers, honey, frankincense, and other aromatics, they cast into the sea as soon as this shield was on the point of vanishing from the view. According to tradition Archimedes drew an equinoctial line in this temple, of which some traces were pointed out to us at the west end. Mirabella says, that in 1582, the commissioners appointed by Pope Gregory for the correction of the calendar, came to Syracuse for the purpose of examining it.

This edifice was first converted into a christian church in the seventh century, and consecrated by Zosimus, Bishop of Syracuse: the name of this prelate appears inscribed upon a fine antique urn which was brought from the catacombs, and is now used as a baptismal font. A lofty tower was soon after added, which on Easter-day 1100, during the celebration of high mass, fell down by the shock of a tremendous earthquake, carrying with it the roof, and crushing the whole congregation to atoms under the ruins:—"Obtritum *vulgi* perit omne cadaver." The priest alone with his two officiating deacons escaped, being saved from the common destruction by the arched canopy over the great altar. The columns of the ancient temple, thrown out of the perpendicular, in some instances quite off their bases, and supported only by the modern wall, shew what it has suffered from the violence of these convulsions. It received much damage from that terrible

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"Mars appellatus est Gradivus a gradiendo in bello—sive a vibratione hastæ—vel ut alii dicunt quia a Gramine sit ortus." Vid. Ovid. Fast. v. 229. & Fest. in Etymo. Gradivi.

* On the summit as well as at the angles at the base of the pediment in Grecian temples, stood a pedestal, on which was placed a statue or a vase, or some such ornament.

† Lib. xi. 462.

‡ Ἐπ' ἄκρᾳ τῇ νήσῳ, πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἱερῷ, ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους. p. 462.

earthquake of 1693, which buried an immense number of Syracusans under the ruins of their houses, and almost totally destroyed the fine city of Catania. The present façade was begun in 1728, and finished in 1754: it has an imposing effect, though its broken pediments, heavy cornices, and prodigality of ornament, make us regret that beautiful symmetry, and majestic simplicity which distinguished the original fabric. The greatest errors of modern architects seem to have arisen from an honourable source, indeed, the pride of emulation: disdaining to copy the ancients, they are naturally ambitious to invent: unfortunately invention seems exhausted in this noble art; endeavours therefore are made to obtain by ornament and disunion of parts, that which others effected by grandeur of design and unity of plan: hence inconsistencies like those of the painter or the poet "qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam."

From the fane of Minerva we directed our course to a quarter of the town called Resalibra, at no great distance from the fortifications, where we saw the fragments of two fine Doric columns in a dwelling house upon the site of Diana's ancient temple. Their proportions were even larger than those of Minerva. The temple which they once supported was probably the most ancient work of Grecian architecture in Syracuse, erected in honour of that goddess who presided over the island, and from whom it received its name*; she was adored under the titles of ΛΥΗ, 'Lya,' and ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ, "the Protectress †,' which latter appears upon those beautiful Syracusan medals adorned with her head, which reached the very acmé of numismatic excellence. It was during the celebration of Diana's festival, called Canephoria and the con-

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* Ὀρτυγίαν
Ποταμίας ἕδος Ἀρτέμιδος. Pind. P. ii.
Δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος
Δαλου κασιγνήτα. Nem. i.

† To add the greatest possible insolence to the most flagrant violation of justice, the infamous Verres mocked the unfortunate Syracusans by assuming this title to himself; and Cicero saw several inscriptions at Syracuse, in which this monster was designated ΣΩΤΗΡ, 'The Preserver.'

sequent ebriety of the citizens, that Marcellus took the city by escalade.

Near this temple stood the celebrated baths of Daphne, so named, not from the bucolic poet Daphnis, but from the laurel grove, sacred to Diana, which grew in the vicinity: the spot is now called Bagnara, where many fine shafts of columns and fragments of mosaic have been discovered. In this bagnio the Emperor Constans is said to have been murdered by a private soldier named Andrea, at the instigation of Magnentius.

Being near the isthmus, we took this opportunity of inspecting the strong lines by which it is fortified: the art with which they are constructed, the excellence of their masonry, and the entrance of the sea five times, in so short a space, from one harbour to the other*, would render them nearly impregnable, were they not commanded by the high ground of Acradina, by means of which the Spaniards actually gained possession of the island in the year 1735.

Upon this site stood the famous palace of Dionysius, defended on the land side by a strong fortress, called, from the number of its gates, Pentapyla†; adjoining were the spacious gardens of the tyrant, full of noble statues, where the son erected a magnificent mausoleum to receive the ashes of his father‡. To render his fortress complete, Dionysius constructed within it a mint, a prison, a magazine of arms furnished with accoutrements for 70,000 men, with superb porticoes for the purpose of exercise or repose during the violence of the heat: to

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* In the time of Cicero it appears that only one channel connected the two ports. "Eorum conjunctione pars oppidi, quæ appellatur insula, mari disjuncta angusto, ponte rursus adjungitur et continetur." Thucydides says Ortygia was not an island in his days, although it was so originally: perhaps it was never more than a peninsula, for the Greeks applied the term *νήσος* to a peninsula as well as an island, of which Peloponnesus is an example.

† Ἦν δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκροπόλιν καὶ τὰ πεντάπυλα Διονυσίου κατασκευάσαντος ἡλιοτρόπιον καταφανὲς καὶ ὑψηλόν. From the sun-dial here mentioned, Dion harangued the populace when he came with Megacles to attempt the liberation of the Syracusans from the tyranny of Dionysius II. Plut. in vit. Dionis.

‡ Near the royal gate of the fortress, which seems to have been so called from this circumstance. Diod. Sic. l. xv. p. 496.

secure the command by sea, he enclosed within its walls the dock of the small harbour*, in which he kept seventy triremes always equipped for immediate service. This citadel, so admirably planned and executed, was surrendered by that weak and contemptible tyrant, Dionysius II., to the great Timoleon. Then it was that the people, being called together by proclamation, razed to the ground this last retreat of despotism, and broke in pieces the statues of all their former tyrants, except that of the warlike and patriotic Gelo. In process of time a second regal palace, more splendid than the first, arose out of its ruins, under the auspices of Hiero II.†. This became the residence of the Roman prætors and proconsuls‡, the scene of their infamous debauchery, and the receptacle of their plunder: here Verres erected a workshop, and collected a vast multitude of artificers, superintending daily for eight months the manufacture of golden vases, in the fabrication of which he barbarously melted down quantities of richly embossed plate, with many other rare and precious ornaments, plundered from individuals, or torn from the public buildings. This palace, or prætorium, falling into decay, was replaced by a strong Saracenic fortress, called Il Castello di Mahrietto, which also being destroyed in the disastrous times that followed, the present lines were constructed by the Emperor Charles V. Fazzello, the Sicilian historian, was at that time in Syracuse, and being present when the isthmus was cut through, saw a copious stream of fresh water burst forth like a river: part of a leaden aqueduct also was discovered, inscribed with the words TI. CL. CÆ. AUG. GERM.

We had now seen every thing worthy of particular attention in the island; we therefore prepared to visit the remaining and more exten-

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* This seems to have been the principal dock in the time of the Athenian invasion: ἐκ τῆ ἑλάσσονος (λιμένος) ἧ ἦν καὶ τὸ νεώριον αὐτοῖς. Thucyd. l. vii. p. 498.

† Which Pindar calls αφνειὰν
Μακαρίαν Ἱέρωνος ἑστίαν·

‡ Cicero calls it "Domus Prætoria quæ Regis Hieronis fuit."

sive parts of ancient Syracuse, not as foreigners formerly perambulated them, with an able and intelligent mystagogos at their side, but under the blind guidance of a modern cicerone, from whom, if you are rash enough to demand information, you are nearly certain to be misled.

In the conclusion of this chapter, perhaps a few historical remarks may not be out of place. Syracuse, whose name was originally derived from the marsh Syraco in its vicinity*, was anciently termed Tetrapolis†, which signifies a city composed of four distinct and separate quarters: thus a capital, like our own, which comprises the cities of London and Westminster, with the borough of Southwark, might be denominated Tripolis. Ortygia, or the island, received inhabitants in very early ages of the world, from Egypt and Phœnicia: these were driven out by the Siculi, a southern tribe of Italy, who ceded it in their turn to a Corinthian colony, led by Archias, one of the descendants of Hercules, in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad: by them it was named Ortygia, or Quail-Island, and dedicated to Diana, having before been called Omothermon. The buildings soon extended themselves over the isthmus, and Acradina became the most populous and splendid quarter of the whole‡. Near the common boundary of these portions, an altar of Concord was erected. Tycha soon afterwards was added to the city, and last of all, Neapolis, as its name imports. When Dionysius I. enclosed Epipolæ within the circuit of the walls, the whole was rendered perfect and complete: hence Strabo calls the city Pentapolis§, though it is certain that the last mentioned district was never

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* Vid. Steph. Byzant. in voce. It is now called Il Pantano, and is on the right bank of the Anapus, not far from the great port.

† "Ea tanta est urbs," says Cicero, "ut ex quatuor urbibus constari dicatur." Ausonius (de Cl. Urbibus Ep. xi.) calls it "quadruplices Syracusas." My friend Mr. Parker possesses an exquisite gold coin of Syracuse, upon the reverse of which are four indentations, referring to the four quarters of the ancient city; the four fish also, which, upon many Syracusan coins, surround the head of Arethusa, mark the same peculiarity.—See also Parutæ Tab. l. v. n. 185.

‡ Ακραδινήν δ κράτιστον ἔδοκει καὶ ἀξραυστότατον ὑπάρχειν τῆς Συρακουσίων μέρος πολέως· (Plut. in vitâ Timol.) The name is supposed to be derived ἀπὸ τῆς ακράδος, 'The wild pear-tree,' which probably abounded on its site.

§ Πεντάπολις ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν, ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σαδίων ἔχουσα τὸ τεῖχος. Strabo. l. vi. p. 186.

occupied by habitations. The perimeter of the walls was 180 stadia, or twenty-two miles, enclosing, perhaps, the largest city which then existed in the world; for Thucydides, in treating of the Athenian invasion, long before that unexampled æra of peace and prosperity which it enjoyed under Dionysius, acknowledges it equal in size to Athens*; and in the time of Cicero it was universally allowed to be the greatest and most beautiful of all the Grecian cities†: neither is there an example upon record of a state, so circumscribed in territory, extending its influence and renown so far, as Syracuse,

Μεγαλοπόλιες Συρά-
κουσαι, βαθυπολεμον
Τέμενος Αρεος, ἀνδρῶν
Ἵππων τε σιδαροχαρμῶν
Δαιμόνιαι τροφάι.

the Lacedæmon, and at the same time the Athens of Magna Græcia, equal to the former in military fame, to the latter in naval pre-eminence, and to both in its influence over the councils and enterprises of dependant states. To enter at large into a description of its laws and polity, which excited the admiration of Aristotle, to detail the produce of its agriculture manufactures and commerce, sources of that vast influx of wealth which soon displayed itself in the luxury of the citizens, the grandeur of their villas, the superabundant population‡,

* Πόλιν ἁδὲν ἐλάσσονα ἀυτήν τε καθ' ἀυτὴν τῶν Αθηνῶν, lib. vii.

† Urbem Syracusas maximam esse Græcarum urbium pulcherrimamque omnium sæpe audistis. Cic. Act. ii. in Ver. lib. iv.

‡ I see no reason to join with classical sceptics in doubting the vast population of this and other ancient cities. From a survey of the ground upon which ancient Syracuse was built, it appeared to me quite as extensive as the present site of London: its population was probably superior; for the houses of the ancients being very inferior in magnitude to those of the moderns, would permit more families to occupy an equal space of ground, whilst their numerous domestic slaves were crowded into an inconceivably small compass. With regard to their means of support, we may observe, that the diet of their common people was much more simple and moderate than ours, their territory infinitely more fruitful, and any deficiencies easily supplied by their extensive commerce with Rhodes, Egypt, and Carthage. To come to some conclusion upon the specific number: Diodorus relates a fact, with all the appearance of veracity, that Dionysius induced 60,000 Syracusan citizens to assist him in constructing the walls of Epipolæ, independent of a great multitude who were employed in cutting and drawing the stone. Let us suppose, therefore, that he took on an average one out of every family, and supposing each family to

and the colonies which it planted*, to sketch out that glory which its victories in the great games of Greece, celebrated by the Theban bard in his sublimest strains, spread over it, as well as that which it concentrated around itself by its patronage of the fine arts, the productions of which first mollified the rude habits, and refined the taste of its Roman conquerors†; to enumerate half the splendid talents and noble qualities of the great men to whom it gave birth; of Philistus, an historian whom Cicero compares with Thucydides himself; Theocritus, around whose bust the ivy chaplet still hangs with unfaded verdure; Archimedes, that Briareus in geometry, whose memory will last as long as the world which he threatened to move; Hermocrates, whose patriotic valour might dispute the palm with a Miltiades or Aristides; with the brave and politic Dionysius, whom Scipio Africanus confessed to have been the greatest general of his age: finally, to investigate the resources and generous emulation of this mighty city, which prompted the illustrious Gelo, the conqueror of the Carthaginians, to offer 20,000 heavy-armed troops, 4,000 cavalry and slingers, and 200 ships of war, with provisions for the whole armament destined by the Grecian states against the Persian monarch, upon condition that he were nominated to its command; or which enabled Hiero, after the defeat at Thrasymene, to furnish his allies in their misfortunes with 300,000 modii of wheat, 200,000 of barley, and a golden statue of Victory, 300lbs. in weight, as well as to assist with

consist of five members, this will bring the whole number of citizens to 300,000. Now, whosoever is well acquainted with the manners and customs of antiquity, as described by the best historians, will not think it too much if we quadruple that number, to comprise all the sojourners and slaves residing within the walls.

* I find the excellence of its wine, oil, cheese, and pork; of its pottery; of its ornaments in gold and silver, and its embroidery, particularly noticed by ancient authors. The "Syracusana mensa," was eminent even amongst the "Siculas dapes." The chief colonies it planted were Acræ A. C. 665, Casmenæ A. C. 645, and Camarina A. C. 600.

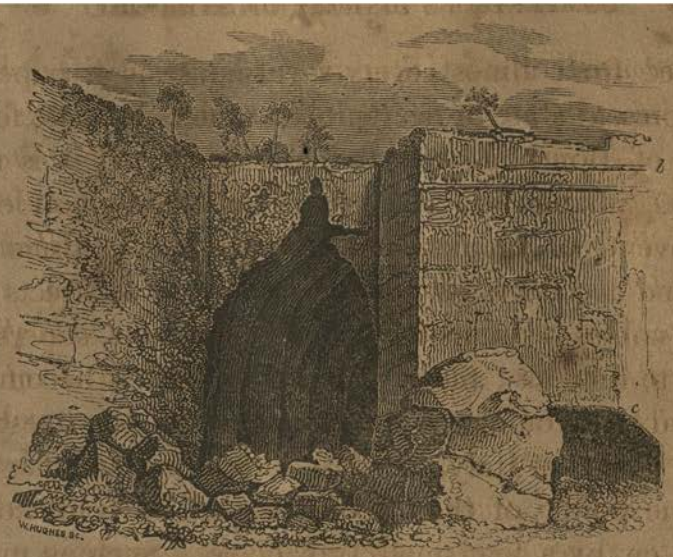
† The Romans were much blamed at the time by Fabius Maximus, and are severely censured by that excellent historian, Polybius (lib. ix. c. 10) for introducing the fine arts from Syracuse into Rome, to destroy the boasted frugality of their ancestors. These great men should rather have blamed their ambition and spirit of conquest: as if it were possible for a nation to conquer the world, and retain its own original rusticity of manners!

almost equal munificence, the Rhodians, plunged into misery by that terrible earthquake which overthrew their colossus—these inquiries would trespass too far upon the province of history, and exceed the limit assigned to this memoir.

From the height of its glory, Syracuse fell at once beneath the sword of conquering Rome, that leviathan of the ancient world. From this epoch the city dates its decay: its treasures plundered, its laws and liberty destroyed, its arts agriculture and commerce neglected, the population decreased gradually with the means of subsistence, and the contracted walls soon left behind them a desert upon that ground which once smiled with the habitations of man: still it was impossible to destroy in a moment a power which had been concentrated and perfected by the revolution of ages: it retained the shadow of its former glory under the oppression of Rome, and the degeneracy of the Byzantine empire, till the convulsion of earthquakes and the fanatic fury of Saracenic invaders, rendered it a scene of desolation, and reduced its inhabitants to the limits of the first settlers in the little island of Ortygia. At this time Syracuse lost its title of capital of the island; for the Arabs who first landed in Sicily A. D. 827*, and conquered Syracuse near the end of that century, transferred the seat of government to Palermo, which they made the residence of their emir, and divided the island into three districts, the Val Demone, the Val di Mazzara, and the Val di Noto. Ortygia, even then and for some time afterwards, retained a population of near 100,000 souls; but this has dwindled away gradually under a succession of weak or tyrannical

* Syracuse was captured by the Saracens (or Ἀγαρήνοι, as they are called in the Byzantine historians) whilst Basil sat upon the throne of Constantinople, the succours sent by that emperor under Adrian being detained at Hierax, a port of Monembasia in the Morea. Whilst the fleet lay there, near a spot called Ἕλος, from the dark overshadowing woods by which it was surrounded, Cedrenus relates that certain shepherds, in the night, heard the demons conversing with each other concerning the capture of Syracuse; and that the report coming to the ears of Adrian, he went himself and listened to their denunciation of its downfall, which turned out to have happened on the very day and hour which the devils mentioned (Cedr. Hist. Comp. p. 385). The frequent occurrence of these personages in the historians of the middle ages, will perhaps account for their introduction into the splendid pages of Tasso.

princes, derived from almost every royal house in Europe, till it has sunk into its present state of decrepitude, under the most feeble branch of the house of Bourbon. At the present period it is reckoned to contain 12,000 inhabitants, seven parish churches, besides the cathedral, ten convents of monks, and seven of nuns, a seminary for the priesthood, and a college for general studies. Its streets are narrow and dirty, its nobles poor, its commonalty ignorant, superstitious, idle, and addicted to festivals; much of its fertile land is become a pestilential marsh, and that commerce which once filled the finest port in Europe with the vessels of Italy, Rhodes, Alexandria, Carthage, and every other maritime power of the Mediterranean, is confined to a petty trade carried on by a few small trabaccole. Such is modern Syracuse! Yet the sky which canopies it is still brilliant and serene; the golden grain is still ready to spring almost spontaneously from its fields; the blue waves still beat against its walls to send its navies over the main; nature is still prompt to pour forth her bounties with a prodigal hand: but man, alas! is changed; his liberty is lost; and with that the genius and prosperity of a nation rises, sinks, and is extinguished.



Cavern at Syracuse called the Ear of Dionysius.

(a) Hole by which the ascent is made into what is called the Chamber of the Tyrant.
(b) Remains of ancient Aqueducts.
(c) Mouth of a large Cavern in which Saltpetre is now made.

CHAPTER III.

Site of Acradina—Cicero's Description—Temple of Jupiter—Forum—Prytanéum—Plunder of the fine Arts in Syracuse by the Romans—Small Harbour and Vestiges of Buildings—House of Archimedes—Capuchin Convent—Beautiful Gardens in a Lautomia, or ancient Stone Quarry—Church of Santa Lucia—Shrine and Image of the Saint—Supposed Ruins of the Hexacontaclinos, and Construction of a curious Arch—Baths excavated by the Cavaliere Landolina—Traces of the principal Street of Acradina—Church of St. John—Sepulchre of St. Marcian—Votive Offerings—Descent into the Catacombs—Illumination of ditto—General Remarks upon ditto—Return to Syracuse—Second Visit to Acradina—Circuit of the Walls—Gateways—Broad Street of Separation between Acradina and the upper City—Turris Galeagra—Return again to Syracuse—Visit to Signor Capodieci—Expedition to Tycha—Temenites—Apollo and Diana—Ancient Sepulchres—Few Remains of Antiquity in Tycha—Athenian Wall of

Circumvallation—Wall of Dionysius—Fortress of Hexapylon—Marcellus weeping over Syracuse—Reflections thereon—Battle with a Snake—Labdalus—Ancient Masonry—Species called Emplecton—Castle of Euryelus upon Epipolæ—Difference of Generalship between Nicias and Marcellus—Tremila and Villa of Timoleon—His Character, &c.—Lysimelia—Olympiæum—Jupiter Urios—River Anapus and Fountain Cyane—Papyrus—Syracusan Festival—Visit to Neapolis—Lautomia called "Il Paradiso"—Ear of Dionysius—Character of that Prince misrepresented by the Ancients—Great Theatre—Street of the Tombs—Tomb of Archimedes—Ancient Aqueduct—Amphitheatre—Pollian Wine—Dangerous Ascent to the Chamber of Dionysius—Reflections on the Antiquities of Syracuse—Departure.

FROM the contemplation of present misery, we gladly turned to inspect the remains of former splendor. In the morning, therefore, we rose with the sun, and having mounted the best mules which Syracuse afforded, execrable cattle! all the flesh upon whose bones would not have made a meal for half a dozen dogs, we advanced through the fortifications into the deserted site of Acradina, being preceded by a consequential little cicerone, upon a mule as big as a camel: the animals on which we rode stumbled nearly at every step, so that we had the prospect of a delightful excursion over one continued platform of rugged rock: my friend, however, had the only fall, which occurred in the street, and was occasioned by the slippery pavement in that *totalité de la rue*, which is so agreeable to our continental neighbours. The quarter of Acradina is called by Cicero "The second City, containing a spacious forum, a beautiful portico, an ornamented prytaneum, a commodious senate-house*, and a magnificent temple of Olympian Jupiter, its different parts being connected by a broad

* Curia Syracusis, quem locum illi Buleuterium vocant.—Cic Act. ii. in Ver.

street, running completely across it, intersected by many oblique ones." This is, however, but a small part of the ancient magnificence of Acradina—merely as much as the orator had occasion to mention. Vast and massive as these edifices once were, scarcely a trace now remains to mark the spot on which they stood. The temple of Jupiter, built by Hiero, in which he suspended the Gallic and Illyrian spoils presented to him by the Roman senate, is supposed to have adorned the site of the present church of San Giovanni. The forum was probably upon or very near to the isthmus*, for the mutual convenience of the two quarters of the city first built; indeed we have the authority of Cicero in placing it near the great harbour, who, in his oration against Verres, severely upbraids that effeminate prætor, for allowing a piratical corsair to sail with impunity into the port and penetrate even up to the very forum (Act. ii. l. v. c. 37). At a little distance from the isthmus we observed some columns which had lately been discovered, and placed upright upon their pedestals. These, it is thought, belonged to that Prytaneum†, from whose ornaments Verres stole an inimitable statue of Sappho, the chef d'œuvre of Silanion, which left the Syracusans inconsolable for their loss. The despair of the unfortunate inhabitants at this cruel spoliation of their city, is strongly marked by that characteristic sensibility which distinguished the Greeks, and is described in very affecting terms by Cicero. Their public mystagogi sighed as they conducted foreigners to view, not the superb monuments of their city, but the vacant places from whence they had been torn by sacrilegious hands; those monuments, the only solace of their servitude, to which they were

* We may conjecture this from Livy, l. xxiv. "Luce prima, patefactis Insulæ portis, in Forum Acradinæ venit." This was the grand forum of Syracuse, but it rests upon more than mere conjecture, that each quarter had also a forum of its own.

† The chief purpose of a prytaneum was to afford a place in which the magistrates and others eminent for their public services might take their meals; and the perpetual fire of Vesta was kept therein. Livy, lib. xli. observes, "Cyzici in Prytaneum (id est penetrale urbis) ubi publicè, quibus is honos est, vescuntur."

attached not more by a love of the fine arts than by the sacred ties of patriotism and religion; for by them strangers were instructed in the annals of their country; by them the virtues and talents of their patriots, diffused over different nations, were transmitted to posterity; and by them their reverence of the gods was shewn. In all the calamities of Greece, says the orator, the people bore nothing so grievously as this plunder of their sacred and profane edifices: nor is there an instance upon record of any city in Greece or Asia Minor selling a statue, painting, or any public ornament, whilst it preserved its freedom. Nay, Pliny assures us, that the people of Cnidus indignantly rejected the proposal of Nicomedes, who offered to discharge all the public debts with which that state was then overloaded, for a single statue, the pride indeed of their island, the original Cupid of Praxiteles. Those forced sales and compulsatory compliances, extorted from them by their Roman conquerors, added a poignancy to their grief which was almost insupportable; for in such cases they were obliged to inscribe the apparently shameful transaction in the public register, and thus hand down their own disgrace to future ages. In our own days we have witnessed a more than Roman barbarity in the deportation of the fine arts from the Rhine and Scheld, the Arno and the Tiber, to the banks of the Seine: but we have also seen the triumph of justice in her day of retribution.

We commenced our route along the side of the small harbour, under whose calm transparent waves may be observed the foundations of many buildings jutting into the water, similar to those which are seen in the Bay of Baiæ, where the poet, in a strain somewhat ludicrous, complains of this encroachment upon the manor of the fish.

> Contracta pisces æquora sentiunt
> Jactis in altum molibus.

Following the inclination of the coast, we came to a recess in the rock

called " Buon Servizio," from a tradition that on this spot stood the house of Archimedes, from whence he rendered such important services to his country in destroying the Roman fleet by the wonderful engines of his invention. For three years Syracuse was defended against a powerful army and the greatest general of the age, by the genius and resources of Archimedes*! At no great distance, there is a point of land called " Il Capo del Capuccini," where these holy fathers have a spacious convent. In approaching it, we passed over a moat by a drawbridge, and observed several brass swivels in the embrasures of its embattled roof. Here, thought I, as the horses hoofs resounded upon the hollow planks, if there is a church militant upon earth, we have surely found it; and, upon entering the portal, I almost expected to see the grim figures of long-bearded monks in coats of mail and helmets rather than hair shirts and cowls, or armed with pikes and halberts instead of crucifixes and rosaries. But we were disappointed: these holy fathers were as peaceable and unwarlike as the rest of their brethren, in spite of all the pomp and circumstance of war, with which they are surrounded, and which is merely an armed neutrality against the attacks of Barbary corsairs. Endeavouring, with absurd pride, to rob the grave prematurely of its victory, they embalm those brethren who have been noted for their sanctity, frequently visiting and addressing discourse to the dried mummies, like the ancient Egyptians, and even pawning them, when the convent is distressed for money.

After we had taken a frugal repast in the refectory, consisting of bread fruit and wine, they conducted us to their beautiful gardens, which occupy the site of one of those vast lautomiæ, or stone-quarries, which exist in every part of Syracuse. This place produces every thing to delight the eye and gratify the taste. The finest fruits flourish

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* Οὕτως ἑἷς ἀνὴρ καὶ μία Ψυχὴ, says Polybius, in admiration of this extraordinary man, δεόντως ἡρμοσμένη πρὸς ἕνια τῶν πραγμάτων, μέγα τι χρῆμα φάινεται γίγνεσθαι Καὶ θαυμάσιον· (L. viii. c. 8.)

in luxuriance—the lofty and precipitous sides of the quarry are covered with a garniture of vines and creepers—trickling fountains, moss-grown caverns, and detached masses of grey rock, add to the picturesque effect of the scene, whilst the air, impregnated with the fragrance of orange trees and roses, sheds a delicious languor over the senses, and inclines the mind to repose and contemplation. In one part of the lautomia we observed the commencement of an extraordinary cavern, similar to that in Neapolis called the Ear of Dionysius. The artist had begun at the top, and formed a deep circuitous channel, exactly similar to that which the other possesses; but from a fault in the rock, or some other cause, had discontinued his design, and the cave being perforated at both ends, affords a thoroughfare to these beautiful gardens. From the convent we penetrated into the centre of Acradina to visit the shrine of Lucia, virgin martyr, saint, and successor to Diana, in the patronage of Syracuse. The scene of her martyrdom has been represented on a large canvass, placed behind the altar of the church, by the celebrated M. Angelo Caravaggio, in return for the hospitality which he received during a residence in Syracuse: but the damp has quite obliterated the colouring of that great and gloomy master. In a spacious subterranean vault beneath the church, we were shewn the tomb of the saint herself, adorned with one of the choicest specimens that modern sculpture can boast—it is the very image of female youth and beauty in the attitude of repose: there is a pathos in the calm serenity and celestial innocence of the countenance which cannot be surpassed; whilst a mysterious and golden light shed over the Parian marble from a hundred lamps, which burn, like the vestal's fire, continually before the sepulchre, aids the deception of the artist, and keeps the spectator almost breathless, lest he should awake the beauteous form that sleeps before him.

Our next visit was made to some ruins at no great distance, said, but erroneously, to be those of the famous Hexacontaclinos, or " Casa di sessanta letti," which in splendour and magnitude was so marvellous, so

superior even to the temples, that according to Diodorus the gods in jealousy played Heaven's own artillery against it, and levelled it to the ground. The historian, however, places this superb monument of the pride of Agathocles in the Island of Ortygia*. The ruins we beheld, probably formed part of a public bath rather than a palace; an idea which is strengthened by Mirabella's account of a statue discovered here in 1612, representing a Naiad holding an urn under her arm, and supposed to be a figure of Arethusa: one of its subterranean chambers has an arched roof singularly constructed: the interior of the vaulting is formed by parallel rows of cylindrical vessels shaped like bottles, and filled with strong cement; each vessel is open at the bottom where it receives the tapering point of the next, the central one being open at both ends, and forming as it were a key-stone to the arch: the vault being thus completed, a thick coating of cement is spread over the whole, which receives a layer of quarries or thick tiles, upon which another coating of cement is laid, and a second layer of quarries as before: the strength of this vaulting is incredible; it resists all the attacks of time, nor is it broken without the greatest difficulty. At this day we can only conjecture the reason of such a mode of construction. Either it may have been designed to prevent the possibility of wet or moisture penetrating into the apartment, or an experiment of the masonic art, the parsimony of science, exerted to save the expence and time and trouble of centering, and to shew what the ingenuity of man can effect.

We next bent our course to some baths lately excavated by Landolina, where he found that beautiful torso of Venus which is the pride of the Syracusan museum. A descent of thirty steps led us past several chambers to a narrow passage which turned suddenly to the right; out of this passage entrances led into rooms on each side, in

* Ἐν μὲν ταῖς Συρακόσαις ὁ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ὄικος ὁ ἑξακοντάκλινος ὀνομαζόμενος. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. Hexacontaclinos, signifies a house containing sixty of those triclinia or couches which the ancients used at their tables. This extraordinary number denotes the magnitude of the building.

one of which we observed a considerable number of cells or troughs for the accommodation of bathers. I take this to have been a sudatorium, or sweating-room, as the walls still retain marks of the flues which conducted heat into the apartment: having passed a spacious corridor, our progress was at last stopped by a large chamber, in which a spring of clear water rises, and niches have been made for the reception of statues. The damp struck so cold upon us in these subterranean regions, that we soon ascended to the upper air, and directed our steps towards the ancient metropolitan church of San Giovanni, which is not far distant. In our way we observed considerable vestiges of that broad street mentioned by Cicero, which ran across the site of Acradina, and which may still be traced nearly in its whole extent, from the isthmus to a spot called Santa Bonaccia, on the edge of the Portus Trogiliorum *. It is marked on the annexed map, which has been executed with great care and accuracy, and which will give the reader a better idea of the form and relative situation of the different parts of ancient Syracuse, than many pages of description. The old church of San Giovanni is now a subterranean crypt, over which a modern chapel has been erected. Its architecture is massive and plain: its only ornaments are the capitals of four columns, once the supporters of a central tower, on which are carved figures of the evangelists, with the emblems usually appropriated to each. We could not approach without reverence the sepulchre of Saint Marcian, a contemporary of the Apostles, the protomartyr and first Bishop of Syracuse: near it stands a block of red granite, to which, according to tradition, he was tied at the time of his decapitation. The pious Catholics believe the stone to have acquired its colour indelibly from his blood and that of other holy martyrs with which it has been stained. Superstition has nearly covered one of the walls of this church with votive offerings, in the shape of legs, arms, eyes, noses, and almost

* This bay is now called Lo Stentino.

every part of the human body liable to disease, every one of which records a miracle by the interposition of a saint.

" —— nam posse mederi
Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis."

Contiguous to this crypt are those celebrated depositories of the dead, called the catacombs of San Giovanni, said to be far more curious in their plan and construction than those of Rome or Naples. The ancient tenant of a neighbouring hermitage is the guide to these sepulchral labyrinths. With the venerable padre and several peasants well provided with torches, we descended by steps cut in the rock to this dark and gloomy city of the dead, in whose long caverns, shrouded as it were by silence, one starts at the dull echoes of the human voice as at some unearthly sound. Having sent forward our torch-bearers, we proceeded up the principal street or avenue, which is about ten feet high, and runs to a great distance in a strait direction, being full as broad as the generality of streets in Sicilian towns: its whole length cannot be determined, on account of a lapse of earth which has taken place. We penetrated to the distance of about 200 yards, observing as we went along, deep contiguous recesses on each side, cut in the rock, with arched roofs, containing many parallel cubitories or receptacles for the tenants of this dreary domain, who here lay peaceably side by side after the feverish fit of life: some of the recesses appear to have been private property, from the marks of gates and locks by which they were secured. A great number of streets run parallel to the principal one: transverse ones cut it at oblique and right angles, whilst others taking a circuitous course, lead to spacious squares and corridors formed by different converging avenues: in the more conspicuous situation which these areas afford are found many detached tombs of a large size, destined probably for the reception of distinguished chiefs or holy saints. The walls of the recesses are covered with a fine stucco, painted upon a vermilion ground with various colours and devices, amongst which we observed a number of mono-

grams and symbolical devices, palm-trees, doves, peacocks, processions, and funeral ceremonies: but the smoke of torches has greatly impaired the beauty of their designs.

The spirit of antiquarianism has been here to rifle all these sacred repositories: a vast number of lamps, urns, vases, crucifixes, monumental tablets, and other articles torn from their violated asylum, are deposited in the public museum, as well as in private hands. These extensive vaults are ventilated by the external air admitted through conical, or bell-shaped apertures over the above-mentioned squares and corridors: here as we looked up, we beheld with astonishment an upper story of catacombs, themselves also subterranean, laid out in a manner similar to those we were then exploring*. Before we left these funereal precincts, we cut the torches of our guides into small pieces, by the distribution of which in various parts of the caverns, we succeeded in illuminating them to a very considerable extent—the lurid glare of the light produced an effect curious and even sublime; it appeared like an high and solemn festival in honour of the dead: a vivid imagination might have pictured to itself shades of ancient saints and martyrs, starting from their deep repose and gliding down the long arcades till they were lost in distant gloom.

Various and discordant have been the opinions of the learned respecting the origin and primary use of these extraordinary works; a subject dark as the obscure pages to which it has given birth! the very justing-place of antiquarian polemics, where the ground has been disputed inch by inch amongst veterans, who have ransacked the whole armoury of ancient literature for weapons to maintain the contest. These caverns then have been ascribed to the Syracusan Greeks, to the Romans, to the Greeks of the Lower Empire, to the Saracens, and to almost every people that have conquered Sicily: their design has been as variously turned into a general reservoir for the water of the

* A complete plan of these cemeteries was taken with great care by an ingenious officer of the German Legion, but unfortunately lost when he was barbarously murdered by some Sicilian peasants near Noto, a little before our arrival at Syracuse.

aqueducts, a prison for the confinement of criminals, a den for the wild beasts of the amphitheatre, subterranean quarters for soldiers, and places of concealment for persecuted Christians: in short, conjecture has exerted itself upon this fertile topic till invention is exhausted. Though it becomes one to descend with caution into such an arena, I shall not wave the privilege which is granted every new comer, to break a lance upon this contested ground. To drop metaphor however, I shall willingly subscribe to the opinion of those who refer the construction of this Necropolis to the Pagan Romans, for the purposes of a cemetery. I imagine also, that the only opinion which can stand its ground in opposition to this, is theirs who pronounce it to be either a cemetery or a lautomia of the Syracusan Greeks; for surely such extensive works as these must have been executed before the wealth and population of Syracuse was reduced by foreign invasions, or by long oppression; nor can I think that any person of common sense, who had visited the place, or even perused a description of it, would ever trouble himself to controvert the chimerical ideas of the barracks, the reservoir, the prison, and the den of wild beasts; or for an instant suppose that a party of poor persecuted Christians, few in number as well as indigent in resources, could have excavated a large subterranean city in the very face of their persecutors, or could have concealed themselves in it, if they had effected so curious an undertaking. To return therefore to the pretensions of the ancient Greeks; over which this single circumstance casts a deep shadow of doubt in my mind, that I have never been able, after the most diligent search, to find the slightest allusion to these catacombs in any classical author, although the monuments of few cities have been more specifically detailed than those of Syracuse, and the work in question is of magnitude and importance enough to have secured it from neglect: to which indeed it may be replied, that they are in fact alluded to under the denomination either of Lautomiæ or Sepulchres. To this I answer, that if they are Lautomiæ, they are an exception to all practice here or elsewhere, nor

do I think that any people in their wits (and the Syracusans are said to have had sharp ones) would have cut their stone quarries into such figures and shapes, and that in two tiers or stories, as would, by the great increase of time and labour, have made every block of stone when brought to the light, worth nearly its weight in silver; no, not for the double advantage of possessing the caverns afterwards as catacombs for the dead; for I wonder no one has ever urged this point, instead of asserting that their primary object was that of sepulture. In fact the Greeks did not require such spacious tombs; they generally burned the corpses of their deceased *, and this custom is evident from all the detached sepulchres remaining at Syracuse and other Grecian cities, which are small in general, and contain niches for cinerary urns; neither did it suit the habits and manners of this lively people, to form such gloomy receptacles of such immeasurable dimensions, nor is there a single example of it in any Grecian city which was not a Roman colony †, and if Syracuse had set an example so contrary to general usage, it would surely have been noticed in the pages of Cicero, Diodorus, or Plutarch. But on the contrary, the Romans delighted in such works, of which there exist specimens both in cities purely Italian, as at Rome, and in Grecian cities colonized by the Romans, as at Naples. Whilst taste and elegance constituted the delight of one people; grandeur, immensity, and utility was the pursuit of the other: witness their stupendous aqueducts, bridges, roads, and other works

* Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων, διελόμενοι κατὰ ἔθνη τὰς ταφὰς, ὁ μὲν ΕΛΛΗΝ ΕΚΑΥΣΕΝ, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης ἔθαψεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς ὑάλῳ περιχρίει, ὁ δὲ Σκύθης κατεσθίει, παρὰ Αἰγύπτιος.
Lucian. de Luctu, § 21.

The Romans in the earlier ages of the republic buried their dead; a custom which they never entirely discontinued, though the use of the funeral pile was introduced. "Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti; terra condebantur." Plin. l. vii. § 55. Under the Emperors the ancient custom seems gradually to have gained ground, until in the days of Macrobius, burning was quite out of fashion. "Urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro sæculo nullus." Saturn. c. vii.

† The vast cemeteries observed by Dr. Clarke and other travellers in Asia Minor, cut in the mountains, consist only of separate cells or chambers, excavated in the perpendicular face of a rock; nor would the catacombs of Alexandria affect the question, even if the age of their excavation were known; Egypt being the very source and origin of these works, and its Grecian monarchs would probably conform to the ancient rites and customs of the superstitious inhabitants.

which have excited the admiration, and contributed to the convenience of succeeding generations down to the present day: their genius was led to the designing of such works in great measure by that facility of execution which their great resources gave them. The ancient Syracusans were comparatively free even under the worst of their tyrants, and it would have been difficult to have procured their concurrence and assistance in so laborious an undertaking, neither necessary for their comfort or security, nor agreeable to their nature and customs; but the Romans were despotic masters, they had only to command, and the others must obey; they could force the whole population to labour without fee or reward; and that they did execute works of great magnitude in this very city, there is proof in the remains of a spacious amphitheatre, a species of building peculiarly Roman, unknown to the Greeks, and foreign to their taste. For these reasons therefore, I would refer the origin of the catacombs to the Roman conquerors of Syracuse, in the period between its colonization by Augustus and the division of the empire. One thing however seems evident, that, like the cities of the upper regions, this Necropolis also has had a succession of tenants; the original possessors having been turned out by subsequent intruders, who have also in their turn evacuated the place: it is still vacant; but when will Syracuse regain such a state of prosperity as to fill it with its inhabitants?

Leaving these abodes of darkness, we returned to the mansions of the living; but in the afternoon repaired again to Acradina, for the purpose of examining its ancient walls, those walls which were so admirably defended by the genius of an Archimedes. Following the course of the cliffs and crags, which for the most part surrounded this magnificent quarter, we observed frequent vestiges of its fortifications*.

* Polybius thus describes them:

Ουσης γὰρ ὀχυρᾶς τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὸ κεῖσθαι κύκλῳ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ τόπων ὑπερόξιων καὶ προκειμένης ᾠφρύος, πρὸς ἣν καὶ μηδενὸς κωλύοντος ἐκ ἂν ἐυμαρῶς τις δύναιτο πελάσαι, πλὴν κατὰ τινας τόπους ὡρισμένους.

In some places, where the precipice itself forms a defence, few courses of stone were necessary, and here and there the edge of the rock itself was formed by the chisel into the shape of a battlement *. At No. 1, (see the map) are remains of what was probably the great gate of Acradina, where there is a flight of steps cut in the rock, and traces of an ancient street.

At No. 2, are vestiges of a gate, also with a flight of steps, below which is a well of excellent water. At No. 3, are remains of a strong tower with a staircase leading down to the sea, admirably constructed for defence, the steps cut in the rock being twice interrupted by a plain perpendicular surface, in which a few holes alone afforded assistance to the climber in his ascent †. At No. 4, not far from a gap in the rock, called Scala Greca, where the quarter of Acradina terminated and that of Tycha commenced, may be traced one of the principal gates of ancient Syracuse. This like most of the other gateways was admirably contrived for defence, the assailants being forced to expose their right side, which was unprotected by the shield, to a great length of wall, and the missiles of its defenders. At No. 5, was a curious little gateway for foot passengers only, (see (*d*) in the plan of Hexapylon) and at No. 6, was one probably for cavalry, as it is ten feet in breadth. See (*e*) in the same plan. At No. 7, was a Dipylon or double gate, where the road branched off two ways: it was constructed in a natural gap of the rock. From Scala Greca a broad road ran quite across the city to the neck of Ortygia, lined on each side by strong walls and flanked by towers. A little beyond it, in the quarter of Tycha, stood the tower called Galeagra, where a Roman soldier, during the conferences of Epicydes and Marcellus, by numbering the courses of stone and computing their height, found the wall much lower than common opinion, and scaleable by the ordinary ladders. By this means Marcellus took the city in the night, during a festival

* See (c) in the Plan of Hexapylon.

† See a, a, a, in the plan of Hexapylon.

of Diana, when the inhabitants, more attentive to their superstitious observances than the means of defence, were in a state of general intoxication.

Having now viewed with much satisfaction the chief objects of curiosity in Acradina, we returned to the city, and in the course of the evening paid a visit to our old friend the antiquarian Capodieci, whom we found still occupied in his laborious compilations. In discussing the subject of the catacombs, he leaned strongly to the side of the Greeks; but I soon discovered the motive of this alliance to arise from their priority in point of time—"tam venerabile erat præcedere."—By this addition of antiquity, the glory and dignity of *his* catacombs was proportionably exalted.—I say *his* catacombs, for he has appropriated to himself these and all the other Syracusan ruins, by daubing the walls in twenty places at least with his illustrious surname, in large capitals of white paint, introduced, no doubt, to form an elegant contrast with the sombre tints of antiquity. We observed this ridiculous album upon the ruins of the theatre, the "ear of Dionysius," the lautomiæ, the conspicuous crags of Epipolæ, and all the venerable remains of Syracuse. Nor does he fail to add the date of each succeeding visit. It were devoutly to be wished by all lovers of taste, that he would rest contented with those rational expectations of immortality which may be supposed to emanate from the forty-four volumes folio, instead of aiming at so precarious and short-lived a celebrity. In spite, however, of his egregious vanity, I must do him the justice to say that he has the renown of his country greatly at heart, and has brought to light by his excavations many interesting relics of former ages.

Early next morning we resumed our researches, under the conduct of the little cicerone. But as we had complained bitterly of our mules on the preceding day, our host procured us a fresh set, and we found, to our cost, that we had not been deceived yesterday in the assurance that we were supplied with the best cattle in Syracuse.

Having ordered a boat to meet us about mid-day at the mouth of the Anapus, we proceeded, at the imminent peril of our necks every step, towards the quarter of Tycha, the third city in Cicero's enumeration, who informs us that it was so called from an ancient temple of Fortune, within its precincts, observing at the same time, that it contained a large population, with a spacious gymnasium and many sacred edifices *.

To arrive at Tycha, we crossed the high ground formerly called Temenites, which the Syracusans enclosed within their walls whilst Nicias was encamped under them, before Neapolis was added to the city. The appellation was derived in all probability from the sacred enclosure and grove † dedicated to Apollo, the trees of which were cut down by the Syracusans in this extremity, for the purpose of forming works of contravallation against the Athenians. Apollo seems, under this title, to have had the continental city in some measure under his patronage, as his sister had the island; hence it is, that on the reverse of those exquisite Syracusan coins, which are adorned with the head of Diana Σώτειρα, we frequently see that of the imberbis Apollo accompanied with a lyre, a sacrificial vessel, or a bow. The latter emblem, whose clang was so dreadful to the Grecian hosts, alluded to his character as exciter of the pestilence; by the former the God of healing and of harmony, the Apollo Σωτὴρ or Ἀλεξίκακος was represented. The colossal statue of Apollo Temenites stood proudly eminent upon this hill;

"Signum pulcherrimum et maximum."

Cicero says, that its vast magnitude preserved it from the sacrilegious hands of Verres. It was reserved for an imperial plunderer; for Suetonius in his life of Tiberius relates, that it was contemplated by

* This quarter had Acradina to the E. Epipolæ to the W. Neapolis to the S.; and the open country towards Leontium and Megara to the N.

† Called by the Greeks τέμενος.

that prince to place it in the library of a temple which he had built or restored in honour of Augustus, and that he was prevented by the deity in a vision*. At a spot probably near the junction of Tycha, Neapolis and Acradina, we observed some large sepulchres cut in the rock, one of which had a front resembling a Doric portico: from the site of Tycha itself every trace of habitation has vanished, except the channels of aqueducts, the deep indentures of chariot wheels, and the mouldering remains of the city walls. How all the materials of so many sumptuous edifices and private mansions can have completely disappeared, I am at a loss to conjecture. Here is a platform twenty-two miles in perimeter, almost entirely composed of solid rock, on which scarcely a vestige remains above ground of the numerous buildings which adorned it, though most of them appeared built for immortality! They have not been used in the construction of the paltry modern town †, nor is there any city or public work of importance in the vicinity which owes its origin to the fall of Syracuse. This extraordinary circumstance seems almost to contradict the very tenour of history. We can account much more easily for the disappearance of that stupendous work, which I looked for in vain, the double wall of circumvallation ‡, built of solid masonry, by which Nicias blockaded the Syracusans and reduced them to the last extremity of danger, though he had not the ability to take advantage of it: this would naturally be overthrown by the inhabitants, as an obstacle to the exten-

* "Supremo natali suo Apollinem Temenitem et amplitudinis et artis eximiæ, advectum Syracusis, ut in bibliothecâ novi Templi poneretur viderat per quietem affirmantem sibi non posse se ab ipso dedicari." Vit. Tib. c. 54.

† It is scarcely necessary to except the fortifications of the isthmus, which were constructed from the ruins of the theatre, the Via Helorina, &c.

‡ This wall was never quite completed, for the Syracusans after two failures succeeded at last, under the conduct of Gylippus, in pushing forward an oblique work of contravallation from the wall of Temenites, running towards Epipolæ, and cutting the Athenian line of circumvallation. It is difficult to mark precisely the direction of the Athenian lines, because we are ignorant how far Tycha extended westward in that age; but this we know from Thucydides, that they ran over the shortest possible space, from the Portus Trogiliorum over Epipolæ, between the castle of Labdalus and the walls of Tycha, across the Lysimelian marsh to the edge of the great harbour. (See the Map.)

sion of their city: its materials might also have assisted Dionysius in the construction of those noble fortifications which he threw around Epipolæ, a distance of nearly four miles, in the almost incredible space of twenty days.

A ride of about five miles over a rugged rock brought us to the W. or rather to the N. W. extremity of the city walls, where the natural ramparts were crowned by a fortress of great strength, very celebrated in history, under the name of Hexapylon or Hexapyla. This fort was planned by the great Dionysius, and calculated to defend Epipolæ against all attacks. To this point the forlorn hope of the Roman army which scaled the walls during the night of Diana's festival, penetrated without any opposition from the inebriated guards: the castle itself was broken open at the dawn of day, and Marcellus entered with his legions. From these heights his eye could take in at one view the whole expanse of this magnificent city, with its palaces and temples glittering in the sun, and its harbours filled with triumphant fleets. The splendour of the scene, the recollection of its ancient glory, the knowledge of its impending fate, and the importance of his own victory, so forcibly impressed themselves upon the imagination of this stern conqueror, that he burst into tears. After a lapse of 2000 years we looked down from the same spot, and saw the scene of desolation quite complete. Groves, palaces, and temples, all have disappeared; the arid rock alone remains, where the serpent basks and the solitary wild flower is unbent by human footsteps. Thus it is; every production of art or nature comes to a close, and motion seems necessary to the state of human affairs; for the high tide of prosperity soon ebbs, and the very excess of civilization seems to hasten the period of dissolution. Athens, Rome, and Syracuse, have been. The time too may come, when father Thames shall roll his waves amidst the ruins of that splendid capital which rises now so proudly on his banks. If that period should arrive, we have at least the satisfaction to know, that its name will be inserted among those that have been most glorious in their

day: that the future traveller, should he wander over its deserted site, will feel his heart glow, as he treads upon the soil where freedom flourished, and where the oppressed among the nations always found protection. Such thoughts occurred to my imagination as I cast my eyes upon the little island of Ortygia, which I saw floating as it were on the distant waves, and bearing on its bosom the poor remains of ancient Syracuse: it was at this moment protected, together with the kingdom of which it forms a part, by the Ægis of Great Britain.

My reflections, however, were presently interrupted by a violent fracas, and on turning round, I observed my companion engaged in a fierce conflict with one of those large black snakes so common in this island: the reptile being closely pursued, and finding escape impracticable, raised itself up perpendicularly upon its tail in a threatening posture, hissing in a terrible manner.

> "——— jacto aspera saxo
> Cominus erigitur serpens, cui subter inanes
> Longa sitis latebras, totosque agitata per artus
> Convocat in fauces et squamea colla venenum."

In this erect posture he was nearly as tall as his antagonist, whom he thus checked, and then glided away with uncommon rapidity into the adjoining ruins. Those ruins are now distinguished by the appellation of Mongibellisi *. They are generally considered as occupying the site of the ancient castle of Labdalus: such is the opinion of Cluverius and Fazzello, the latter of whom says, "In summa Epipolis crepidine ac vertice arx erat Labdalus Græcè appellata Thucydidi, quam Hexapylon, lib. vi. secundi belli Punici vocat Livius." Upon a careful review, however, of the passages of Thucydides and Diodorus relating to this point, I am led to think that Labdalus was at a considerable distance lower in the descent, and at no great distance from

* It is compounded of an Italian and an Arabic word, monte, and gibel, each of which signifies a height or mountain. Mongibello, the modern name of Etna, has the same etymology.

the stone-quarries of Epipolæ, where there are some vestiges of an ancient work. At the same time it appears to me, that Fazzello and others are mistaken in considering Labdalus to have been a Syracusan fortress at all. A fort was raised by the Athenians for the protection of their rear, upon an eminence called Labdalus *, in which their garrison was surprised and put to the sword by a detachment of forces under Gylippus; but there is no mention made of any Syracusan castle of that name. If it had been built before the occupation of Epipolæ by the Athenians, we should have heard of its interposition between them and Tycha, and its stopping their advance. After their retreat there was no necessity of erecting it, because Dionysius enclosed Epipolæ within the fortifications, or at least so much of it as extended to Hexapylon, which may clearly be collected from the account of Diodorus: ἔκρινε δεῖν τειχίσαι τὰς Επιπολὰς, ἣ νῦν τὸ πρὸς τοῖς Ἑξαπύλοις ὑπάρχει τεῖχος, lib. xiv. Nor was Hexapylon a part of the wall, called so from containing six gates, as many commentators upon Livy have supposed, but a noble fortress, constructed with consummate skill, the remains of which, existing at this day, have excited admiration, and extorted unqualified praise from several British officers of high rank and talent attached to the Anglo-Sicilian army. They are considered by that friend to whom I am indebted for the annexed plan, as the most admirable specimen of ancient military architecture which he has met with in his extensive travels †. We were quite astonished at the magnitude of the subterranean passages from whence both infantry and cavalry might make their sallies, and retreat again under protection of the fort. We admired the huge square towers of solid

* Ἐπαναχωρήσαντες (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) φρούριον ἐπὶ τῷ Λαβδάλῳ ὠκοδόμησαν, ἐπ' ἄκροις τοῖς κρημνοῖς τῶν Επιπολῶν· Thucyd. lib. vii.

Κατασκευάσαντες (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) περὶ τὸ Λαβδάλον ὀχύρωμα. Diod. Sic. l. xiii. p. 334.

† Hæc arx (says Fazzello, who saw it in a much more perfect state) ex quadratis lapidibus et iis admirandis miro artificio erat constructa, cujus magnificentiam prostrata adhuc ædificii cadavera testentur, quibus Syracusanæ jam deletæ urbis nulla hodie extant majora vetustatis monumenta: apparent inter alia subterraneæ ibi ad plura urbis loca tendentes viæ e lapide quadrato stratæ, &c.

Plan of the Castle or Heraeyeion, which defended the west end of the City of Syracuse.

AA *The City.* BB *Plain without the City.* CC *Principal entrance to the City, which is extremely contracted for defence, the ascent to it proceeding in front of 2.3 while the defenders have room to act in a front of 4.5. being a stone at 2.6 thick.* DDD *Other entrances.* E *Wall 12 feet thick of solid masonry.* FF *Are 15 feet of Opera reticulata or Emplecton, being more assailable than E and G, which are on precipices, and are only 8.6 or 6 and 4 feet.* HH *Towers of solid masonry for ambuscade.* I *Ditches to have been also of solid Towers of Opera reticulata.* KK *Fosses 22 to 28 ft deep, cut in the solid rock, defending the assailable approaches to the Castle.* LL *Subterraneous passages 6 ft wide and 12 ft high, leading to an inclined plane from the Castle to the East K probably for the use of Cavalry.* NN *Are doors opening to which I suppose the corner to have risen — the openings OO are not higher than 2 ft. but inclining, to about 4, men with great ease, and probably they used to ascend here the ambones.* PPP *The cavities are supposed to have been cut in the solid rock — below at P is a cistern, made probably to receive a wooden ladder, which on raising would be taken away to prevent the enemy following — at O the passage divides in 2 branches — all the entrances of this Heraeyeion are under the profession of the Castle.* RR *Walls.* SS *Remains of habitations extending 10 ft. from the Wall.*

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masonry—the excellent contrivance of its gateways for every purpose of defence—the vast blocks of its parapets, which lay upon the ground, bored with grooves, by which melted pitch or lead was poured down upon the assailants. (See *(f)* in the plan of Hexapylon.) Nor did the art and judgment fail to strike us, with which its walls were built: constructed of immense blocks without cement, they varied in thickness according as the situation required; where nature herself had assisted in forming the rampart, they measured from seven to nine feet in breadth, but in more unguarded points they were fifteen, of that species of building which the ancients called emplecton. (See *(g)* in the plan of Hexapylon.) It is described by Pliny: "Græci e lapide duro ac silice æquo construunt veluti lateritios parietes: cum ita fecerint, isodomon vocant genus structuræ. At cum inæquali crassitudine structa sunt, pseudisodomon. Tertium est EMPLECTON, tantummodo frontibus politis: reliqua fortuito collocant: alternas coagmentationes fieri, ut commissuras antecedentium medii lapides obtineant, necessarium est: in medio quoque pariete, si res patiatur: sin minus utique a latèribus: medios parietes farcire fractis cementis." Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 22.

From hence we ascended to the highest crag of Epipolæ*, denominated Euryalus, or Euryelus, from its fancied resemblance to a broad nail. Here also was a strong fortress or castle, scarcely of less importance than Hexapylon: from its ruins the present village of Belvedere was chiefly built in the seventeenth century; no vestige of it now remains except a cistern cut in the living rock at the edge of the precipice, over against the Acræum Lepas, where the Athenians were first stopped in their disastrous retreat †. By this pass Nicias, with a rapidity

* Epipolæ received its name from its elevated situation *above the city*. ὠνόμασται ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων διὰ τὸ Ἐπιπολῆς τῆ ἄλλη εἶναι Ἐπιπολαί. (Thucyd. l. vi.) Our English name of Overton exactly corresponds with this appellation.

† It seems to have existed in the days of Fazzello, who thus describes it: "in ejus edito jugo arx est ineleganti opere a veteribus erecta, speculæ æque atque arcis speciem referens, quæ hodie semiruta cisternam in ipso vivo saxo excisam exhibet." Dec. 1. lib. iii. Livy is precise in fixing its situation:

of movement very unusual in that dilatory commander, led his troops and gained Epipolæ, whilst the Syracusans were holding a review on the banks of the Anapus for the very purpose of selecting guards to defend it: then, as if ashamed at having made an adroit manœuvre, he left it unguarded in his rear, quietly allowing Gylippus to introduce that auxiliary force which put his garrison of Labdalus to the sword, disconcerted all his schemes, and obliged him finally to raise the siege of Syracuse. Not so Marcellus, whose experienced eye quickly saw the necessity of securing this important post: doubly cautious in the midst of victory, that general threw a strong garrison into Euryalus before he advanced to the attack of Acradina, although he was in possession of Tycha and Neapolis and the castle of Hexapylon *: but those two most necessary qualities in the constitution of a commander, prudence and decision, were as conspicuous in the Roman as they were deficient in the Athenian.

Having admired the noble panoramic view which this elevated situation commands, we descended in a S.E. direction to a farm-house called Tremila, on the edge of Neapolis, belonging to the Bishop of Syracuse, and built upon the ruins of Timoleon's Villa. Here, after he had given liberty to Syracuse, revised its laws, and restored its population, did that great man retire from the envy of exalted station, to practise the more humble virtues of a private life. Amidst the innumerable instances of ingratitude which stain the annals of the Grecian states, it is pleasant to dwell upon the circumstances which attended the declining years of Timoleon. The joy of the citizens is said to have been unbounded when he declared his intention of ending his life amongst them. This beautiful spot was selected for his retreat, adorned with a noble villa, and enriched with an ample domain: an

"Marcellus ad Euryalum signa referri jussit: tumulus est in extrema parte urbis versus à mari viæque imminens ferenti in agros Mediterraneaque Insulæ, percommodè situs ad commeatus excipiendos." lib. xxv. c. 25.

* Marcellus, Euryalo recepto, præsidioque addito, una cura erat liber, ne qua ab tergo vis hostium in arcem accepta inclusos impeditosque mœnibus suos turbarent. Liv. lib. xxv. c. 26.

honourable deputation brought his wife and family from Corinth to complete his domestic happiness. When he laboured under the infirmities of old age and the loss of sight, he was borne upon the shoulders of the citizens to the theatre, where all public business was interrupted till the acclamations which his presence caused, had ceased; and whenever any illustrious strangers visited their city, the inhabitants wishing to shew them its greatest ornament, carried them to the house of Timoleon, to behold that great man in the bosom of his family. Syracusan gratitude even followed him to his grave. His exequies were performed in the most public and splendid manner, by a decree of the senate and people, at the expence of 200 minæ *. His sepulchre erected in the forum, and adorned with a portico, palæstra and gymnasium, was named the Timoleontæum, where annual contests in music, chariot-races, and gymnastic exercises recalled to public recollection the virtues of Timoleon. But that act by which the Syracusans most honoured his memory, was their adherence to his laws and institutions, which for many years secured to their country a state of enviable prosperity †.

From Tremila we crossed over the fatal marshes of Lysimelia to the bridge of the Anapus, where the Athenians in their victory were checked by the Syracusan cavalry ‡: here we found Antonietti and

* £750 of our money, an immense sum in those days. Plutarch has left us the name of the herald who read this decree: one Demetrius, a rival of the Homeric Stentor, μεγαλοφωνότατος τῶν τότε κηρύκων.

† I am aware that the portrait of Timoleon has been drawn by partial hands, and in some respects overcharged with the colouring of panegyric: but still in whatever light it be viewed there will be found an harmonious blending of wisdom, bravery, and political energy. He had deeply studied the Syracusan character, and well knew that degree of liberty which was adapted to their circumstances. Perceiving the folly of giving to such a state a perfect freedom of action, which in other words was only a licence to destroy, he kept the rein upon the otherwise ungovernable steed. When, therefore, he had freed them from their real tyrants, he proceeded with practical good sense to the administration of their affairs, and kept in his own hands as much authority as was necessary to coerce the bad and encourage the good. When, by a course of gradual reform, he had made them more fit for liberty, he relaxed this authority, though he never entirely laid it aside. The Syracusans became, in the end, duly sensible of the excellence of his policy, and regarded him with a species of love approaching to adoration.

‡ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 481.

our host in a boat, ready to convey us to the fountain Cyane, with provisions, if we chose to dine at that beautiful and poetic spot*.—Before we commenced our voyage however, curiosity attracted us to the two fine columns of the celebrated Olympiæum, which occupied a gentle eminence at a short distance from the right bank of the river. They consist each of three immense blocks, and stand upon plinths; they have, moreover, this peculiarity, that the fluting does not extend to the base, but is separated from it by a plain narrow fascia. In the opisthodomos of this temple, a public treasure was kept, and the tablets or registers of the Syracusan tribes†: its adytum was adorned with a statue of Jupiter, esteemed one of the three most noble and majestic representations of that god which antiquity could boast‡. The title of Urios, or "Disposer of the winds," may be accounted for by the situation of the temple itself, at the head of the great harbour. It was from the shoulders of this statue that Dionysius, with more wit than decency, stripped off a splendid golden mantle, and replaced it with one of wool, observing, that gold was too heavy in summer and too cold in winter, but that wool was well adapted to both seasons.

Returning to our boat, we proceeded up the deep and muddy stream of the Anapus, considerably impeded in our progress by the aquatic plants and lofty reeds which grow upon its banks: this river abounds in trout and eels, and at certain seasons is the retreat of innumerable flocks of wild fowl. In about an hour we arrived at that branch which descends from the fountain Cyane, where we found the water clear as crystal§: we soon discovered also that beautiful rush, the papyrus,

* Here, according to the Grecian mythology, Pluto descended with Proserpine to the infernal regions. Cyane, one of her nymphs, attempting to oppose the ravisher, was changed by him into the fountain which bears her name—Ovid. Met. v. 402. Plutarch, however, relates a much more dismal story concerning its origin.

† Plutarch in vita Niciæ, p. 532.

‡ Tria ferebantur in orbe terrarum signa Jovis imperatoris uno in genere pulcherrimè facta: unum illud Macedonicum quod in capitolio vidimus: alterum in Ponti ore et angustiis; tertium quod Syracusis ante Verrem fuit..... Quod cives atque incolæ Syracusanæ colere, advenæ non solum visere verum etiam venerari solebant, id Verres ex templo Jovis sustulit. Cic. Act. in Ver. ii. lib. 4.

§ Quaque suis Cyanen miscet Anapus aquis (Ov. l. ii. de P. Eleg. x.) From this junction the an-

bending gracefully with its tufted head over the transparent stream. It is the only spot in Europe where this delicate plant flourishes in a natural state; nor can any situation be better adapted to its growth, whether we consider the clearness, depth, and tranquillity of this almost imperceptibly flowing stream, or the delicious climate which seems to sanction that observation of the ancients upon it to which I have before alluded. The root of the papyrus is bulbous, sucking up moisture and nourishment by means of long thin fibres, which attach it slightly to the sides and bottom of the river: from each separation of the bulb springs up a fine triangular rush, of a bright green colour, to the height of eight or ten feet: this is surmounted by a large flowing tuft, of the most delicate filaments, and near the end of each filament the flower bursts forth to complete the beauty of the ornament. Denon, with great probability, ascribes the introduction of this plant into the district of Syracuse, to that intimate connexion which subsisted between Hiero and others of its Tyrants with the sovereigns of Egypt. In that country the papyrus seems to have been indigenous, and to have attained to the highest degree of perfection. Pliny's description of it* and the manner of its growth coincides accurately with what we observed; but, if that naturalist is to be credited, not all the pages of history can exhibit an example of a plant convertible to so many uses. The roots of the papyrus used to serve for fuel and domestic utensils; its stalk was twisted into canoes or boats; its bark into sails, ropes, mats, and even garments; its juice afforded nourishment, either in a state of decoction or raw: as an article in the materia medica, its virtue was celebrated in the cure of ulcers and tumours; and, by different preparations, it assumed the properties either of a caustic or an

cient Syracusans venerated the Anapus and Cyane under the form of a man and woman connected in matrimonial union. Ovid Met. v. 417. Ælian, V. H. l. ii. c. 33.

* Papyrum ergo nascitur in palustribus Ægypti aut quiescentibus Nili aquis ubi evagatæ stagnant duo cubita non excedente altitudine gurgitum brachiali radicis obliquæ crassitudine, triangulis lateribus, decem non amplius cubitorum longitudine in gracilitatem fastigiatum, thyrsi modo cacumen includens. l. xiii. c. xi.

opiate: the farina of its flowers produced the finest gluten in the world, and best adapted to assist in the manufacture of that article to which it owes its great celebrity—a composition which, though different in its nature, has given its name to the paper of the moderns, which relieved mankind from those inconvenient records of their ideas afforded by palm-leaves, bark of trees, rolls of lead, linen, or waxen tablets, and which must have produced an effect upon the ancient world, similar in kind, though less in degree, to the great modern invention of printing: finally, with the flowery tuft of this plant the Egyptians crowned the statues of their gods, in recognising their benevolence and appropriately honouring them from the source of their own peculiar bounty*.

The late Chevalier Landolina, in the true antiquarian spirit, attempted to revive the ancient manufacture of papyrus at Syracuse: he succeeded in forming a wretched succedaneum for paper, on which he printed a recommendatory address for its general adoption, and sent a copy to most of the European courts: as might have been expected, he moved the ridicule of all sensible men, extracted quartos of congratulatory epistles and complimentary odes from poetical antiquarians, and so the matter ended. It may be doubted whether society would reap much benefit from a revival of all the lost arts and manufactures of antiquity: in matters of literature and taste, where priority itself gave an advantage to genius, we must ever seek for models amongst the ancients; but the case is very different in the arts and sciences, which are in their very nature progressive, wherein every additional fact or experiment increases the common stock of knowledge and its powers of utility. But to return from this digression. The Cyanean branch of the Anapus soon became choaked up with superabundant vegetation: a variegated canopy of aquatic plants and

* In a basket made of papyrus it would seem that the great prophet of the Jews was preserved in his infancy: ἐκ βίβλου τῆ ἐπιχωρίῳ σκεῦος it is called by Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. i. 343.

flowers entirely hid the surface of the water, so that our boatmen were obliged to land and haul us along with ropes for the distance of nearly half a mile over this obstruction; nothing but the tall and slender stalks of the papyrus marked the serpentizing course of the stream below: at length we burst all at once into the spacious fountain, a fine circular bason, about fifty feet in diameter, whose sides are fringed with lilies and papyrus, and whose surface is undisturbed by the slightest ebullition. Though at least thirty feet in depth, its transparency is so perfect, that the smallest pebble may be seen at the bottom, where large fragments of marble, remains of an ancient temple of Cyane*, reflect brilliantly the prismatic colours, and shoals of fish sporting about in perfect security, shine in the sun-beams with scales of gold and purple. On the banks of this fountain (now called La Pisma) the Syracusans used to hold an annual festival, when bulls, as public sacrifices, were immersed in its waters, in memory of Hercules, who is said to have established the custom when he passed this way with the herds of Geryon†. Having moored our boat where a vista through the papyrus opened towards the heights of Epipolæ and Hybla, we enjoyed a repast for which our morning's excursion had given us an excellent appetite. On our return down the Anapus we met many fishermen employed in laying lines for eels; and having crossed the great harbour, we landed at the quay, where we attracted a large crowd, who gazed with stupid admiration at the specimens of papyrus which we carried in our hands. Scarcely ten persons of Syracuse know that such a plant exists in its vicinity, nor are there many more who are acquainted with the history and antiquities of their country. Not only

* Vid. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. p. 434. Ælian. V. H. l. ii. c. 33.

† Diod. Sic. lib. vi. Cic. Act. in Ver. v. l. 4. Thucyd. lib. v. Can this sacrifice have any allusion to the drowning of the bull Apis in the fountain of the temple at Memphis? We know that Syracuse was first colonized from Egypt or Phœnicia, and retained other memorials of her connexion with those countries in a temple dedicated to the Dea Syria or Astartè of the Phœnicians, and another to Osiris. An inscription to the Dea Syria was discovered a few years ago in some excavations at Syracuse.—See a Dissertation upon its Antiquities by Signor Avolio, a Syracusan advocate, printed at Palermo, 1806, p. 73.

is general literature and science almost extinct, but the commonest arts and handicraft works are at the lowest ebb; emulation, and even rational curiosity, is buried under a torpor of mental and corporeal energy, which nothing is able to rouse but hunger and a festival. Such is a modern Sicilian*:

> —— Duas tantum res anxius optat,
> Panem et Circenses.

This very evening all the citizens of Syracuse were gratified to their hearts content—for it was the festival of Corpus Christi. With what joyous faces did they observe the fraternities of monks and friars, arranging their processions, fixing up their fire-works, hauling down their crucifixes, dressing their dolls, and powdering their images! With what erect ears did they listen to that clatter of drums and pateraroes with which heaven's vault resounded! With what *vivas* did they greet every whirl of a catherine wheel, and every discharge of a skyrocket, which they seemed to consider as a courier sent off to the skies to tell the saints what a merry-making was going forward in their honour upon earth! The illuminations were brilliant, the principal streets being lighted with rows of lamps upon arches thrown across them at regular distances: the processions were numerously attended, and the cathedral, during high mass, was magnificently lighted up. After this was finished, we took a few turns round the town, but soon began to feel that mental ennui which every species of diversion that consists in spectacle alone, must inevitably produce. During this ramble our attention was most attracted, and our pity excited, by groups of nuns, sitting at the doors of their respective convents in perfect silence,

* How different from his ancient character when liberty prepared the soil for the production of genius, talent, and moral excellence! "Ea patientia virtus frugalitasque est ut proximè ad nostram disciplinam illam veterem, non ad hanc quæ nunc incubuit, videantur accedere: nihil cæterorum simile Græcorum; nulla desidia, nulla luxuria; contra summus labor in publicis privatisque rebus, summa parsimonia, summa diligentia." This is their character drawn by Cicero, who again observes, that they are "Homines periti et humani, qui non modo quæ perspicua essent, videre, verum etiam occulta suspicari possent." Act. in Ver. ii. lib. v. "Acuta gens et controversa naturâ." Brut. 75.

clothed in white, each party under the inspection of its Lady Abbess, and guarded by soldiers with fixed bayonets to keep off intruders: unable to see, they were just able to hear the passing crowd; unable to enjoy the pleasures of the world, they were brought by a cruel kind of mockery into the very midst of them; and by these means, that joyless and insipid calm, that stagnation of the passions which is necessary to render these victims of superstition indifferent to their fate, was cruelly broken or interrupted! In beholding them, one could almost fancy them inhabitants of another world come down to take a transient view of this; or intermediate personages between the living and the dead. As we intended to rise early in the morning to inspect the interesting antiquities of Neapolis, we soon retired and left our Sicilian friends to the enjoyment of their festival, who are bound in honour, as well as accustomed by habit, to stay till the lamps are extinguished.

To Neapolis next morning we repaired. This was the last built quarter of Syracuse: it is entirely omitted in the narrative of Thucydides, and therefore was probably not in existence at the time of the Athenian invasion, though it soon afterwards acquired a populace and splendour under the auspices of Dionysius. Cicero calls it the fourth city of Syracuse, and observes, that upon its highest part is a theatre of great dimensions; and that its interior contains two superb temples, one of Ceres and another of Proserpine, with a very beautiful colossal statue of Apollo, called Temenites*. This, indeed, was a very small part of its ancient magnificence; but we must remember that Cicero was not writing a "Guide for Travellers." We proceeded direct to the celebrated Lautomia, the most spacious of all except that of Epipolæ, and for its eminent beauty called by the Sicilians "Il Paradiso." The depth of this quarry is at least a hundred feet below the surface of the rock†: the bottom, covered with a rich mould,

* Act. in Ver. ii. lib. 4.

† It is thus beautifully described by Cicero: "Lautumias Syracusanas omnes audistis, plerique

produces orange and lemon-trees of the most luxuriant growth, with an infinite variety of shrubs and flowers: transparent water from the broken aqueducts sparkles as it flows down the sides amidst festoons of creepers and parasitical plants, and being received into basins, or led into channels, gives a perpetual verdure to delightful gardens. Add to these features the contrast of dark and spacious caverns, ancient aqueducts, with large isolated masses of rock, and the reader may form some idea of this subterranean paradise—but to know all its delights, he should feel the agreeable sensation of its delicious coolness in a Syracusan summer; he should be able to contrast with it, in his imagination, those gloomy scenes which it once displayed, when its walls echoed with the groans of miserable captives, and its floor was watered with their tears. Here the poor Athenian prisoners suffered the accumulated tortures of hunger and thirst, of mid-day heat and midnight cold, tortures which were still less galling than the reflections of men who came in the full confidence of anticipated triumph to that city in whose dungeons they were doomed to perish*. Here the infamous Verres incarcerated not only Syracusan

nôstis: opus est ingens, magnificum, regum ac tyrannorum; totum est ex saxo in mirandam altitudinem depresso & multorum operis penitus exciso: nihil tam clausum ad exitus, nihil tam septum undique, nihil tutum ad custodias nec fieri nec excogitari potest." Act. in Ver. ii. lib. 5.

* In the midst of those splendid triumphs with which ancient and modern annals abound, and whose foundation, however necessary, still rests upon the miseries of human nature, it is interesting now and then to meet with, and to dwell for a few moments upon the bloodless triumph of genius, and participate in the feelings of exalted sentiment. What conqueror might not envy the sensations of Euripides, when a considerable number of these Athenian captives, who had been liberated from slavery by their Syracusan masters, for their power of repeating and teaching them passages from his noble tragedies, came, as their first duty, on revisiting their native land, to throw themselves at the feet of him by whose moral and pathetic strains they had been thus redeemed.

> When Athens' armies fell at Syracuse,
> And fetter'd thousands bore the yoke of war,
> Redemption rose up in the Attic muse,
> Her voice the only ransom from afar:
> See! as they chaunt the tragic hymn, the car
> Of the o'ermaster'd victor stops; the reins
> Fall from his hands: his idle scymitar
> Starts from its belt: he rends his captive's chains,
> And bids him thank the bard for freedom, and his strains.
>
> Childe Harold, 4th canto.

subjects, but even Roman citizens, whom he dispatched without even the formalities of a trial, until that expression "Civis Romanus sum," which was reverenced by barbarians, became the very cause of tortures and of death to the wretched victims of a Roman prætor. Here Dionysius is reported to have detained many persons of quality from maxims of state policy, and others from caprice; and to this place of confinement public criminals from other Sicilian states were sent, whose safe custody was a matter of importance*. Here parents brought into existence a miserable offspring, who grew up without any knowledge of a world beyond the limits of their prison, and who are described as starting with terror and alarm at the sight of horses and chariots, which they beheld in the city when they happened to be liberated †. The most curious object at present in this lautomia is the celebrated grotto called the *Ear of Dionysius*‡. The story goes, that this cavern was excavated in the solid rock so artificially that the smallest whisper uttered in its innermost recesses increased in sound, as if by magical effect, in its progress towards the other extremity; that here the tyrant used to confine the victims of his suspicious fears, whilst he himself sat concealed in a secret chamber, listening to the secrets which they might incautiously betray. This tradition is verily believed by the generality of Syracusans, deceived in the appearance of the cave itself, which is certainly constructed according to the resemblance of an human ear, though it would be very difficult to describe the manner, and is endued with some extraordinary properties of sound. But since the story rests upon no historical evidence whatever, and there is also good reason to believe that the character of Dionysius, under whom Syracuse enjoyed an unexampled state of peace and prosperity, and who effected all the changes in its constitu-

* In has lautumias si qui publicè custodiendi sunt etiam ex cæteris oppidis Siciliæ deduci imperantur.—Cic. Act. in Ver. ii. l. 5.

† Ælian. lib. xii. c. 44.

‡ See the vignette.

tion without any bloodshed, has been egregiously misrepresented in the party writings transmitted to posterity, writings which in their vast collection of improbable stories, would assuredly not have omitted a circumstance so disadvantageous to the object of their calumny, had it rested even on suspicion only, we shall be justified, I think, in dismissing it from the records of historic truth, and adding it to the list of vulgar errors*.

Observing a large hole broken in the rock, near the top of the entrance, which, as we were assured, leads into the identical chamber of Dionysius, we dispatched some peasants to the city for a pulley and ropes, being determined to ascend and ascertain the probability of this fact. In the mean time, deferring our examination of the interior, we proceeded to the ruins of the great theatre, which are only distant a few yards from the spot. This was by far the largest of all the theatres in Sicily; capable of containing, as it is supposed, at least 30,000 persons. The place is now called "*I molini di Galermi*," a mill having been erected in the very centre of the Coilon, which is supplied by an abundant stream from one of the ancient aqueducts: the surplus of the water falling in a series of cascades over the seats amidst a garniture of shrubs and foliage of incumbent trees, forms a scene as novel as it is picturesque. Like the generality of Greek theatres, this also is cut in the living rock, upon the side of a commanding eminence: such a situation united great economy in the articles of labour and material, with the advantage of exposing the spectators to the refreshing coolness of the breeze, a circumstance of great importance in a hot climate, where theatrical performances were represented in the day-time. The circumference of its area lies in a segment con-

* Whoever wishes to see the character of this great man defended from the aspersions of ignorance and malice, may refer to the first part of the seventh volume of Mr. Mitford's Grecian History; where he will observe with satisfaction one out of many instances in which the moderns hold a decided superiority over the ancients in the investigation of truth, in spite of all the disadvantages of time and materials.

siderably greater than a semicircle; more than sixty rows of seats are still distinguished, separated into three divisions by two broad corridors or ambulatories, which were called by the ancients, διαζώματα, or belts; moreover, a spacious lodge, or gallery, encircled the top of the edifice, and was appropriated to the women. The whole of the Coilon, or pit, was divided into cunei, or wedges, by eight radiating flights of steps diverging from the orchestra up to the interior circle of the gallery. Each cuneus appears to have been distinguished by its peculiar name or title, cut in large Greek characters upon the projecting cornice of the highest corridor. Four of these inscriptions having escaped the injuries of time, we are thus enabled to ascertain those portions of the Syracusan theatre which were dedicated to the Queens Philistis and Nereis, to Jupiter Olympius, and to the benevolent Hercules. The originals are as follow:

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔοΣ. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΝΗΡΗΙΔοΣ.
ΔΙοΣ οΛΥΜΠΙοΥ. ΗΡΑΚΛΕοΣ ΕΥΦΡοΝΙοΥ.

Great have been the controversies amongst antiquarians respecting the ladies here designated as queens. They have been alternately pronounced independent monarchs, wives of tyrants, priestesses of Bacchus, and celestial deities. Many coins of Philistis are preserved in the cabinets of the curious, some of which I have seen: on the obverse is the head of a beautiful woman covered with an elegantly disposed mantle à la Grecque, and an ear of bearded wheat. The reverse is decorated with the bigæ, trigæ, or quadrigæ guided by a winged Victory; to which is added exactly the same legend, as is seen upon the theatre, except that sometimes the letter A, K, or N, is subjoined to the word ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ. It is therefore probable that the same personage is designated by both. Hardouin thinks she was a queen of Epirus, Wesseling that she was a daughter of the celebrated historian Philistus, and wife of Dionysius II.; but the general opinion leans towards the daughter of Theron, Prince of Agrigentum, and wife of

the illustrious Gelo, though this princess is usually known under the name of Demarata. As no other monument or coin is known to exist inscribed with the name of Nereis, conjecture has been silent respecting her personal identity *. The intent of these inscriptions was possibly to prevent confusion among the multitude; thus if each person's tessera, or ticket, had been marked with a motto, corresponding to any particular Cuneus, he would have instantly known his place upon his entrance into the theatre. The attention of the architect in this building seems to have been directed not more to its magnificence, than the convenience of the spectators. The seats are at least two feet and a half in breadth, and on each a groove is cut to accommodate the feet of those who sat upon the bench above, and prevent those unpleasant expostulations to which the poet alludes, in the Roman Circus, where such a convenience was probably omitted.

> " Tu quoque qui spectas post nos tua contrahe crura
> " Si pudor est, rigido nec preme terga genu."
>
> Ovid. Amor. l. iii. El. ii.

The end of each seat is subdivided into smaller steps, probably for permitting the person who sat at the extremity to stand up conveniently, and allow others to ascend or descend in the cuneus: this theatre was even supplied with delicious water from an adjoining aqueduct, which was conveyed by a channel cut in the rock, and encircling the whole coilon. Holes also are plainly visible in which large poles were inserted for an awning, which protected the company from the violence of the sun's rays. We shall not be sur-

* Since writing the above, however, I have met with several passages of classical authority, which seem to establish her identity very strongly; see Polybius, lib. vii. c. iv. and Pausanias, Eliac. c. xii. 2, wherein a royal lady named Nereis is mentioned as the daughter of Pyrrhus King of Epirus, who was espoused to Gelo the son of Hiero, King of Syracuse, and was the mother of Hieronymus the last tyrant of that place, a weak and contemptible prince, who detached his country from its alliance with Rome, and hastened its downfal. This account of Nereis is confirmed also by Justin, lib. xxviii. c. iii. 4. " Cum ex gente regiâ (sc. Æacidarum) sola Nereis virgo, cum Laudamia sorore superesset, Nereis nubit Geloni Siciliæ regis filio: Laudamia autem cum in aram Dianæ confugisset, concursu populi interficitur."

prised at the magnificence or dimensions of this and other Greek theatres, if we consider that, amongst the ancients, such edifices were not only the scenes of dramatic representation, but the general places of rendezvous, for the congregated assemblies of the people. Here they listened to the harangues of their generals and orators: here they decreed crowns and other public rewards of patriotic merit or athletic skill: here they arraigned, and passed sentence upon criminals of the highest rank*.

In the quarter of Neapolis, just above the theatre, is an ancient street cut to the depth of five or six feet in the solid rock, down which, according to tradition, the lectica of Timoleon descended to the public assembly upon the shoulders of Syracusan citizens; its situation, leading from that part of the city where his villa was placed towards the theatre, favours this idea: at any rate there is no spot in Syracuse where the *religio loci* can be more strongly felt, or where the ground appears more sacred. In the whole of its curvilinear ascent, a distance of about two hundred yards, the perpendicular sides are lined on both sides with sepulchral crypts; each consisting of one or more small chambers, varying in form and magnitude, containing mural niches for cinerary urns, and exhibiting marks at their entrances of gates and locks for the security of private property—no inscriptions are to be discovered, except one, which is quite illegible.

Thus did the ashes of their ancestors repose under the protection of the living; and probably on stated days their urns were visited, and their manes gratified by sacrifice and libation. Not in Syracuse alone, but in every Grecian city, the custom prevailed of intermingling the tombs of the dead with the dwellings of the survivors; an association by which, amidst their uncertain expectations of futurity, they endeavoured to diminish the gloomy horrors of eternal separation; whilst

* Ὁρᾷς . . . . . καὶ θέατρα μυρίανδρα συμπληρόμενα καὶ τὰς ἀγωνίσεις ἐπαινουμένους, τὸν δὲ καὶ νικήσαντα αὐτῶν ἰσόθεον νομιζόμενον. Lucian, de Gymn. § 10. See also Acts of the Apostles, ch. 19. v. 29.

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the magnificence of their sepulchres, their funeral banquets, and the festive ornaments of their sarcophagi tended to soften the idea of destruction, and lessen that appalling contrast which exists between the joys of life and the solitude of the tomb *. Hereby also the field of sentiment was enlarged, the morals were corrected, and youth excited to emulation and love of glory. This made them studious to emblazon the virtues of the defunct in language the most energetic and appropriate; nor has any nation upon earth ever equalled the Greeks in that beautiful species of composition styled the epigrammatic, in which the most sublime ideas or the most tender affections are expressed in language the most noble and concise.

In this little street of tombs our guides pointed out one which is said to have contained the mortal part of the immortal Archimedes; probably because it is of larger dimensions than the rest, for the circumstances recorded by Cicero in his interesting account of its discovery, are quite inconsistent with this tradition: that philosopher would never have searched for a tomb overgrown with brambles and brush-wood, "septum undique et vestitum vepribus et dumetis," on a platform of rock where even to this day not a bramble has taken root, and to which nothing but the lichen can adhere †. The sepulchre of Archimedes is supposed to have stood in this neighbourhood, from its vicinity to the Portæ Agragianæ mentioned by Cicero, but who can tell the site of the Portæ Agragianæ? Besides it is supposed that an error has crept into the MSS. of Cicero, and that for "Portas Agragianas," we should read Portas Acradinas: now a splendid gate of Acradina did

* Lycurgus greatly encouraged this custom at Lacedæmon; (Plut. in vit. Lycurgi) but the Athenians observed it with peculiar sanctity. The Theseum, that model of architectural beauty, still remains to record the piety of Cimon in protecting the bones of Theseus by so splendid a mausoleum.

† It was discovered by the sphere and cylinder carved upon the sepulchral stelé, in memory of the great invention of the philosopher. "Animadverti (says Cicero) columellam non multum è dumis eminentem, in qua inerat Sphæræ figura et Cylindri." It is to be lamented that the discoverer of the tomb did not restore and record the epitaph. "Apparebat epigramma, exesis posterioribus partibus versiculorum dimidiatis ferè."

exist, not far from the spot upon which tradition fixes for the house of the philosopher *, in which neighbourhood it is not improbable that he would be buried. Involved as the subject is in obscurity, let posterity be content to know that Archimedes rests in that most honourable sepulchre which is the lot of the great and good.

ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΩΝ ΠΑΣΑ ΓΗ ΤΑΦΟΣ †.

About mid-way this street is met by another cut in a similar manner, which leads off on the right hand towards the common boundary of Tycha and Neapolis: following its course we soon arrived at one of those ancient aqueducts that intersect all parts of the great platform upon which Syracuse was built. The channel is cut in the rock, four feet wide and thirty deep, divided into an upper and lower aqueduct, which retain a very considerable portion of solid rock between them; the upper channel is now dry, and being broken open at this particular spot, together with the intervening mass, we could observe the copious and rapid stream flowing over the lower level. From hence we made a small circuit to the ruins of the amphitheatre, which, though very massive, are comparatively devoid of interest; like the remains of all Roman works in Grecian cities. Having retraced our steps to the lautomia we found all necessary preparations made for our ascent to the secret chamber, as well as a cold collation spread out in the cavern, with some excellent wine called Calabrese; the produce of a Syracusan vineyard, supposed to be a remnant of that which produced the famous Pollian wine of antiquity ‡: with this we fortified ourselves for our dangerous experiment: whilst we made our libations, the peasants brought some beans which they had roasted over a small fire kindled for the purpose. We had high classical authority for such a dessert—but it re-

* The remains are to be seen at this day with a fine paved road which led through it, and a flight of steps cut in the rock, leading down to the sea.

† "The whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men." Thucyd.

‡ The grape which produced the Vinum Pollianum was transplanted from Italy by Pollio, an Argive by birth, and tyrant of Syracuse (Athenæus I. c. 31). Near fifty different sorts of wine are still

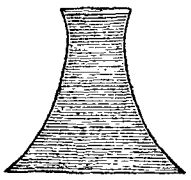
quired all the sweetness of the Doric muse* to render it palatable to modern tastes. A consultation was now held respecting the best method of ascent: it was soon agreed to tie a rope with a pulley attached, to a tree which appeared upon the edge of the precipice immediately above the cavern; over the pulley another strong rope was then thrown, by which each person of the party (consisting of my friend and myself, with Antonietti and our host) was drawn up to the aperture seated astride upon a cross-stick: the height to which we were elevated was about seventy feet; the greatest difficulty arose in disengaging ourselves from the stick to creep into the hole: this however being effected we were soon convinced of the improbability of the tradition: the chamber, as it is called, is an extremely small recess which was quite filled by our party, and is nothing more than the termination or finish of a long circuitous channel, or mechanical contrivance, about six feet deep, which runs along the top of the whole cavern, and to which there does not appear the slightest trace of any external access before this hole was broken in the rock; neither is the whisper or voice of a person below heard so distinct as when the listener is below also, though the sound is full as loud: a small cannon which was fired off at the bottom made a report like that of thunder. Having descended without any accident we made several experiments upon the power of this cavern in conveying and increasing sound. The whisper of a person at the farthest extremity is heard very distinctly by a listener at the entrance applying his ear to the wall, provided the whisperer speaks slowly and distinctly, and at the same time brings his mouth nearly in contact with the side of the grotto: a very low whisper is heard only as an indistinct murmur; the full voice is drowned in the

produced in the Syracusan district; much of the ground is admirably adapted for the culture of rice; the sugar cane about the middle of last century was planted here and thrived, but is now neglected; its honey from the Hyblæan hills still maintains its superiority; but its pork and cheese have lost their ancient celebrity, and it can no longer be said Συράκουσαι σῦς καὶ τυρὸν παρέχουσι. Athenæi, lib. i. 27.

The vinum Pollianum or Pollæum, was a sweet wine, as we learn from Jul. Pollux, l. vi. c. 2. καὶ πᾶ καὶ γλυκὺς καὶ Πολλᾶιος ἔστι μὲν ἐν Συρακοσσῶν.

* Τὸν Πτελεατικον ὖπνον ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ἀφυξῶ
Πὰρ πυρὶ κεκλιμένος κύαμον δέ τις ἐν πυρὶ φρύξει. Theoc.

confusion of the echoes. The voices of several persons speaking at the same time are as unintelligible as the cackling of geese, so that if the ancient Sicilians were half as loquacious as the modern, who always chatter in concert, they must very often have put the listening tyrant to a nonplus. The most agreeable effect produced was by the notes of a German-flute, the finest by a bugle-horn; the sound in both instances being multiplied till it appeared almost like a band of music. I think therefore, upon the whole, that the reader will agree with me in considering these experiments unfavourable to the common tradition, and that the prisoners must have been well tutored beforehand to have sustained their parts in the drama. The design of this curious cavern must in all probability remain for ever a mystery; a mystery which, like many others, if unravelled, would confer no benefit upon society, but rather destroy a source of harmless investigation and innocent amusements: if I were to form an opinion upon the subject I should incline to consider it as an experiment in acoustics by some ingenious mechanic of the school of Archimedes, who found this rock better suited to his purpose than that which was first attempted in the garden of the Capuchins. Before we quitted the lautomia we took the measure of this grotto, as well as we were able, and found it 183 feet in length, varying at different parts in breadth from 16 to 21, 25, and 33 feet: the height appeared to be about 70. The shape of the ground plan in some measure resembles the letter S, the sides incline to each other in a wavy line towards the roof, which is finished by a narrow channel five feet eight inches in depth, and decreasing in breadth from three feet three inches to one foot eight inches. At about mean distance on the right hand side, is a large and deep recess or chamber, of the shape here represented, which is called the tympanum of the ear. A considerable number of stone rings have been cut in the sides of the cavern, to which, as the story goes, the prisoners were attached; but as a child could break them, the story is at once refuted—they are probably of modern addition.



With this beautiful lautomia ended our survey of the antiquities of Syracuse, a survey which afforded us the most pure and unmixed sensations of delight, where the eye was enchanted, the mind employed, and the powers of imagination stimulated: it was indeed a noble theatre where fancy could call back the phantoms of a splendid drama which was past, and revel in the visionary combinations of her own creation. The cynic may deride the feelings thus excited, but though they increase not the stock of literature or science, they are neither useless nor degrading: they purify and exalt the human heart, supply it with fresh sources of sentiment, and encourage that enthusiasm which aspires to imitate the objects of its admiration. "Quis est quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas?"

The following day was occupied in preparing for our departure and taking leave of our acquaintance; and on the 18th of June we finally bid adieu to Syracuse. As we passed slowly and silently over the deserted platform of this once populous city, we turned our eyes towards the height of Epipolæ glittering in the morning sun, anxious to catch the last view, as it were, of a friend from whom we were about to part for ever.

Χαῖρ' Ἀρέθοισα,
Καὶ ποταμοὶ τοὶ χεῖτε καλὸν κατὰ Θύμβριδος ὕδωρ.

CHAPTER IV.

Journey towards Catania—Ancient Monument opposite Thapsus—Arrival at Catania—Description of that City—Expedition to the Rocks of the Cyclopes—Ascent up Mount Etna—Description of the Mountain with its various Phenomena—Journey to Giardini—Ascent to Taormina—Magnificence of its Site—Immense Theatre—Prospect of Etna, and the Faro Straits—Cape Alessio—Messina—Sirocco Wind—Journey to Palermo—Festival of Santa Rosolia—College of Jesuits—Piazzi the Astronomer—Journey through the Interior of Sicily to Messina—Description of that City—Superstition of its Inhabitants—Festival of the Bara—Madonna della Lettera—Copy of the Letter written by the Virgin Mary to the People of Messina—Straits of the Faro—Scylla and Charybdis—Fortifications at the Faro Point—The Pantani, or Lakes of the Faro—Site of the Neptunium—Heights of Curcuracci—Return to Messina—Illumination of the Calabrian Coast—Splendid Scene in the Harbour of Messina—Fishery—Harpooning of the Pesce-spada—Increasing Commerce—Variety of Costume—Albanian or Greek Regiment—Ancient Sarcophagus—Sail for Zante—Violent Storm—Arrival at Zante.

AT the distance of about five miles, opposite the peninsula of Thapsus, now called Magnisi, we observed on the left hand side of the road a square pedestal of great size, on which are a few layers of an immense circular column. It is called by the natives La Guglia, and is said, upon the authority of Fazzello and Mirabella, to be the remains of a trophy erected by Marcellus for his conquest of Syracuse. It certainly stands upon or near the ground where the Roman army was encamped during the siege, and that has, perhaps, led these historians

to ascribe it to the Roman conqueror, without the least authority from historical records. Long before the shades of night descended we arrived at Augusta; and the next day brought us to Catania, the finest city in Sicily, and for its size, perhaps in Europe. It is nobly situated on the roots of Etna, its despoiler and its benefactor—overwhelmed as it has often been by torrents of liquid fire, it has risen like the Phœnix more splendid from its ashes. The very substance which once ravaged its plains, has by its own decomposition covered them with soil fertile as the fabled garden of the Hesperides, and on all sides the material of destruction is turned to the purposes of ornament and utility: the streets are paved with lava—houses, palaces, and churches are built of lava—of lava they form ornamental chimney pieces, tables, and a variety of toys—whilst a natural mole of lava defends the shipping from the fury of the tempest. Ask a Catanian what is the substance of almost any thing you behold in art or nature, and his reply will be, with a most significant elevation of his hands and eyebrows, "Lava, Signore; tutta tutta Lava." The plan of this city is very superb, and no one is permitted to deviate from it in building: it contains three streets, each a mile, more or less, in length: the longest and most splendid of these terminated at one end by the Cathedral, forms at the other a noble vista which directs the eye up a gradual and majestic ascent to the smoking summit of Mount Etna: no capital in Europe that I have seen, probably none in the world, contains so sublime a prospect. Near the Cathedral is a fine piazza or square, adorned with an antique statue of an elephant. Tradition says, that this square formed in very early ages the temenos of a temple dedicated to the Dea Ognia, the daughter of Cham, and afterwards to Pallas, whose armed effigy was seated upon an elephant, in memory of a great victory gained over the Carthaginians, who attacked the walls of the town from towers placed upon the backs of those stupendous animals, in the reign of Cocalus, King of the Sicani. Catania has been long celebrated as the best university in Sicily: literature, indeed, seems to have flourished here in early times; for Marcellus

founded a celebrated gymnasium within its walls after his Syracusan victory, and it was from Catania that M. Val. Messala brought a knowledge of the Sun-dial to Rome, in the first Punic War. This city is noted also for its numerous charitable foundations, and the humane disposition of its inhabitants: amongst the present race, the Duca di Carcaci and the Principe di Gisiro deserve particular approbation, each of whom is supposed to give away at least a third of his income in acts of charity; the annual revenue of the latter being estimated at 12,000 dollars, and that of the former, who has founded an hospital, at 30,000. The Museum of the Prince of Biscari, which with great liberality is thrown open to the public, possesses strong attractions: amongst other treasures it contains one of the finest collections of bronze statues in the world. Its agreeable society, in which Catania excels the rest of the island, the inspection of its extensive silk manufactories *, its superb edifices, and its ancient curiosities buried underneath the modern city, above all, the agreeable incident of meeting with a valued friend on his return home from the borders of Euphrates †, detained us more than a week in this delightful place. One day we made an excursion over the ancient port of Ulysses, which has long been filled up by an inundation of lava, to the celebrated "Scogli di Ciclopi," or rocks of the Cyclopes, an appellation which they have retained since the days of Pliny. Having passed over the worst roads in the island, we arrived in about two hours at the Castello di Aci: there we took a boat, and proceeded over the calm surface of the most transparent sea I ever beheld, to the rocks which appeared about half a mile distant from the shore. They are seven in number, lying nearly in a strait line from north to south. Three of them rise to the height of near a hundred feet from the water in a pyramidal shape, three

* Silk worms were brought by Roger the first about the year 1130 from Athens into Sicily, whence their culture passed into Italy. They were introduced from India into Constantinople under the reign of Justinian.

† John Fiott Lee, Esq. of Colworth House, Bedfordshire.

others are small in size and irregular in form, but the largest is longer and flatter than the rest, and is situated at the northern extremity of the range. Upon this we landed and discovered a cavern, a reservoir of fresh water, and the ruins of an ancient building. The bases of these rocks are composed of large hexagonal basaltic columns, like those of the Giant's Causeway: they are not perpendicular, but run in an oblique or curvilinear direction: they appeared particularly fine and perfect in the loftiest peaked rock which lay on our right hand: the upper stratum of that on which we stood is composed of a brown porous stone, very similar in appearance to lava, and full of imbedded crystals of the most beautiful transparency. I broke off a large specimen of this substance, which is now in the possession of my excellent friend Dr. Clarke, to whose kindness I am indebted for the following scientific analysis, which seems at variance with the opinions of the Sicilian philosophers, who one and all pronounce the substance to be lava, and would fain throw the heretic down the crater of Mount Etna who should presume to doubt that these rocks are the children of his creation.

"We see here exhibited the varieties of a mineral, once called *Cubic Zeolite*, and since, by Haüy, *Analcime*, in greater beauty than perhaps can be elsewhere met with. This substance, glittering with a degree of splendour almost equal to the diamond, appears imbedded in a dark brown porous stone, which is commonly called lava, but which some mineralogists consider as the Saxum Trapezium of Linnæus, and Trap of the Swedes and Germans. The crystals of *Analcime* contained in the cellular cavities of this porous stone, are as diaphanous as rock crystal; they are of two kinds; the primitive or cubic crystals, and a beautiful variety exhibiting a secondary form in which each solid angle of the primitive cube has been replaced by three planes, thereby adding twenty-four to the six planes of the primitive figure. Both these varieties of analcime are equally transparent. The matrix, or rock, in which they are imbedded, has undergone a certain partial

decomposition externally: when submitted to the action of the common blow-pipe, a slight degree of heat is sufficient to fuse it into a jet black shining glass. It is therefore difficult to conceive, that it has already been exposed to any very exalted degree of temperature, or has previously sustained the igneous fusion." In company with our friend Mr. Lee, we commenced on the 27th of June an expedition to the summit of Mount Etna; one party only had been before us, but the road was declared free from snow, and practicable. We proceeded the first day about nine miles up the mountain to the pretty village of Mascalucia, in the midst of what is called the 'cultivated' or 'fertile region:' of this region we saw more in our descent when we passed through the beautiful village of Tre Castagne, on our road to Taormina. No language can do justice to the scenery, fertility and luxuriant verdure of this tract, whose bosom heated by subterranean fires, and situated in the most favourable climate upon earth, teems with every flower and plant and tree that can delight the eye, and every species of fruit that can gratify the palate: fields covered with golden grain or the purple vine, villages and convents embosomed in thick groves of chesnuts and oriental planes, mossy fountains and transparent streams, exhausted craters covered with a verdant canopy of foliage, and numberless other beauties invite the tourist to these charming scenes; scenes that derive a double interest from their classical celebrity, from the loves of Acis and Galatea, and the adventures of the wandering Ulysses: here also the sportsman will meet with every species of game that he can desire, and the botanist or mineralogist find inexhaustible sources of amusement. The population of this luxuriant district, in towns and villages, is estimated at 300,000, one fourth of all the inhabitants of Sicily*!

* In a census taken rather more than a century ago, the inhabitants of this island amounted to 1,133,163, including 40,000 ecclesiastics, and 110,000 inhabitants of Palermo. During a period when most other nations of Europe have made such advances in population, Sicily with greater natural advantages than them all has continued nearly stationary.

This evening the rain descended in torrents, and we went to bed despairing of the event to-morrow. The morning, however, promised fair though the summit of the mountain was enveloped in dark clouds, and at sunrise we proceeded on our journey. The day cleared as we advanced, and by the time we arrived at the village of Nicolosi, the sun shone bright upon that frightful assemblage of low huts, each of which is built one story high to guard against earthquakes, and is formed, roof and walls, of that dark ferrugineous substance which the mountain has disgorged: from hence we traversed an extensive plain of black cinders, intermixed with crystals of schorl, to a double-topped hill called Monte Rosso, whence that terrible eruption of lava proceeded in 1669, which destroyed great part of Catania, and filled up its harbour in spite of Saint Agatha's extended veil, and from whence a shower of ashes was ejected which buried Nicolosi and a vast tract of fertile land beneath them. Eruptions, as they oftener happen, so are they more to be dreaded in these lower parts of the mountain than the upper regions, from which the lava in its descent generally exhausts itself in the immense valleys and chasms that occur in its path, or cools and congeals after having passed over so great a tract of ground. The last eruption of Etna took place on the 27th October, 1811, and continued, with intervals of relaxation, till near the middle of November. It was represented to us as having been surprisingly beautiful in appearance, though harmless in its effects. Five mouths opened all at once, just below the great crater, on the side facing Taormina, vomiting forth sulphureous flames, ashes, and red-hot stones, accompanied by the most terrific detonations, which shook violently the windows in Catania, and succeeded each other sometimes at the rate of thirty in a quarter of an hour. The stream of lava was by no means proportionate to the other phenomena of the eruption; it flowed about six miles in all its windings, and luckily stopped before it arrived at the village of Milo, towards which its course seemed to be directed. Standing upon one of the peaks of Monte Rosso, we could trace the courses of lava which

in different eras, had ploughed their way over that devoted city, and heaped up a black coagulated mass of high and craggy rocks along its coast for the space of nearly thirty miles, driving back the sea from its own dominions, and forming a frightful contrast to the adjacent scenery. The stream of 1669 having met with an obstruction in its path, had separated into two, which, after their reunion, enclosed a portion of the most verdant and luxuriant tract, like an oasis in the midst of a desert: this eruption, according to Lord Winchelsea's account, destroyed the habitations of 27,000 persons in the space of forty days. From Monté Rosso we retraced our steps over its dark plain of cinders, on which we perceived signs of vegetation just appearing in the shape of lichens, and a few straggling weeds*: about three miles farther we entered the "woody Region," a mighty belt or girdle of ancient oaks and chesnuts which embraces this extraordinary mountain, six or seven miles in breadth, beginning and terminating abruptly, and exhibiting the most romantic views which forest scenery on the most extensive scale can display. Near the upper extremity, where the

* It may be worth while to notice here an objection to which the phenomena of this mountain have given rise against the Mosaic chronology, because many persons hear of an objection without having an opportunity of seeing, or without taking the trouble of considering the answers which may be returned to it. A well having been sunk to a great depth near Catania, it was found that seven distinct courses of lava had been cut through, each of which was covered with a fine mould fit for the purposes of vegetation: now, from the circumstance of a stream of lava in the neighbourhood not being yet covered with mould, although it is said to have flowed more than 2000 years ago under the reign of Dionysius Tyrant of Syracuse, it was thought that each of these seven courses must have taken more than 2000 years to acquire its soil, and therefore concluded that the earth was more than 14,000 years old. This conclusion would certainly have been incontrovertible, had the premises been just; but it was taking rather too much for granted, to suppose that all lava requires so great a space of time for its decomposition; since different eruptions throw up different materials, and some combinations of matter decay very quickly in comparison with others: besides, some streams of lava acquire a mould before their decomposition, the lichen often adheres to them, the Indian fig is planted in the crevices, which requires the least possible degree of nutriment; vines succeed, and the very accumulation of decayed vegetable matter, in the course of ages, produces a layer of soil—again, accident may often effect suddenly what requires naturally a great length of time—the very eruption which caused the lava to flow, or subsequent ones, may cover it with a shower of ashes, and they are very soon convertible to the purposes of vegetation. These and some other reasons which might be adduced, are, I should think, sufficient to quiet the scruples of honest and unprejudiced persons, without disputing, as some have done, the era of the Dionysian lava, or doubting the fact of any lava requiring 2000 years before it will produce a soil; for I remember seeing an ancient lava at Syracuse ejected by some volcanic eruption before all historical records, and which is unproductive at the present day.

firs begin to appear thinly scattered amidst the stunted oaks, there is a cave, formed by a projecting rock, called the "grotto dei capri," from its affording a refuge to vast flocks of goats and sheep that browse upon the tansy and moss which these wild tracts produce. In the vicinity are large and deep reservoirs of snow, from whence Catania and a great many other cities of Sicily are supplied with that article, so necessary to the inhabitants: it is packed up in straw, and carried upon mules and asses to a great distance. In this grotto, which brought the Cyclops Polyphemus and his flocks and the adventures of Ulysses to our imagination, we dined, drank tea, and slept, keeping ourselves warm by a fire lighted at the opening of the cave, to which we turned our feet: soon after midnight we resumed our journey by the light of torches; but their glare frightening the mules, these ungovernable animals began to kick and plunge most violently, and had very nearly finished our journey by a precipitate descent over some rocks; we therefore extinguished the lights and followed our guide in single file over roads which it was a comfort not to see. The night was singularly clear, and we fancied that the constellations appeared more brilliant as the medium was less dense and more transparent through which they were viewed: certainly the heavens presented a spectacle wonderfully magnificent, "so thick inlaid with patines of bright gold." Considerably before the dawn of day we arrived at the end of what is called the desert region, which is scarcely a mile from the base of the crater. Here we found a very substantial house, which had been built in the year 1811 by the English then resident in Sicily*, with excellent stabling adjoining to protect the poor animals from the beating of those storms to which they were formerly exposed. Leaving our mules therefore in this hospitable retreat, we toiled over several acres of

* The chief contributors were the officers of the British army. The following modest inscription decorates the portal of this useful edifice:

Ætnam perlustrantibus Has Ædes Britanni in Sicilia.
Anno Salutis MDCCCXI.

lava, full of sharp rugged points and deep chasms, affording every facility for breaking, or at least spraining the limbs: next came fields of frozen snow, on the acclivities of which we slipped about in such a ludicrous manner, that I fell more than once in laughing at my companions. In this lofty region, called by many "the Region of Snow," the air is chill and piercing; every sign of life and vegetation ceases; not an insect crawls over the cold surface of the ground; not a lichen adheres to the grey masses of the lava; not even the eagle's wing soars so high to disturb the awful solitude of nature: here only the thunder and the tempest, or the still more tremendous explosions of the volcano are heard.

At length we arrived at the base of that vast cone which forms the crater: in ascending this, which is denominated the "Region of fire," all former difficulties diminish greatly by comparison, for as the sides rise precipitously, and are formed of loose ashes and scoriæ, the traveller frequently slides back to the distance of ten or twelve feet in his attempt to make one progressive step: but what obstacles will not a spirit of curiosity overcome—since several of our fair country-women have accomplished this ascent? We arrived at the summit of the crater, breathless with fatigue and half suffocated with sulphureous vapour, about a quarter of an hour before the orb of day appeared: Aurora, indeed, had dissipated the darkness, and we were thus enabled to contemplate the wonders and magnificence of the scene. The vast hollow, or barathron of the crater, strongly arrested our attention. It is about two miles and a half in circuit, though it appears like a point when viewed from the Catanian plains*; retaining the same dimensions which it had in the time of Pliny: it contains two principal spiracula, or vents, from whence, as from the mouths of enormous pieces of artillery, huge stones and rocks are precipitated several thousand feet into the air during the terrors of an eruption: we examined the largest of

* Crater ejus patet ambitu stadia xx. (Nat. Hist. l. iii. c. 8.)

these and perceived that it had, as it were, three stages of descent: the first extended only a few hundred yards, where it was terminated by a shelf, or ridge of cinders; from thence the second stage had a more precipitous inclination towards a similar ridge; but the third was the perpendicular unfathomable abyss. In the intermediate space between these two tunnels, and around them, are several conical mounds or tumuli, from whence sulphureous vapours constantly proceed: these rolling down the side of the mountain till they arrived at a denser part of the atmosphere, floated in a long streamer over the Mediterranean towards the Calabrian shore: no flame was visible, though the ground on which we sat was so hot that we were obliged to change our position every two or three minutes; yet even here, in the interior of the crater, lay immense ridges of snow, disputing, as it were, the pre-eminence of the fire in the very centre of its dominions:

> Summo cana jugo cohibet, mirabile dictu!
> Vicinam flammis glaciem; æternoque rigore
> Ardentes horrent scopuli; stat vertice celsi
> Collis hyems, calidaque nivem tegit atra favilla. Sil. Ital. lib. xiv.

Not having a thermometer, I could not tell the difference of temperature at the base and summit of the mountain; but when my friend, the Rev. W. Jones, fellow of St. John's college, made the ascent two years afterwards, about the same time of the year, he found Fahrenheit to stand at 82° in Catania, and at 30° upon the top of Etna. The time of observation at Catania was between nine and ten in the morning, on Etna at four.

Anxious expectation more than doubled the time in which we waited for the appearance of the sun; but we felt none of those unpleasant sensations in a difficulty of respiration, which are said to arise from the tenuity of the atmosphere, and of which many travellers have complained: at this amazing altitude the mind seems more affected than the body; the spirit appears elevated by the change, and dismissing those cares and passions which disturb its serenity below, rises from

the contemplation of this sublime scenery to the adoration of its divine Architect.

At length faint streaks of light, shooting athwart the horizon, which became brighter and brighter, announced the approach of the great luminary of day: and when he sprang up in splendid majesty, supported, as it were, on a throne of golden clouds, that fine scriptural image of the giant rejoicing to run his course, flashed across my mind. As he ascended in the sky his rays glittered on the mountain tops, and Sicily became gradually visible, expanded like a map beneath our eyes. This effect is most extraordinary; nearly all the mountains of the island may be descried, with cities that surmount their summits; more than half the coast, with its bays and indentations, and the promontories of Pelorus and Pachynum, may be traced, as well as the course of rivers from their springs to the sea, sparkling like silver bands which encircle the valleys and the plains. We were unable to distinguish Malta, though I do not on this account doubt the relation of others who profess to have done so: the Lipari isles were very much approximated to view by the refracting power of the atmosphere; as also was the Calabrian coast. The sides of Etna itself are covered with beautiful conical hills, from which ancient lavas have issued; their exhausted craters are now filled with verdant groves of the spreading chesnut, exhibiting the most sylvan scenes imaginable: on the plain below, these cones would be lofty mountains; here they appear but excrescences that serve to vary and to beautify the ground.

I must not forget to mention one extraordinary phenomenon which we observed, and for which I have searched in vain for a satisfactory solution: at the extremity of the vast shadow which Etna projects across the island, appeared a perfect and distinct image of the mountain itself, elevated above the horizon, and diminished as if viewed in a concave mirror. Where or what the reflector could be which exhibited this image I cannot conceive: we could not be mistaken in

its appearance, for all our party observed it, and we had been prepared for it beforehand by our Catanian friends: it remained visible about ten minutes and disappeared as the shadow decreased *. In spite of the cold, which was extreme, we staid at least an hour upon the summit of Etna, to view from this lofty watch-tower the splendours of creation. Perhaps at no point in the globe do they appear to so great an advantage, for the view is uninterrupted by a single obstacle Unlike other hills of great altitude, which are generally surrounded by their aspiring subjects, this king of mountains rises alone from the Catanian plain in solitary state, without a rival to dispute his pre-eminence. Before we left the crater we descended into the interior as far as to the first shelving ridge before mentioned: hitherto the ground was solid under our feet and the descent gradual, but we could advance no further as the sides of the second stage were loose and crumbling. There was a mixed sensation of terror and delight in roaming about this fearful solitude, so completely cut off from the world below and from all communication with the human race. Observing a large fragment of rock, apparently half a ton in weight, lying near the edge, where some old eruption had projected it, we succeeded by the exertion of all our strength and the assistance of the guide to roll it back again down the crater: the tremendous noise which ensued from the immense lapse of matter which this mass carried down, probably amounting to many thousand tons, alarmed us for the consequences, and fearful lest Enceladus in his displeasure might return the compliment, we made a hasty retreat. I picked up a few specimens from the crater, at hazard, which upon subsequent examination turned out to be lava, pumice, zeolite, and brown crystals of the Pyroxene of Haüy in form of a flattened octagonal prism with dihedral summits. Our descent down the cone was very rapid, and at the Casa Inglese

* Mr. Jones observed the same phenomenon, as well as some other friends with whom I have conversed upon the subject in England.

we remounted our mules*. The ride to-day gratified us more than that of yesterday; for the air being quite transparent, the most charming prospects imaginable opened themselves to view through the deep glens and magnificent vistas of the woody region, comprehending mountains crested with cities—villages embosomed in rich foliage—vineyards pregnant with the purple grape—projecting capes and promontories—with the glorious expanse of the dark-blue sea beyond. Viewing this resplendent picture one might be tempted almost to arraign the partiality of Providence in lavishing all his bounty on a particular district, did not a recurrence of the tremendous lava-course testify an awful intermixture of evil, and vindicate his dispensations. We observed also in our descent the curious effect of refraction in the atmosphere, by which the mountains spread over the island, seemed elevated one above the other in a plane almost perpendicular to the horizon, and the sea appeared as if it rolled up a steep ascent in opposition to all the laws of gravitation. We arrived in good time for dinner, at the hermitage of the Benedictines. A lay brother who superintends their rich farms and vineyards, provided us with an excellent repast; and gave us the most delicious cherries for a dessert. The temperature of climate here is very delightful. Early in the evening

* The whole ascent up Mount Etna is computed at about 30 miles. With regard to its height above the level of the sea, the following are amongst the calculations that have been made:

Baron Recupero - - -	15,000 feet
Mentella - - - -	11,700
De Saussure - - -	10,963
Sir G. Shuckburg - -	10,954
Faujas de St. Fond - -	10,036

The extreme circuit of its base is considered 180 miles. It is supposed to be a primitive mountain by Buffon, but others maintain with great probability that it is only a vast accumulation of volcanic matter: the earliest writers who make mention of it as a volcano, are Pindar and Æschylus. Homer does not. The first recorded eruption was in the time of Pythagoras. To such an extent are the effects of an eruption of this mountain felt, that, if we may believe the Sicilian historians, the fountain Arethusa in Syracuse, has been changed by it from fresh to salt, and the city of Messina suffered an inundation by the rise of the water in the straits.

Mr. Lee returned to Catania, and we retired to rest after the fatigues of our expedition.

Next morning we resumed our journey through the very heart of the "cultivated Region," and arrived before the close of day at the beautiful village of Giardini, on the sea-shore, under the towering cliffs of Taormina. Yet, though that city stands upon a bold eminence near a thousand feet above the level of the sea, it is overtopped by the curious town of Mola, which hangs at an immense distance above it like an eagle's nest among precipitous crags, whose loftiest summits are crowned by the ruins of a large and ancient castle. On the following morning we ascended by a zig-zag road to this aerial city, (on the site of ancient Tauromenium) for the sake of viewing the remains of its celebrated theatre. These are in a singular state of preservation; since not only the cavea but great part of the proscenium has resisted the attacks of time. The circumference of the upper gallery, which was double and supported by three rows of columns, exceeded 600 feet, according to our measurement; yet in its present ruinous state, the least noise made upon the proscenium, even that of tearing a small piece of paper, is heard distinctly at the farthest possible distance in this immense fabric. The construction is undoubtedly Roman: it was probably built after the removal of the old inhabitants and the introduction of an Italian colony settled here by Julius Cæsar. It is partly cut out of the rock, and commands a prospect wonderfully magnificent. The expanse of the Mediterranean, with its bays and cities up to Syracuse attracts the eye, but only for a moment: Etna raising his gigantic head high over the summits of the Neptunian and Heræan chains, fixes all the attention upon himself, his rocks and woods, his eternal snow and flames. Here, as the spectators sat in the spacious semicircle, they may have beheld him exhibiting the real terrors of an eruption, whilst they were listening to the scenic sufferings of that Typhœus, from whose convulsive movements these fiery throes were imagined to arise.

Degravat Ætna caput, sub qua resupinus arenas
Ejectat, flammamque fero vomit ore Typhœus *.

The scenery behind this theatre also is very striking: it extends up the Straits of Messina, which appear like a fine river rolling its tributary waters into the ocean, through a channel bounded by the swelling hills of Sicily and Calabria. From hence † we passed over the Tauromenian heights and through the important pass of Cape Alessio, the ancient promontory of Argennum, to Messina. The last five or six miles of this journey lay through a road planted with mulberry trees for the nourishment of the silkworm; and through a country so rich and well cultivated, so interspersed with gardens and villas, and exhibiting such a scene of population and activity, that it even reminded us of the environs of London. During the two days of our residence in Messina a violent sirocco blew from the S.E. and greatly abridged our excursions ‡: as long as this Typhon prevails, the streets are generally deserted—the atmosphere seems in a glow—a damp moisture pervades the skin—the limbs feel weak and languid, and mental energy is considerably impaired: fortunately it is very transient, seldom lasting more than three or four days at a time: on the morning of our departure it was succeeded, as is usual, by an invigorating northern breeze, which accompanied us to Palermo.

In our second visit to this capital we had an opportunity of witnessing the celebrated festival of Santa Rosolia, exhibited this year with an unusual degree of pomp, in honour of the new but short-lived constitution. I omit its description lest I should affect the

* Τοιόνδε Τυφὼς ἐξαναζέσει χόλον
Θερμοῖς ἀπλήστου βέλεσι πυρπνόου ζάλης,
Κάιπερ κεραυνῷ Ζηνὸς ἡνδρακωμένος· Æsch. Prometh. 378.

† In the town of Taormina we were shewn some very fine Saracenic arches and gateways, some ancient reservoirs of water, the remains of a naumachium, and a few slight vestiges of what is supposed to have been the temple of Apollo Ἀρχαγέτης, the tutelary deity of the Naxians, a remnant of whom, when their city was destroyed by Dionysius of Syracuse, were planted upon these heights of Mount Taurus by Andromachus, father of Timæus the historian.

‡ The reader will find some very interesting remarks upon the Sirocco wind in Dr. Holland's Travels, p. 47, &c.

reader with any portion of that tædium which I myself felt in viewing so protracted and senseless an exhibition. In referring him, therefore, to the accurate account of Brydone, I shall merely add one curious circumstance which occurred this year, and which that lively writer with all his powers of imagination could never have foreseen. Who indeed could have imagined that the time would arrive when a troop of heretics in the shape of English hussars, preceded by their trumpeters, should convoy a box of old bones in the procession of relics on the last day of Santa Rosolia's festival? Yet such an honour was accorded to the mouldering remains of Britannia's great ally, St. George of Cappadocia. Whether Catholic condescension or Protestant absurdity was most to be admired, I leave to the reader's own decision. We saw a great deal of the society of Palermo during this second residence, and having a general invitation to the table of the Prince Butera, we spent our time very agreeably: we were also introduced to some of the literati, amongst whom the Irish members of the college of Jesuits stood proudly pre-eminent: we accompanied the superior of that convent on a visit to the celebrated astronomer Piazzi, whom we found quietly pursuing his useful and scientific labours at the top of the loftiest tower in the royal palace, where he may be said literally to tread under foot the pomp and vanity of human grandeur: there was a remarkable modesty and simplicity of manners about this great man, who rarely mixes with society and seems quite careless of the world's applause. He shewed with great complaisance and explained to us his grand circular instrument, which is probably the finest in the world, and has enabled him to complete and publish more numerous and accurate observations than all the astronomers of Europe together in the same time. He informed us that he spent two years in England with Ramsden, the celebrated optician, assisting him in the completion of this instrument, during which time he very rarely stirred out of the house. He held the memory of Ramsden in great veneration, and had his portrait suspended, together with several other luminaries of science, on the walls of his apartment.

At length the day arrived when we bid a final adieu to Palermo, having it in view to embark at Messina for the shores of Greece. In order to change our route, we diverged from Termini, where we bathed in the ancient hot baths of Himera, into the interior of the island: penetrating through the recesses of the Nebrodian and Heræan mountains, and winding round the northern side of Etna through the Bronté estates, Randazzo, and the Arcadian valley of Francavilla, we came into our former route at the village of Giardini. Between these two last-mentioned places we met a shepherd's boy playing upon three flutes, or pipes (the ancient ἀυλοὶ) all inserted in his mouth at the same time*: it need scarcely be added that one of these was not perforated with holes, but merely sounded the key-note: the music was extremely soft and sweet, and the instruments were the work of his own hands. He was a very intelligent youth, and Mr. Parker purchased his reeds at a price which amply rewarded his ingenuity.

During the whole of this tour we saw much to amuse us in the wild magnificence of the scenery, in the extraordinary situation of towns and cities upon hills or rocks which appear accessible to no animals but goats, in the fine remains of Saracenic and of Norman castles, in the vestiges of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and, above all, in the singular habits, manners, and superstitions of the rustic inhabitants, who are in general a fine strong-bodied set of people, possessing many advantages by no means due to the influence of a wise administration, but such as a debased one cannot totally destroy: every thing was delightful except the roads and inns; both of which we frequently deserted; the first indeed involuntarily enough, but the latter with extreme good will, preferring often to take up our quarters in the stable, and sometimes to bivouac all night in the open streets. On the evening of the 12th of August we again approached Messina,

* In the time of Theocritus two pipes were thus employed, but I find no mention made of three by ancient authors.

Λᾶς ποτὶ τᾶν νυμφᾶν διδύμοις ἀὐλοῖσιν ἀεισᾶι
Ἀδύ τι μοι. Theoc. Epig. v.

which, for its imposing grandeur and beautiful site, is scarcely to be equalled. Rising from the shore of its noble harbour it covers several ranges of secondary hills at the foot of the primitive Neptunian chain, whose lofty summits form a back ground worthy the pencil of a Salvator Rosa. It is truly a city—

" Che al mar le sponde, il dorso ai monti
Occupa tutta e tutta a cerchio adorna :
Qui volanti barchetti, ivi ancorate
Navi contemplo *."

The interior is adorned with a large assemblage of churches, convents, fountains, and statues; but its finest feature is the grand promenade along the edge of the harbour, flanked by a crescent of palaces, called La Palizzata, which are indeed but just recovering their former splendour, and that chiefly through the introduction of British capital †; they had lain in ruins since the tremendous earthquakes of 1783, which made a desert of Calabria and the eastern coast of Sicily. The ancient name of this city was Zanclé, or Danclé, so called from the fancied resemblance of its harbour to a sickle ‡: this harbour is capable of containing and sheltering the largest fleets from every wind that blows; its depth is so great that the heaviest vessels lie at the edge of the quay, without casting out an anchor, tied only by a small cable at the very doors of the merchants. One would almost think that Homer had this very port in his eye when he described that into which the ship of Ulysses penetrated on this coast.

Λιμὴν ἔνορμος ἵν' ὁ χρεὼ πεισματός ἐστιν
Οὔτ' ἐννὰς βαλέειν οὔτε πρυμνήσι' ἀνάψαι· Od. α. 136.

No city in Sicily, perhaps none in Europe, is so addicted to superstitious observances as Messina, which is called κατ' ἐξοχην " the City of the

* Messana situ, mœnibus, portuque ornata.—Cic. Act. in Ver. ii. l. 4.

† Messina had been for a considerable time the head quarters of the British, stationed here to observe the motions of Murat's army, whose tents at this time covered the Calabrian hills on the other side of the Straits. This produced not only a large expenditure, but attracted a great number of commercial adventurers, so that Messina exhibited a lively scene of activity and bustle.

‡ Τὸ δὲ δρέπανον παρὰ Σικελοῖς ζάγκλον καλεῖται·—Is. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. p. 125.

Virgin."—Its inhabitants shew to this day the copy of a letter written by her own hand, and sent from Jerusalem, for the purpose of taking them under her especial protection. A friend of mine, an officer in the British army, described to me an extraordinary scene which he witnessed in this city in the year 1811, occasioned by a picture of the Virgin, in a church much venerated by the populace. An inhabitant going in, according to custom, to offer up his adoration to the Madonna, suddenly ran out again into the street, exclaiming that the Virgin was weeping for some calamity impending over the city. The people rushed in crowds into the church, when lo! to their utter astonishment and dismay, the tears were, as reported, trickling over the cheeks of their beloved patroness. The assembled multitude began to weep, howl, and beat their breasts, and nothing less than an earthquake, or a French invasion, was expected every minute. At length an individual more acute than the rest, observed that some wet had got through the roof of the church, and was dripping upon the canvass: he pointed out the circumstance, but had nearly fallen a victim to his want of judgment; for the people were determined to have a miracle, nor could they be persuaded to disperse till the archbishop, a venerable old man, mounted a ladder and wiped the lady's eyes with a napkin; after which he drew the picture into a more perpendicular situation, telling his audience that as the cause was luckily removed, their patroness had promised to weep no more.

The streets of this town actually swarm with ecclesiastics; at least every tenth person you meet will be a monk or a priest; most of the former, and many of the latter, are very illiterate, and of low origin, for the ambition of every family, however poor, is to have a member in the church: great evils are said, and not without foundation, to arise from this order of things. For, in the first place, the laws of celibacy enjoined by the Romish church co-operating with the voluptuous nature of the climate, cannot be very favourable to the morals of such a clergy; whilst in so numerous a body of men near one half are

actually on the pavè in want of employment; and we know that hunger is a bad counsellor. The houses of the Great, especially those blessed with a pious Lady at their head, are overrun with these retainers, to the total destruction, too often, of domestic comfort: nor are the families even of the lower classes exempt from the same burden. The ascendancy too and power thus gained by the priesthood, and exercised over the minds of the people, is perfectly degrading. They seem nearly to have lost not only their good taste but their reasoning faculties, and the very capacity of deciding upon moral and demonstrative evidence. It will be sufficient to mention one amongst a thousand instances which I met with of this imbecility of judgment. —During our residence in Catania, I was one day viewing the magnificent church of the Benedictines, under the guidance of our host, a respectable man, who had received an education superior to his rank in life. One of the first objects to which he directed my attention was a large painting suspended upon the wall, representing the miraculous chef d'œuvre of Saint Nicholas. The subject is taken from a legendary story of two infants that were cut alive into small pieces by Saracenic infidels before the eyes of their mother, who being strong in faith, carefully collected together the scattered members, which she salted and preserved in a cask. She is here represented in a supplicating attitude before the saint, who, moved by her entreaties, exerts his power in re-uniting the limbs of her children, and they are actually seen creeping out of the pickle-tub at the holy man's command. This extraordinary subject gave rise to the following conversation: "Don Lorenzo, will you inform me, without playing tricks upon travellers, if it is a real fact which this picture records?"—"Signore! (with his mouth wide open, from astonishment at the question) don't you see it is?"—"See it? where?"—"Before your eyes; is it not upon the canvass?"—"Oh! certainly I see it there; but a painting does not prove a miracle; so tell me if you have any other authority."—"To be sure I have; it is in the writings of holy

men."—" That may be a reason for your belief, but it does not convince me, who suspect that these holy men were great impostors."—" Oh then, since you are so hard of belief, I will soon satisfy you," and with an air of anticipated triumph he ran across the church to a priest who happened to be walking up and down one of the aisles, and forcibly hauling him to the spot, requested him to detail every circumstance of that glorious miracle, pointing to the picture. The stranger with great gravity entered upon the history at large, during which time Don Lorenzo winked at him, smiled at me, and when he had finished, asked, in a tone of exultation, what I had to say now.—" Nothing, but to thank this gentleman for his polite endeavours to settle the doubts of an heretic, and to congratulate Don Lorenzo upon the victory he has gained *." I could not help thinking of Don Lorenzo and his priest, when I afterwards saw at the door of a church in Rome a programma signed and attested by the *Pope himself*, inviting devotees to enter and pay their adorations to a wooden image, because the poor innocent had wept tears of *blood* for the neglect of its shrine †.

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* In these and similar remarks, the author begs, once for all, to disclaim the character of a bigot, who thinks every person out of the pale of salvation who is not within that of his own church, and he feels happy to acknowledge that both in the Roman Catholic and Greek church he met with individual characters who do honour to human nature, and who, he has no doubt, lament sincerely this depravation of Christianity. But he conceives it a duty to expose to ridicule as much as possible (and no ridicule can be stronger than a bare relation of facts) the abominable usages which in the nineteenth century profane that religion which teaches and commands us to worship God in spirit and in truth: and he is urged to this by having observed the great progress of infidelity in those countries which he visited, a progress which has been observed and lamented by numerous intelligent travellers: the multitude are always glad of an opportunity of cheating their own consciences; many are endowed with a sufficient degree of acuteness to detect the disgraceful artifices of bigotry or self-interest, but are so blinded by their own lusts that they are unable to separate the commands of God from the inventions of man—these rashly conclude that religion itself is an imposture in their haste to emancipate themselves from its restraints. The reformation thinned the ranks of popery: shall reformation in this enlightened age now retreat, and leave the field open to infidelity? God forbid: let us augur better things: the rays of mental illumination beaming from the west shall yet reflect their light over the east: rotten bones may for a time be dug up and canonized—images may weep blood—inquisitors may again burn Jews and heretics—and a king of Spain embroider petticoats for the Virgin; but truth will ultimately prevail: " magna est—& prævalebit."

† The history of the Pagan Romans would have taught him a better lesson, who in the very height of their superstition broke to pieces, or threw into the sea, their weeping images, as a proper punish-

It was not long before we had an opportunity of witnessing one of the most extraordinary instances of superstitious absurdity which Messina, or perhaps the whole Christian world can afford; for on the Sunday after our arrival, the great Feast of the Assumption was celebrated, according to custom, by the annual procession of the Bara; an exhibition too curious to pass over without description, especially as the learned reader may possibly recognise in it some traces of heathen idolatry, of the ancient sacrifices upon the fire-altars of the sun, or the immolation of human victims at the shrines of Diana.

The pomp commences with a train of nobles and city magistrates with their insignia of office, and decked in their most splendid habiliments; then follow the military, both cavalry and infantry, with banners flying, to the sound of martial music: next come the fraternities of monks and friars, a motley crew, black, white, and grey, bound round with knotted cords and loaded with relics and crucifixes: these precede an immense car*, equal in height to the very tops of the houses, which totters as it is dragged along with ropes by many hundreds of cattle in the shape of men. The crowds that follow are innumerable, from town and country. The lower story of this moveable tower is embellished with hangings of rich silk and velvet, forming an imaginary sepulchre for the Virgin; it is filled with a band of musicians and a choir, who chaunt solemn dirges over the body of the deceased. Twelve youths, with brazen glories on their heads,

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ment for their folly or obstinacy (see Julius Obsequens, or Dion. Cass. frag. 84). But every Pope or Priest who encourages a single prayer to be put up before an image should be addressed in the admirable words of Plutarch: ἀδ' ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔτε γραπτὸν ἔτε πλαστὸν εἶδος Θεᾶ πρότερον, ὡς ἔτε ὅσιον ἀφομοιῶν τα βελτίονα τοῖς χείροσιν, ἔτε ἐφάπτεσθαι Θεᾶ δυνατὸν ἄλλως ἢ ΝΟΗΣΕΙ (Plut. in vit. Numæ). The observations of an ingenious author upon the introduction of images (which he calls the Demi-Dieux des Catholiques) into christian worship, are not unworthy of notice here. "La religion chretienne qu'à plus d'un titre on pouvoit accuser déjà d'avoir retrogradé vers le polythéisme, se trouva, par un dernier pas, changée en idolatrie proprement dite: les images, les statues, furent reconnues comme ayant dans leur matiere même quelque chose de divin; on les honora, plus peut-être qu'on n'ait jamais fait chez les Païens, pour elles mêmes, indépendamment de l'object qu'elles représentoient." Sismondi, Repub. Ital. vol. i. p. 124.

* This car is called the bara, from some simple machinery in the interior, consisting of moveable iron bars.

encircle this tomb externally, to represent the twelve apostles: round them a circular frame carries with an horizontal motion, from right to left, several little children attached to it, in flowing robes and painted wings, to support the character of angels. Upon the platform of the second story stands a company of prophets chanting the Madonna's praises; and in front of this prophetical choir a large image of the sun, revolving with a vertical motion, carries round six infants affixed to the ends of its principal rays, and styled the Cherubim: six more on the other side perform similar revolutions upon a figure of the moon. The third story is decorated with a tribe of singing patriarchs, around whom a circular frame moves horizontally, from left to right, with a train of Seraphim. Over the heads of the patriarchal family is fixed a large sphere, painted sky-blue, and figured with golden stars; little winged infants flit around this, under the denomination of "moving intelligences," or "souls of the universe*:" upon the sphere itself stands a damsel fifteen or sixteen years old, decked in embroidered robes glittering with spangles, in the character of our Saviour; and in her right hand, stretched out and supported by iron machinery, she holds a beautiful child, who represents the soul of the blessed Virgin.

At an appointed signal, this well freighted car begins to move, when it is welcomed with reiterated shouts and vivas by the infatuated populace, drums and trumpets play, the Dutch concert in the machine commences, and thousands of pateraroes fired off by a train of gunpowder make even the shores of Calabria re-echo with the sound: then angels, cherubim, seraphim, and animated intelligences all begin to revolve, in such implicated orbits as make even the spectators giddy with the sight; but alas! for the unfortunate little actors in the pantomime:

* Can there be any allusion here to the symbol of the winged globe, which is supposed to signify the "anima mundi," or soul of the universe, and is so frequently observed on the ancient monuments of Egypt?

they in spite of their heavenly characters are soon doomed to experience the infirmities of mortality: angels droop—cherubim are scared out of their wits—seraphim set up outrageous cries—souls of the universe faint away, and moving intelligences are moved by the most terrible inversion of the peristaltic motion: then thrice happy are those to whom an upper station has been allotted. Some of the young brats in spite of the fracas seem highly delighted with their ride, and eat their gingerbread with the utmost composure as they perform their evolutions: it not unfrequently happens that one or more of these poor innocents fall victims to this revolutionary system, and earn the crown of martyrdom. But imagination can scarcely conceive the violent gestures and frantic exclamations of the crowd below, beating their breasts and tearing their hair, calling out the name of the Madonna in the most impassioned manner, and trampling each other down in eager haste to kiss the sacred car, or touch it with wax tapers which are thus impregnated with all the virtues of an apothecary's shop: the scene can be compared to nothing but Bedlam broke loose, or a set of ancient bacchanals in the celebration of their mystic orgies. At different stations the pageant stops: then, whilst all is silence, the personage representing our Saviour thus addresses the soul of his mother in Sicilian verse:

Virgini di li Virgini ab eternu
Eletta, e poi creata Matri Santa
A pussidiri lu regnu supernu
Di lu miu Patri cu gloria tanta,
Veni filici Pianta, poiche hai misu
Paci frà l'homu e Diu, chi l'havi offisu:
Veni triunfanti imperatrici a dari
Riposu all'infiniti toi tormenti
Chi suppurtasti per riscattari
L'homu dall' infernali focu ardenti:
Veni climenti Matri, alma Regina
Prega per la divota tua Messina.

To this address the soul of the Virgin returns the following poetic answer:

Milli gratii ti rendu, eternu Patri;
Chi di l'ancilla tua ti ricurdasti
Et a ti o dulci Figliu chi a la Matri
La tua citta fidili ricumandasti:
Perchi ordinasti ch'io li sia avucata
Pri l'amor miu ti sia ricumandata.

This ended, they both make frequent signs of the cross in the air and pronounce a benediction over the people who receive it even with tears of devotion. Then the tottering car again moves forward, the pateraroes roar, and the sky is rent with reiterated shouts. The pageant closes in the great square opposite the cathedral, where two enormous equestrian statues are erected of pasteboard, representing Cham and Rhea, the supposed founders of Messina; they are called by the vulgar Madre and Griffona, and serve to frighten children like our Gog and Magog.

During the following week the principal performers in this celestial drama pay their visits to the inhabitants, in full costume, to receive their contributions. As all these children are considered sacred and under the peculiar patronage of the Madonna, a place upon the machine is eagerly sought for by their parents, and a ray of the sun or moon brings no inconsiderable profit to their proprietors *. In this manner is the "Santissima Virgine" honoured on the festival of her assumption. In passion week, when she assumes the title of "Virgine Dolorosa," the frauds and follies practised are still more disgusting: but her day of glory is the third of June: on that day she parades the streets under triumphal arches and accompanied by a magnificent procession, in her best powdered wig, and all the treasures of her

* This sacred machine was once used for a profane purpose in the triumphal procession which conducted Charles V. through the city of Messina; on the top stood a statue of that emperor holding an armed Victory in its hand.

wardrobe, bearing her favourite title of "Madonna della Lettera, Protettrice della Città*:" this is the anniversary of the day when she wrote her ever-memorable Letter.

Tradition says that the people of Messina, having been converted to Christianity by the preaching of St. Paul, decreed a congratulatory address to the Virgin Mary at her residence in Jerusalem †. This embassy, conducted by the apostle himself, having been most graciously received, was dismissed with a profusion of compliments and a most comfortable letter from the illustrious personage addressed. The copy now extant is unfortunately only a translation, or rather the translation of a translation; for the original Hebrew was turned into Greek by St. Paul for the use of his new converts, and the celebrated Constantine Lascaris ‡ in the year 1467, did into Latin the Greek of the apostle: the authenticity however of the epistle, respecting which tomes upon tomes have been written §, is no more doubted by the Messinese than the miraculous powers with which it is endowed: a register is kept amongst the archives, of the astonishing cures which it has performed,

* "Lady of the Letter and protectress of the city."

† "Anno servatoris quadragesimo aut quadragesimo primo Paulum Messanam accessisse, legatosque ad Mariam missos esse credendum est: nec quenquam, nisi odio aut invidia flagret, hic aliquid desideraturum esse puto, modo sequentia attendat," &c. (Plac. Reynæ. Not. Hist. Messanæ, Pars ii. p. 3.) "Legatos ad matrem Dei mittere constituerant qui eam adorarent, et ad tanti NUMINIS pedes fidei professionem ederent." (Do. p. 5.)

‡ He is said to have taught the Greek language at Messina, where he died and left his library to that city. "Peractis feliciter Messanæ 27 annis, supremum diem Constantinus obiit, Bibliothecâ Codd. MSS. copiosissimâ urbi légata." Pl. Reyna. Not. Hist. Messanæ. Pars ii. p. 28.

§ Its authenticity began to be doubted by foreigners about the beginning of the seventeenth century. "At sub hujus sæculi exordium circa A. 1610, lites hâc de re a nonnullis motæ sunt, aliis quidem studio gloriæ Dei flagrantibus, aliis id tantum, ut Messana Nobilissimo suo ornamento privaretur, molientibus." Reyna. Pars ii. p. 7. The first person who undertook its defence was Melchior Inchofer, an Austrian Jesuit, in a ponderous folio entitled "Veritas vindicata pro Epistola B. M. V. ad Messanenses, MDCXXX." The press afterwards teemed with publications on the same subject, under the most extravagant and extraordinary titles: one of these is entitled "Messana in Paradisum mutata; Sacer sermo de epist. Mariæ ad Messanenses data 1653." Blasco, a Spanish poet, turned this wonderful composition into verse, and made it conform to the laws of metre; myriads of odes, poems, and votive addresses were composed in its honour, and the arch-hypocrite, Pope Paul V. in a Bull dated at Rome 1616, "for the increase of religion and the salvation of souls," gives plenary indulgence and remission of sins to all persons who shall annually visit the chapel of this letter on the 3d of June, from the first Vespers to sun-set, and there pray for the concord of Christian princes, the extirpation of heresies, and the exaltation of the church of the holy Mother.

especially in driving out devils, and in cases of difficult parturition. Even queens have carried it round their necks upon such occasions. A picture of the Virgin which adorns the chapel of this Letter is supposed to have been an original by St. Luke*: a model of the galley which brought so precious a charge to the Sicilian shores is kept to accompany it in procession. For the reader's edification I procured a copy of this extraordinary performance; if the original had been extant, I would have given a fac simile for the gratification of his curiosity†.

MARIA VIRGO JOACHIM FILIA
DEI HUMILLIMA
CHRISTI JESU CRUCIFIXI MATER
EX TRIBU JUDA STIRPE DAVID

Messanensibus omnibus salutem et Dei Patris omnipotentis benedictionem.

Vos omnes fide magna Legatos et nuntios per publicum documentum ad Nos misisse constat: Filium nostrum Dei genitum, Deum et Hominem esse fatemini et in Cælum postea diem resurrectionem ascendisse, Pauli apostoli electi prædicatione mediante, viam veritatis agnoscentes. Ob quod vos et ipsam civitatem benedicimus, cujus perpetuam Protectricem Nos esse volumus. Anno Filii nostri XLII. Indict. I. III. Nonas Junii. Luna XXVII. Feria V. Ex Hierosolymis. MARIA VIRGO quæ supra confirmat præsens chirographum manu propria.

Being within sight of Scylla and Charybdis we were of course anxious to inspect more nearly places so renowned in ancient history: our curiosity was gratified by the kindness of Sir Robert Hall, the gallant commander of the Sicilian flotilla, who ordered his own launch to carry us through the straits. The distance to the Pelorian promontory is about twelve miles. With a fine breeze right astern we scudded lightly over the eddies of Charybdis, unmolested by the more formid-

* "Semper vero (sacellum sc.) splendido tegmine et sericis ornamentis exornatum est, ut tantæ patronæ et urbis Messanensis dignitati convenit. Sacra illa imago opus S. Lucæ esse creditur." Bonfilii Messanæ descript. lib. iii. p. 23.

† It was burned by a person from envy and malice, according to a revelation made to a pious lady named Maria Roccaforte, by the Virgin herself, who gave her at the same time the particular history of the letter, with the names of the ambassadors, &c. &c. See Plac. Reynæ Not. Hist. Messanæ, pars ii. p. 69.

able batteries of the Calabrian coast, which were not always so courteous to strangers. The current is very rapid, and changes its direction * every six hours: it is more or less violent, as Aristotle also observed, according to the increase or wane of the moon: when the wind and current are both against them, vessels are obliged to anchor outside the straits and wait till the latter turns, after which they can easily beat through. At this time (about ten o'clock A.M.) the current was setting with great noise and violence towards the Italian shore; but in the middle of the strait there appeared many eddies and whirlpools, around which the water was sometimes quite unruffled. Modern writers have represented the dangers of Charybdis as almost entirely the creation of poetic fancy, endeavouring to throw a degree of ridicule and discredit upon the ancient records which they by no means deserve: undoubtedly we ought to make allowance for the imperfection of the nautical art in those early ages, as well as for those fictions personifications and allegories of poetry which are among its greatest charms; but from all I could see or learn (and I conversed with some experienced officers in the British navy and army, as well as natives, upon the subject) I was convinced that this passage is still accompanied with great peril to the experienced mariner: with a fair breeze, small boats daily pass and repass the Faro with perfect ease and security; but if the wind happens to fail, they are inevitably lost unless they contain a sufficient number of hands to extricate themselves by the aid of oars: nay, several times during the late war have our own line of battle ships and frigates, when overtaken by a calm, ran imminent danger from the rocks of Scylla, and been exposed for hours to the incessant fire of the French batteries, until they were towed off by the

* When Virgil talks of the direction being thrice changed,

(——ter gurgite vastos
Sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque sub auras
Erigit alternos——)

he follows Homer as his guide, who was himself misinformed as to the nature of the currents, unless his text has suffered by the inattention of copyists, who have inserted τρίς instead of δίς in the MSS.: at least this is the manner in which Polybius accounts for the error. L. xxxiv. c. 3.

flotilla sent to their assistance from the English posts. We ourselves were eyewitnesses of the strength of this current at the mouth of the harbour, when a large frigate in full sail, having incautiously approached too near, was drawn with irresistible force stern foremost into the port, from whence it required the united efforts of the whole flotilla to extricate her. It is difficult to determine the exact local situation of the Charybdis of antiquity: some place it at the mouth of the harbour, some at the Faro Point, and others opposite the lighthouse, outside the harbour, where there is a great ebullition of the water. It is probable that the ancients themselves had but vague indistinct notions upon this point, and included Charybdis in the whole extent of this eddying surge, this "mare vorticosum," as it is called by Pliny*: both Homer and Virgil describe it in their quality of poets not as topographers, and probably never inspected its terrors: or if it ever had a local habitation as well as a name, this has disappeared in the lapse of ages.

We landed near the promontory of Pelorus (now called the Faro Point) where the straits are exactly 3,580 yards across to the nearest point of the opposite promontory, anciently called Cænys or Scyllæum: from hence we could distinctly see the dark rock of Scylla crowned with the ruins of a deserted fortress, and could hear the roaring of the waters, which being absorbed by the hollow caverns underneath the surface, gave occasion to the monstrous personifications of the ancient poets†. The dangers of Scylla are not a little augmented by the nature of its precipitous shore, shelving perpendicularly into the sea, affords but one landing-place in the space of several leagues: this is in a small inlet or bay, once the scene of a calamity almost unequalled in history. Here the prince of Scylla, with the greatest part of his people, fled for refuge in one of those fearful nights of the earthquakes

* N. H. L. iii. c. 8.

† Hinc latratus auditus, hinc monstri credita simulachra, dum navigantes magnis vorticibus pelagi desidentis exterriti latrare putant undas quas sorbentis æstus vorago conlidit. Justin. lib. iv. c. 1.

of 1783, being alarmed by the fall of a rock near the site of his castle. Whilst they waited in terror and anxiety for the light of day, a severe shock, soon after midnight, detached a calcareous mountain from its base and projected it into the sea: the sudden fall of this enormous mass raised a tremendous swell in the narrow straits, which broke upon the opposite coast of the Faro carrying death and destruction in its course: but the mischief did not terminate there; the greatest part of this immense wave rebounding from the Faro Point was repelled back with terrific violence towards the Calabrian shore: the unfortunate prince and his subjects had just time to see this dark mountain of waters rolling towards them like a messenger of fate, before it burst upon their defenceless heads and swept them into the absorbing gulf.

From the top of the celebrated Pharos or light-house at the head of the promontory, which is defended like a martello tower by one large traversing gun, we had a complete view of the extensive and judicious fortifications at this point, which were thought highly creditable to the talents of the British engineers, and which more than ever rendered Messina the key of Sicily. Advantage was taken of two salt-water lakes in the vicinity *, about 1000 yards distant from each other, to insulate the Point: two canals were cut from the uppermost lake, one into the open sea on the northern coast, and the other into the straits, where arsenals and works were constructed for the protection of a flotilla which might thus lie secure from the French batteries or the winds which formerly drove them from the station, to be ready to seize every advantage [illegible] the enemy: a canal of communication was also cut between the two lakes themselves, in the execution of which, at the distance of about one hundred yards from the lower or larger one, the interesting discovery was made of the celebrated temple of Neptune, fabled to have been built by Orion and held in high veneration by the ancient inhabitants †. Its site had long

* There were three in ancient times, vid. Solinum, c. xi.
† Diod. Sic. lib. iv. 197.

been buried in oblivion, though its ruins afforded materials for building the cathedral of Messina in the reign of Justinian, A.D. 530*. These lakes are of considerable depth, and though not quite so salt as the sea, produce excellent shell-fish in great abundance, called cocciole, the Pelorides so esteemed by the ancients: the fishermen rake them up with long poles to the end of which nets with iron claws attached are fixed: it was with these instruments that the canal was formed between the two lakes by the English engineers, the ground being too soft to allow the use of the spade. In the earthquakes of 1783 the water became nearly sweet, the fish died, and frogs croaked on the borders: since the communication made with the straits the fisheries have become still more abundant; but the greatest advantage derived is the increased salubrity of the air and the diminution of the fatal malaria. This advantage therefore, amongst a thousand others, have the Sicilians obtained by the residence of the British army: while from their own impotent and corrupt government they never derive a single benefit, or procure a single remedy for the most acknowledged evils.

From the Faro Point, after inspecting the remains of some Roman baths and tesselated pavement discovered near the village in excavations for the works upon the canal, we proceeded to the adjacent heights of Curcuracci, so strongly fortified that if the enemy had ever gained possession of the Faro, he would have found these hills impregnable in his front; every pass and ravine being enfiladed with batteries. We dined at the barracks with an officer of the Greek or Albanian regiment, and returned home in the evening upon asses, the best animals for traversing these declivities: the night being very clear, we had an excellent view of a grand illumination and explosion of fireworks which was going forwards along the whole extent of the Calabrian coast: we afterwards learned that this fête was given in honour

* The relics in this cathedral are part of St. Marcian's body: part of the cross: hair of the Virgin Mary: bones of St. James, St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. Sebastian, St. James the less, and others. Bonfilii Messanæ descript. l. iii. p. 25.

of Saint Joachim, a personage held in high estimation because he was the namesake of Murat: poor Murat! at this time he could make Saints more holy, could have commanded his own name to be inserted in the calendar, and have received adoration himself—in a few short months he was taken upon that very coast, shot like a dog, torn up again from his grave, and treated with every indignity that rage and barbarity could suggest. O Gloria!

Approaching nearer to Messina we were gratified by a very singular species of illumination also on the Sicilian side of the straits. The whole harbour seemed literally glowing with flames, which gleaming upon the water, forts, and palaces around, afforded a most brilliant spectacle: this effect proceeded from a vast quantity of fishing boats following their nocturnal occupations: each carries at its prow an iron crate, where a bright fire is kept in a perpetual blaze by the frequent addition of split deal or other inflammable wood; the scaly tribe, attracted by the coruscation, are harpooned by the fisherman as they glance rapidly beside his boat. The reader will no doubt call to mind the animated scene, upon a similar occasion, described in Guy Mannering *. This method of fishing was in practice amongst the ancients, and called by them πυρευτικὴ; they used also the same decoy in their net-fishery, of which Oppian has left an elegant description †.

But that sport which has most attractions in these straits, is the harpooning of the pesce-spada or sword-fish, called galeota by the ancients, the chase of which, as described by Strabo from the lost works of Polybius, very accurately agrees with the modern practice. This fish weighs generally from 250 to 300lbs. The formidable weapon

* Vol. ii. c. 5.

† Ὡς δ' ἰχθῦς ἀνὰ νύκτα δολόφρονες ἀσπαλιῆες
Πρὸς βόλον ἰθύνουσι θοαῖς ἀκάτοισι, φέροντες
Λαμπομένας δαΐδας, τοὶ δὲ τρεισσὸν ἰδόντες
Ἕλλοπες, ἀδὲ μένουσιν ἑλισσομένην ἀμαρυγήν· κτλ. Cyneg. l. v. 140.

from which it takes its name is from three to four feet long, projecting from the head and terminating in a point. It has six fins, the largest of which is near the head, two near the tail, one under the belly, and the other two between this and the lower jaw: these latter fins are compressed when the fish swims, and dilated when it wishes to stop its course. The boats used in the chase are called luntre, from the Latin word linter: they are about eighteen feet long and six broad, having a species of mast called gariere, fifteen or sixteen feet in height, on the round top of which is placed the speculator or man who descries the movements of the fish: the gariere is crossed at right angles by a yard called la croce, to the ends of which loops are attached for the oars, by means of which the rowers are enabled to turn the boat with great ease and celerity: two barks also are moored near the shore, upon the higher masts of which men are placed who may give notice of the approach of the prey, which sometimes swims with one-third of its body above the water, though generally about six feet below the surface. Several of the luntre having taken their station in a long row and at equal distances from each other, the crew of the first take their chance for that day and afterwards retire to the other end of the line, and so in succession. As soon as the signal is given of the appearance of a pesce-spada, the headmost luntre moves with the velocity of an arrow towards it, following it in all its sportive windings according to the direction of the spy at the mast-head, until the harpooner, who stands motionless at the prow of the vessel, can hurl his weapon, which he does with almost unerring aim. When the prey is struck, a vast shout is raised by the crowds that line the shore and fill the pleasure boats: the wounded fish darts forward with increased velocity, carrying the boat with it by means of the rope attached to the harpoon: sometimes, however, it turns again to attack its pursuers and even succeeds in piercing the side of the luntre with its terrible weapon, or upsets it, when the danger of the mariners is very great and imminent. Instances have occurred, when the pesce-spada having

pierced the side of the vessel, has been unable to disengage itself: but it is generally drawn up fatigued and exhausted with loss of blood into the boat, and proves a rich prize to its captors, being excellent for food. The language these fishermen use in the chase is a jargon from the Greek, by which they superstitiously think the fish is charmed and brought nearer to its pursuers. Most are taken in the season of copulation: at that time the female is seen sporting and dashing about the waves in a very extraordinary manner, accompanied by the companion of her choice: she is known to the adroit fisherman by a slight difference in the make and is always aimed at by the harpooner: when she is killed the male never quits the spot for several days, but awaits the return of the fatal bark, and scarcely avoiding the blow of the harpoon, seems anxious to share the fate of his unfortunate and beloved mate.

The increasing commerce of Messina filled its streets with a vast variety of costumes from the different nations of the Levant; but amongst them all, the appearance of a Greek regiment in the English service, at this time quartered here, was by far the most striking: their martial air and stately walk, the contrast of their white kilt with the scarlet jacket, the buskins embossed with silver, the antique sabre and helmet from the cone of which a long horse-hair tuft depended, and the sandy-coloured locks flowing over their broad shoulders, like the Abantes of antiquity *, brought the heroes of Homer strongly to our imagination in these their descendants—the ξανθοὶ, καρηκομόωντες, ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ: but there was something of savage cunning and treacherous ferocity in their sparkling eye and red curling mustachios, from which one naturally recoiled. It was found extremely dif-

* Who are called by Homer, ὄπιθεν κομόωντες, (Il. β. 542.) They are said to have cut it thus, to prevent the enemy from seizing them in front. This tonsure was also called the Theseis, from the hero Theseus, who, when he went to consecrate his hair as the primitias of his manhood to the god at Delphi, cut it, according to Plutarch (in vit. Thes.) in this fashion. Τὴν εμπροσθίαν μόνον καρεὶς τὴν δὲ ὄπισθεν μακρὰν καὶ ἄκαρτον ἐάσας

ficult to subject these wild and lawless mountaineers, most of whom had exercised the profession of a robber, to the strict rules of European discipline: neither could they endure that kind of warfare which is in use amongst civilized nations: accustomed to ambuscade and treachery, to occupy the passes and defiles of a mountainous country, and to fire upon an enemy from the protection of rocks, they could never be brought to stand and make a charge, or to remain steady under a fire of musketry; for at the first volley they generally fell flat upon their faces. Their rebellious spirit appeared not only at Malta, where they seized a fort from whence they fired on the garrison and were half extirpated before they would surrender, but here also at Messina, where they entered into an extensive conspiracy which had for its object the murder of their officers. Two of the ringleaders were shot during our residence: they met their fate with a sullen kind of ferocity, refusing to the last to discover any of their accomplices. The Greeks have always been very numerous, and retained peculiar privileges in this city ever since the time of the Saracens to whom they yielded it up on advantageous conditions: they inhabit a certain quarter where they have a church called the Catholicon, and a protopapas or high-priest. I procured this gentleman to teach me the Romaic, or modern Greek language, and found him a good specimen of that ignorance which distinguishes the generality of the Greek clergy. No city of Sicily that occupies an ancient site contains so few remains of antiquity as Messina, which may be accounted for by its peculiar situation, which has ever exposed it to the attacks of foreign invaders. In the church however of the Franciscan convent there is preserved near the great altar an antique sarcophagus, six feet eight inches long by two feet and a half high, covered with a basso relievo representing Pluto carrying off Proserpine in the quadrigæ, together with many other personages of the heathen mythology.

At length the period arrived when we bid a final adieu to this most

beautiful and interesting island. On the 20th of September, the Mermaid troop-ship weighed anchor for Zante, in which by the kind intercession of Sir R. Hall *, we procured a passage that was rendered as pleasant as the very polite attentions of its commander, Capt. Dunn, could make it. We cleared the Straits of Messina with a fair breeze and contemplated for the last time that fine city in the very best point of view, spreading, as it were, its arms around its beautiful harbour, and protected by the towering heights of the Neptunian mountains: as we neared the Italian coast the Giant Etna rose to view in all his majesty, and this grand feature of the Sicilian landscape remained visible till we were at least 100 miles distant from its base.

After a succession of light winds and calms for the space of three days, the irascible Neptune, upon whose element we were destined to be unfortunate, raised one of those tremendous gales called by the sailors a Borer †, which sweeping down the whole length of the Adriatic and acquiring tenfold fury from compression at the narrow mouth of the Ionian Sea, raises a swell more unpleasant, if possible, than the heaving of the Bay of Biscay. We could perceive its approach at a considerable distance by the dark and angry appearance of the heavens; at length a canopy of thick broken clouds overspread the sky, which, when contrasted with the surface of the ocean covered by white foam on the curling tops of the long driving waves, together with the merchant ships in convoy with all their sails flying loose in the gale, formed a picture quite sublime. I had not time to contemplate it long; for the wind soon getting complete mastery over the sea, raised its waters, as it were, from the bottom of the abyss, making our frail vessels the very sport of the elements: I therefore retired to my

* This excellent and meritorious officer died in command of the Canadian Lakes in 1817.

† The point of the compass from which this wind blows, N.N.E. will easily account for its significant appellation.

cot, the best place for a landsman in a storm, fully convinced that the "improbus Adria" had not changed its disposition since the time when poor Horace experienced its effects. In two days the gale abated, and on the 25th of September we anchored in the roads of Zante. There the hospitable mansion of Signore Foresti, so well known to English travellers, was open to receive us.

CHAPTER V.

View of the City of Zante—Monte Scopo and Acroteria—Description of the Interior of the City—Description of the Island—Produce in Wine, Oil, and Currants, &c.—Revenue—Inhabitants—Venetian Government—Improvements by the British—Religion—Compendious Ancient and Modern History of the Isle—Antiquities—Tomb of Cicero—Pythagoras of Zacynthus, and his Invention of the Tripod-Harp—Dinner with the Governor of Zante—Exhibition of Rope-Dancers—Erection of a Theatre—Excursion to the Pitch-Wells—Manners of the Peasantry—Dinner with the Ex-Governor—Visit to Prince Comuto—Inspection of the Phigalian Marbles—Spirit of Discovery excited thereby—Account of Mr. Fiott Lee's successful Excavations in Ithaca—List of rare and valuable Articles discovered—Notice of them in the Ionian Ephemeris—Establishment of a free Press in Zante—Results that may be expected—State of the Modern Greeks—Reflections thereon—Departure for the Morea.

THE city of Zante, now, as in ancient times, the only one in the island, is about a mile and a quarter in length, lying partly on the level shore and partly on some acclivities, spreading its arms like a crescent round its beautiful bay: the principal features of the scenery are softness and elegance, which appear to have been noticed by the ancient poets*, and in which Zante is not surpassed by any other city in the Ionian sea. The monotony of an undulating outline is broken by the fine heights of Monte Scopo, and of Acroteria, anciently called Psophis, Acropolis of Zacynthus†. Upon one of its

* Αἰνέω τὰν τε Κρότωνα Καλὰ πόλις ἁ Ζάκυνθος· Theocr. Id. 4. v. 32.
† Pausan. Arcad. c. xxiv.

eminences stands the modern citadel, like a mural crown: this fortress has been considerably enlarged and repaired by the British engineers. Though the interior of the city presents but little beauty to attract the attention of a traveller who has lately quitted the magnificence of Italy or Sicily, yet if he come from an opposite quarter of the compass, he will probably be struck with its comparative neatness and regularity.

It has one principal street, which follows the winding of the bay, with a good piazza, or square, in which it is the custom of the inhabitants to walk during the cool of the evening: it contains sixty-two churches, five chapels, two convents of monks and two of nuns, besides a large general hospital, erected by the Venetians, near the church of Santa Maria, an hospital for foundlings, a large public granary, an arsenal, a lazaretto, a barrack, and a public prison: the number of its inhabitants is computed at about 12,000, which is about two-fifths of the population of the whole island: in ancient times probably both were much more populous than at present; for we learn from Herodotus, that it planted colonies very early in Crete; whilst Strabo informs us that the Spanish city of Saguntum, so celebrated for its heroic defence against Hannibal, derived its origin from Zacynthus*.

The whole circumference of the island is seventy miles, its extreme length being twenty-one, and its greatest breadth eighteen. It is divided into two districts, containing sixty-one villages and hamlets, many of which are charmingly disposed in the retreating folds of mountain ridges, where the myrtle and the vine grow in wild luxuriance, and ancient olives still form a feature of the "woody Zacynthus†." (Nemerosa Zacynthus).

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* Vide Herod. l. iii. § 59. Strab. in Hisp. lib. iii. Liv. l. xxi. c. 7.

† Its climate is temperate: the heat of summer is cooled by refreshing zephyrs, and in the winter show is scarcely ever known to remain upon the ground. Its western side is mountainous, and on the south and south-east is a fine plain, which teems with the produce of luxuriant vineyards: the soil is not remarkable for its fertility, though Pliny says it formerly was: yet I should rather accuse Pliny of an error, than suppose the land to have changed its nature: from this cause arises the superior industry and activity of its inhabitants.

"Welcome, Zacynthus, welcome are thy shades,
Thy vine-clad hills, and deep sequester'd glades!
Soft are the gales that o'er thy bosom stray,
And mild the beams that on thy mountains play*."

The chief produce of Zante consists in wine, oil, and currants. The first of these commodities is highly esteemed throughout Greece. No less than forty different sorts of it are made, some of which are sweet like the Muscat; others luscious like the Cyprus; a few are slightly acid like the Rhenish; but most are dry like the Sherry: these last mentioned wines bear the same comparative superiority in point of strength over those of the other islands as they seem to have done in ancient times†: yet many ages must elapse in the civilization of the people and the cultivation of their vines, before the produce shall rival that of ancient Greece, which was held in such estimation as to be dealt out in single portions at the tables of the great, like imperial Tokay at our modern banquets‡. The annual produce of wine in Zante averages about 45,000 Venetian barrels.

The oil is delicious in quality, though inconsiderable in quantity, and is nearly all consumed by the inhabitants.

The currants of Zante form the principal article of exportation; the weight of about 80,000 cwts. being sent annually to England, Holland, Sweden, Germany, and Venice, though the first mentioned country consumes more than all the rest together. The delicate plant which produces this fruit *(Vitis Corinthiaca)* rises to the height of about three or four feet, being very thick in branches and leaves, the latter of which are much smaller than those of the common vine: it is subject to great injury from insects when it begins to shoot, from early frosts

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* Wright's Horæ Ionicæ, p. 36.

† Χαριέστατος δ' οἶνος εἰς παλαίωσιν ὁ Κερκυραῖος· ὁ δὲ Ζακύνθιος καὶ ὁ Λευκάδιος διὰ τὸ γύψον λαβεῖν καὶ κεφαλὴν ἀδικοῦσιν· Athenæi. Deipn. lib. i. c. 25.

‡ "Tanta vero vino Græco gratia erat, ut singulæ portiones in convictu darentur."—"L. Lucullus puer apud patrem nunquam lautum convivium vidit in quo plus semel Græcum vinum daretur." Plin. N. H. lib. xiv. 16, 17.

in the spring, and from heavy rains at the time of flowering. Its fruit, when ripe, is of the size of our largest red currant, of a rich purple colour, hanging in long and beautiful clusters: its luscious flavour is agreeably tempered with a slight acidity, which renders it a very favourite article in the dessert. This vine requires a very peculiar soil and situation for its arrival at perfection: the first ought to be dry and flinty with a sufficient mixture of light clay or loam; the second should be near the sea and sheltered from the violence of the wind:—hence it will flourish only on the north or north-west coasts of the Morea, and the islands of Zante, Cephalonia and Ithaca: its culture has been attempted at Santa Maura and the other Ionian Islands, but without success. The vine begins to bear well in its seventh year, and will last near a century if proper care and attention be paid to manure it and add fresh soil whenever it begins to shew exhaustion. The grape ripens in the end of July, but the vintage does not commence till the end of August; the clusters when gathered are conveyed away in baskets, and laid upon a smooth floor formed by a fine mastic cement which prevents earthy particles from mingling with the grapes: on this floor they are carefully spread and turned every day: if the weather should prove very rainy, the hopes of the cultivator are totally destroyed: if it be fine (and it rarely happens otherwise) the fruit becomes dry in ten or twelve days; it is then cleared from external substances, and deposited in warehouses, where it emits that viscous fluid which coagulates it so closely, that a pickaxe is sometimes required to separate the mass, before it can be put into casks for exportation.

Oranges, lemons, and citrons also are exported from Zante; silk and cotton are cultivated there: its honey is excellent, and vegetables most abundant in all seasons: there are salt-works on the island which produce 40,000 barrels annually; but this is not sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants and the pickling of their olives. In exchange for its exports it has hitherto received the chief return in specie; probably there will be soon a greater demand for colonial produce and manufac-

tured goods; especially as its commerce is increasing since the completion of an excellent mole which affords complete security to ships in this before unsheltered bay: this improvement as well as the construction of excellent roads and a fine aqueduct* Zante owes to its British protectors. Corn, cattle, poultry, cheese, salt fish, and timber are procured from the opposite coast of continental Greece: in the purchase of these articles part of that money is employed which has been received from western Europe. The revenue which arises from the duties upon commerce, the appalto of tobacco, and the direct taxes is estimated at 130,000 dollars. This, however, at the time of our visit, did not reach half the sum which it cost the British government for the support of this island only: the immense wealth expended in the islands by our authorities tended greatly to improve the condition of the people†, especially as the price of all articles had become double, and of many treble that which was produced under the Venetian or French possession. The Morea also, and the states of Ali Pasha received great benefit from our contiguity.

The inhabitants of Zante are divided into three classes, that of the nobles, that of the citizens, and that of the plebeians:—The first class enjoyed under the Venetian government such extraordinary privileges as led to the most scandalous outrages upon justice and violation of all the principles of social order: they are now curbed in this licentious conduct, and many of them have retired to their estates in the country:

* The expence of this aqueduct was estimated at 30,000 dollars, whilst the annual cost of labour in bringing water to the city from the fountain called Creo-Nerò, was considered equal to 20,000.

† Each particular isle benefited more or less by the British administration, according to the zeal and talents of the *Capo di Governo*, or officer appointed to its command. I regretted much that want of time prevented us from visiting Cephalonia, which, under the able administration of Lieutenant Colonel de Bosset, was represented to us as a political phenomenon: the fine roads and the great bridge or causeway over the marshes of Argostoli, were described to us as nearly equalling the great works of the ancients in simplicity and utility: and the improvements in the island were considered astonishing when the smallness of its resources, the wild manners of its inhabitants, and the unproductive nature of its soil were taken into account. Cephalonia is noted for the singular propensity of its inhabitants to the medical profession. I have heard it asserted, but I know not upon what authority, that the celebrated remedy for the gout, known under the name of "*L'eau Medicinale*" was first discovered in this island.

the greatest portion of these families are of Venetian origin. The second class afford a curious intermixture of the Italian and the Greek in their habits and customs as well as in costume and the construction of their dwellings: in disposition they are both quick and resentful, irresolute in conduct, and so attached to their natal soil that they very rarely go abroad upon mercantile or professional speculations like their neighbours of Cephalonia. The peasantry all go armed, as was the case in the early ages of Grecian history: it will require a long time and good government to make them lay aside their offensive weapons. Their naturally irritable temper so long encouraged by that impunity for crime which they had been in the habit of purchasing from the Venetian authorities, was scarcely yet ameliorated; though the spectacle of a murderer hanging upon a height near the city, shewed that her sword and equal balance had been restored to long neglected justice. Several of the best informed inhabitants expressed to me their confidence that not only the wealth and population, but the physical and moral state of the island, would greatly improve under the administration of Great Britain; nor did I feel a small degree of pleasure in thinking that it should owe these advantages to my own country.

The principal religious rites exercised in Zante are those of the Greek church, at the head of which is a Protopapas or chief-priest, who is elected every five years by the Executive Government, and is subject to the Bishop of Cephalonia: there are also twenty-five *pentadi* or canons who are nominated by the bishop.

The Latin church was established by the Venetians with considerable splendour. It had a bishop at its head, and the diocese comprised the islands of Cephalonia, Ithaca, Santa Maura and Cerigo, with the towns of Prevesa and Vonizza upon the gulph of Arta. There has, however, been no Catholic bishop appointed since the demise of the last prelate Francesco Mercati in 1804, when the diocese was committed to the charge of an apostolical vicar named Ignazio

Palmidessa. The episcopal income was only 1100 dollars, out of which he had to pay more than half in the expences of public worship: there is a cathedral, with twelve canons, besides four churches and several monasteries.

The Jews in Zante have two synagogues; but this people exist here in miserable indigence, and are exposed to considerable oppression; being confined to one particular quarter of the town, and shut up at certain hours, just as I have seen them treated in some of the cities of Morocco. It would become the Greeks who are so clamorous for the revival of their own freedom, to shew a little more liberality themselves towards this persecuted race: still they are never known to have condemned them at an auto da fe*.

The ancient history of Zante is scarcely worth a very minute detail. Its first appellation of Hyrie or Hyria† seems to point it out as a Bœotian colony. Its subsequent title was derived from the hero Zacynthus, a citizen of Psophis in Arcadia, who gave the name of his native city to the height upon which he built his Acropolis, and which is now called Acroteria. Dionysius of Halicarnassus records that Æneas in his exile came to this island and was hospitably received by its inhabitants on account of his relationship to their Arcadian founder: he relates also, that the Trojan hero, during his sojourn, erected a temple to the goddess Venus, and instituted games in a stadium adjoining, wherein he who first entered the temple was declared the victor. According to Plutarch, it was in this stadium that Dion gave a magnificent feast to his troops before he led them against the tyrant of Syracuse, after having made a grand sacrifice to Apollo, the patron of the isle.

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* "Till within the last fifty years, the burning of a Jew formed the highest delight of the Portuguese: they thronged to behold this triumph of the faith, and the very women shouted with transport as they saw the agonized martyr writhe at the stake. Neither sex nor age could save this persecuted race, and Antonio Joseph da Silva, the best of their dramatic writers, was burnt alive, because he was a Jew."
Southey's Letters from Spain and Portugal, vol. ii. p. 112.

† Inter hanc et Achaiam cum oppido magnifica et fertilitate præcipua Zacynthus aliquando appellata Hyrie, Cephaleniæ a meridiana parte xxii. M. abest. Mons Elatus ibi nobilis.—Pliny, l. iv. c. 12.

The Mons Elatus of Pliny is now called Monte Scopo, and is reckoned to be about 1500 feet above the level of the sea.

The ceremonies were solemnized by moonlight, the moon being then full: in the midst of the entertainment a total eclipse occurred, at which the superstitious soldiers were at first dispirited, and if they had been commanded by a Nicias would probably have revolted: Dion, however, adroitly turned off the omen to the discomfiture of the tyrant whom they were about to attack. This spot was long afterwards called by tradition the stadium of Æneas; it is now known by the name of L'Aringo (an Italian word which has nearly a similar signification) and it is not much more than half a century since annual foot-races here were discontinued. The spot is underneath the rocks of Acroteria, and the church of Saint Michael is supposed to occupy the site of the temple, either of Venus or Apollo.

I shall not dwell upon the regal and aristocratical governments of Zacynthus, its alliances with the Athenians, Etolians, and Macedonians, its cession to Achaia, its liberation by Flaminius; and its final subjugation beneath the Roman yoke: during the decay of that vast empire it suffered all the miseries and calamities from barbarous invaders to which its situation peculiarly exposed it: under Valerian and Gallienus A. D. 255, it was overrun by terrible incursions of the Goths, and in the reign of Valentinian and Valens, A. D. 437, it partook in an eminent degree of the misfortunes which Greece endured by the devastations of Genseric and his Vandals; though it was liberated soon afterwards by the great Belisarius. When the empire, under the immediate descendants of Heraclius, was divided into Themes, it was attached to that of Lombardy; but Leo the philosopher included it in a new Theme, of which Cephalonia was the head, and of which it continued an integral part till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the Franks took possession of the Byzantine throne: it was then, as well as Cephalonia, erected into a Palatinate, and gave the title of Count to its governor. In 1479 it was attacked by the Turkish fleet, and fell into the hands of those terrible barbarians, after the greatest part of its inhabitants had been removed to places of safety by the interference of the Venetian admiral. It was now cruelly laid waste, and

in 1485 the Venetians again acquired possession of it by purchase: they colonized it with settlers who fled from that tyranny which the Mahometans exercised in the Morea. In 1571, the Turks disembarked 12,000 men from a very formidable armament, and again totally devastated the island; but they were bravely repulsed by the Venetian proveditore or governor, Paolo Contarini, seconded by the inhabitants of the city. It continued attached to the republic of Venice till it fell, with all the other Ionian islands, before the arms of France in 1797, and was confirmed to that power by the treaty of Campo Formio. In 1801, after the islands had been liberated from this yoke by the united arms of Russia and Turkey, they were formed into the Septinsular republic, with a free constitution, under the presidency of the Prince Comuto, a nobleman of high rank and unimpeachable character. The treaty of Tilsit in 1807 destroyed this constitution, and threw the islands once more under the military despotism of France, from which Zante, together with Cephalonia, Cerigo, Ithaca, and Sta. Maura, was fortunately delivered by the British under General Oswald in 1810, and made the capital of the *Ionian Liberated Islands:* after the fall of Buonaparte the seat of government was transferred to Corfu. The revolutions in the latter period of its history being intimately connected with the affairs of Albania, will be treated of more at large in a subsequent part of this memoir.

Owing to the terrible incursions of barbarians in the middle ages of the eastern empire, scarcely any vestiges of ancient art have been discovered in this island. On the altar of a Greek chapel at Melinado, about three miles from the city, a Greek inscription is preserved which indicates the dedication of Helenippa by her parents to Diana, who shared the honours of presidency over Zacynthus with her brother Apollo*.

ΑΡΧΙΚΛΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΚΙΔΑΜΑ
ΑΡΧΙΚΛΕΟΣ ΕΛΕΝΙΠΠΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ ΟΠΙΤΙΔΙ.

A temple with a venerable grove dedicated to this goddess are supposed also to have existed on the site of the great monastery of Scopò*:

> Where still the pilgrim bends with holy dread,
> And to the Virgin pours the votive strain
> 'Mid shades that once confessed Diana's reign†.

Over the entrance of the chapel is a large stone inscribed with one of those exquisite and pithy moral sentences which the ancient Greeks knew how to express with so much force and elegance:

Ο ΦΘΟΝΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΟΙΣ ΒΕΛΕΕΣΣΙ ΔΑΜΑΖΕΙ.

ENVY FOILS ITSELF WITH ITS OWN WEAPONS.

Some excavations having been made below the fortress of Acroteria, a considerable number of leaden pellets for slings were dug up, each inscribed with the name of the maker Asclepiodorus, ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ. But the most curious discovery of all seems to have been made in the year 1544, if the accounts of it transmitted to us be genuine. This discovery revealed to the world after a lapse of so many centuries, the tomb of the immortal Tully: it was laid open accidentally by some workmen as they were digging for the foundation of a Latin convent near the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie. The following is the inscription upon the monument, in which the form of the letters (the strongest mark of spuriousness connected with the story) has been accurately preserved.

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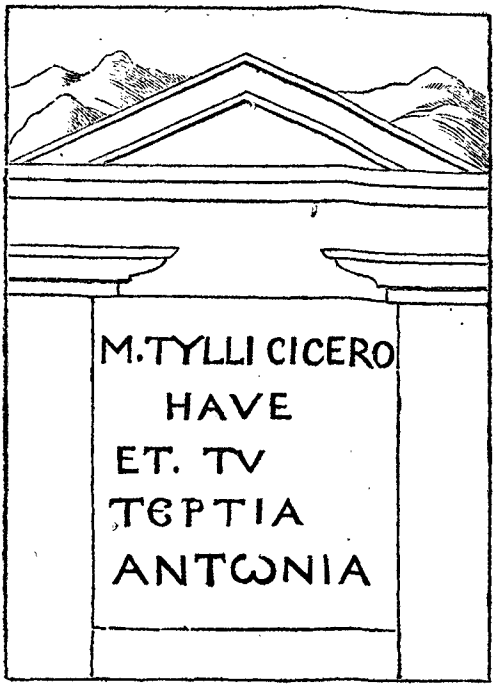
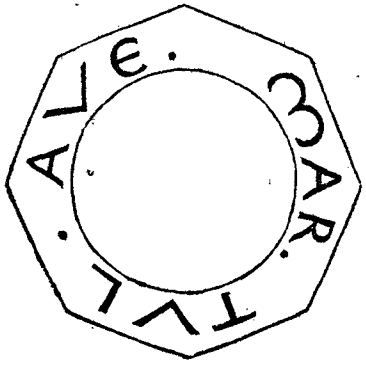
* This monastery stands above the village of Scopò, and has been founded many centuries: it is very rich, and the appointment of the hegumenos, or abbot, is attached to the family of Logotheti.

† Horæ Ion. p. 41.



Within the sepulchre two urns were found, one of which was empty, but the other contained ashes, and had the following inscription engraved upon its pedestal:



* Vid. Struvii Bibl. libr. rar. Jen. 1719. The first account of this discovery was published at Venice in 1557, by F. Desyderius Signamineus, a Paduan, but was written by him in 1547. He says he saw the urn and inscription in his voyage from Crete, and that it had been found in 1544 by Frere Angelo, a Minorite, in digging for the foundation of a monastery. Remondini has also published an account of the transaction.

As no historian even hints at the place of Cicero's interment, his mutilated corpse, if the story be true, must have been conveyed hither by his slaves after his inhuman murder on the shore of Caieta. There we know he had a ship in readiness, and had confided his intention of passing into Greece to his faithful attendants, who thus endeavoured to fulfil after his death what appeared to be the wishes of their beloved master in his life; yet it is extraordinary that the secret of his burial place did not transpire, since the incident of his death, as the elegant author of his Life observes, continued fresh on the minds of the Romans for many ages after, and was delivered down to posterity as one of the most affecting and memorable events of their history; so that the spot on which it happened seems to have been visited by travellers with a species of religious veneration*.

Still more singular appears to be the insertion of the name of *Tertia Antonia* in the monumental inscription. It was a curious accident that mingled with the ashes of Cicero those of a person belonging to the family of his murderer†. Before this sepulchre was finally closed up, the celebrated anatomist Andrea Vesalio, who had been denounced by the Spanish inquisition for unfortunately dissecting a body in which some signs of life appeared, and had in consequence been sent on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem by Philip II., was wrecked upon the island in his return, and died there in October, 1564. His ashes repose within the Ciceronian tomb.

The list of men eminent in literature, science, or the fine arts, which Zacynthus produced, is extremely small. Athenæus, however, has preserved the memory of an invention by a native musician named Pythagoras‡ which I think deserves insertion, because it tends to throw some

* Middleton's Life of Cic. vol. iii. p. 315.

† Caius Antonius, uncle of the Triumvir, and a particular friend of Cicero, during his exile from Rome resided a long time in the island of Cephalonia: this lady, therefore, may possibly have been a member of his family who died about the time of the arrival of Cicero's corpse.

‡ Diogenes Laertius in his Life of Pythagoras mentions a Zacynthian Philosopher of this name whose authority was so great with his disciples, that the ipse dixit of their master was the decision of all their arguments; and the "Αυτὸς ἔφα" became a proverb.

light upon the music of the ancients. This invention was the *tripod-harp*. A description of the instrument is quoted by Athenæus from Artemon, who is not very clear in his elucidation: but I conceive it to have been contrived nearly after the following manner. A frame was constructed, somewhat similar in form to the Delphic tripod*, resting with three feet upon a moveable basis; this, when strung with chords, would present the appearance of three harps, forming the three sides of a triangle†, the top being surmounted by a concave hemispheroidal ornament which served as a sounding-board to increase the richness of the tone‡. Each of these three different instruments was set to what the ancients called a different *mode* or *harmony*, viz. to the Dorian, the Lydian, and the Phrygian *mode*§: and this circumstance seems clearly to point out the nature of a *mode* to have been what we denominate a *key*, which is explained to be a Diatonic or Chromatic scale, the notes of which bear certain relations to one principal note, from which they are all in some respects derived, and upon which they all depend. A seat seems to have been attached to the instrument for the performer, who brought each instrument round to his hand with great celerity by moving the basis with his foot, and was thus enabled to adapt his different airs to suitable keys‖, or to join that delightful effect to his composition which is felt in a skilful intermixture of the major and minor keys. Modern science has effected all this, and much more, by the simple and ingenious contrivance of the pedal-harp. The tripod of Pythagoras, which excited

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* Παραπλήσιος μὲν Δελφικῷ τρίποδι, καὶ τὸνομα ἐντεῦθεν ἔσχεν· τὴν δὲ χρῆσιν τριπλῆς κιθάρας παρείχετο. Athen. lib. xiv. c. 9.

† Τῶν γὰρ ποδῶν ἑστώτων ἐπί τινος βάσεως εὐστρόφου . . . . . τὰς μέσας τρεῖς χώρας τὰς ἀπὸ ποδὸς ἐπὶ πόδα διεξώσας ἐνέτεινεν χορδαῖς.

‡ Καὶ τὸν ἐπάνω κόσμον κοίνον τῶ λέβητος καὶ τῶν παρηρτημένων ἐνίων ἀποδὼς· ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν ἔιχεν ἀτειάν καὶ τὸν ἦχον προσέβαλεν ἀδρότερον·

§ Διένειμεν δὲ εκάτῃ χώρᾳ τὰς τρεῖς ἁρμονίας, τήν τε Δωριστὶ καὶ Λυδιστὶ καὶ Φρυγιστὶ.

‖ Καὶ καθεζόμενος ἀυτὸς ἐπί τινος δίφρου περὶ ταυτὸν συμμέτρως ἔχοντος τῇ συστάσει, διάρας δὲ τὴν εὐώνυμον χεῖρα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χρησόμενος τῷ πλήκτρῳ, &c. The latter part of this sentence has the appearance of indicating that he used his hand as well as the plectrum in the performance, though the phrase πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν may possibly allude only to his catching, and thereby stopping the instrument, as it moved on the circular basis.

the most unbounded admiration at its first invention, sunk into neglect and oblivion at his death, either from the difficulty of playing upon it or from some other cause which is now unknown.

On the day of our landing in Zante we dined with the governor, General Campbell, and had the pleasure of meeting at his table a large party composed entirely of our own countrymen, at so great a distance from our native land. It consisted of British officers; and in what society of men shall we look for more polished manners, a higher sense of honour, or a more extended range of information? Yet with all these estimable qualities, they are in general more respected than beloved by foreigners, especially by those who are subjected to their authority. The French without a tenth part of their merit, find means to conciliate in a much greater degree the affections of their dependants. The reason lies in that lofty carriage and hauteur which the Englishman generally preserves, and in that distance which he interposes between himself and those whom he considers his inferiors: in the contempt he feels for their society, he forgets to make due allowance for their want of those advantages which he has himself enjoyed; and in repelling their advances, he loses the opportunity of ameliorating their character and securing their attachment. The Frenchman is equally convinced of his own superiority, but the bad effects of this conviction are prevented by his social spirit.

In the evening we accompanied the General and his suite to an exhibition of rope-dancers in a temporary amphitheatre that had been erected for the purpose. This was the first public amusement of any kind, except that of a religious festival, which had been introduced into the island within the memory of man. The inhabitants, who had not yet laid aside their ancient prejudices, objected to it principally on account of the clamorous importunities of the female part of their establishments, whose natural curiosity strongly excited them to break down those barriers which had hitherto prevented their mingling with

the other sex in public *. A more intimate society with their protectors, and the erection of a theatre, which even now was in a state of considerable forwardness, bade fair soon to level all the fences which custom had opposed against the encroachments of immorality. Whether that influence of female association which refines the manners and infuses delicacy and sentiment into conversation, will compensate to society for the chance of mental corruption, is a matter of speculation.

Next morning, being kindly provided with horses by Mr. Foresti, we made an excursion to the celebrated pitch wells or springs of petroleum, near Port Cherì, in a low marshy plain bounded by the sea and some low hills, exactly similar in situation and appearance to what they were when visited and described by the Father of Grecian History †. The inhabitants also collect the pitch in small quantities, just as they may require it, according to the ancient method: we observed some of them dipping myrtle branches attached to long poles into the ebullient sources. This nafta rises up to the surface of the water in large globular bubbles, filled with air, which gradually expand and burst, when the substance itself subsides at the bottom of the wells: the largest of these appeared to contain a depth of water of about four feet and to be three yards in diameter: a quantity of bituminous particles covered the surface which shone in the sun with all the colours of the rainbow: as the sea near the shore is sometimes thus variegated, it is thought that another source of the petroleum

* A deputation waited upon the governor, during our residence in Zante, to request his authority for the exclusion of men and women, alternately, at these exhibitions; this however it was thought proper to refuse. The few ladies we saw amongst the company were chiefly of Venetian or Italian origin. It is a curious fact that the same degrees of liberty allowed to females, of mixing in social parties and public amusements, remain to the modern descendants of the Greeks and Romans, as distinguished their early ancestors. "Quis enim Romanorum (says Cicero) pudet uxorem inducere in convivium? Aut cujus materfamilias non primum tenet locum atque in celebritate versatur? Quod fit aliter in Græcia." Act. iii. in Verr.

† Καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ λίμνης καὶ ὕδατος πίσσαν ἀναφερομένην ἀντὸς ἐγὼ ὥρεον· εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῦνες αἱ λίμναι ἀντόθι· &c. Herod. l. iv. c. 195.

arises below its waves according to the opinion which Herodotus expresses: indeed at this day the finest bitumen is picked up on the shore in hard lumps, and this, when mixed with that of the wells, forms the best composition for pitching the sides of vessels. The ground all around these sources is hollow and shakes like a quagmire: probably if it were perforated a much larger produce of the mineral might be procured. At present not more than a hundred barrels are gathered annually.

From the pitch-wells we returned along the beautiful shore of Zante in sight of the classic coasts of Peloponnesus rising above the Ionian waves: we dismounted once or twice to pick some of the grapes which were growing wild in the very sand and were of a remarkably fine flavour. Every peasant we met was armed with a musket, and many of these fellows had very ferocious countenances. Our guide pointed out a deserted house into which five of them had entered not more than a month before and murdered every member of the family even to an infant sleeping in the cradle. This was an act of retaliation because the master of it had given information against them in some of their malpractices. The deed was perpetrated in open day and General Campbell himself met the assassins in his morning ride, as they were flying towards the shore to take refuge in Pátras*.

We dined this day with General Airey, the ex-governor, whose house was sweetly situated amidst beautiful olive groves and sloping hills, about five miles from the city. At his table we met some of the best society which the island afforded: amongst the party were a young Zantiot count and countess, who were said to afford a perfect pattern of conjugal fidelity in a country where the marriage ties are

* We saw three of these wretches afterwards at Patras, which was at this time made a nest of villains.

not considered very binding. But the most interesting of the guests were a royal pair, wandering at this time almost without a home, though now raised by the eventful occurrences of our times to the splendours of a throne. These illustrious personages were the Archduke Francis* and his lovely bride, whom he was carrying away from her paternal court of Sardinia. He appeared a very affable well-informed man, but the character and manners of the princess were peculiarly interesting. Young, beautiful, and accomplished, her presence inspired life and soul into society, instead of that gloom which reserve and pride invariably produce: not that she ever lost sight of her own dignity or that decorum which females of high rank in the south of Europe are too frequently accused of violating. They had resided in this island about two months, being furnished with an excellent house and every other accommodation by the splendid hospitality of Mr. Foresti.

Next morning, whilst my friend rode over to General Airey's, I accompanied Mr. Foresti to the palace of the Prince Comuto. We found this nobleman living in a calm and dignified retirement, after the fatigues of an active life, in which he had executed the high functions of President of the Septinsular republic in such a manner as secured to him the approbation of his conscience and the respect of his countrymen. His amiable princess, the only daughter of Mr. Foresti, is a woman of the most brilliant talents and refined accomplishments, possessing an extraordinary skill in languages which she acquired under the tuition of Monsieur Guys, the celebrated Grecian traveller. Their house is a retreat to all foreigners of distinction, who have free access to the literary treasures of an excellent library, and enjoy the best society which this part of the world produces.

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* First cousin to the Emperor of Austria, and reigning Duke of Modena.

On the return of Mr. Parker we were conducted by Mr. Zervo, the secretary of our host, to view the beautiful Phigalian frieze which had lately been discovered and rescued from a long oblivion by Mr. Cockerell and his companions*: it lay here at this time previously to its removal to England; as it is now deposited in our national museum, a description of it would be superfluous in this place.

The success attending the researches of these gentlemen, added to some other causes which it is unnecessary to mention, had excited to a very considerable degree the spirit of discovery amongst our countrymen in the Ionian islands: this had brought to light many interesting remains of antiquity, illustrating the progress of the arts, manners, and institutions of these western islanders in former ages: it would seem indeed that they not only equalled their continental neighbours in mechanical ingenuity, but excelled them in the possession of enormous wealth. It is an extraordinary circumstance that all the treasures which have been discovered, consisting of rich embossed and figured plate in chalices, pateræ, lamps, and vases, of beautiful chains, rings, clasps, and other ornaments in the finest gold, besides the usual implements of bronze and terra cotta, were extracted from the receptacles of the dead. Nothing like these was ever discovered in the sepulchres of Attica or any part of Greece before: their present discovery tends naturally to raise our ideas in estimating the former wealth, commerce, and population of these isles, and to afford the most cheering prospect of their future prosperity under the advan-

* This temple was situated at Bassæ, a small dependency of Phigalia in Arcadia, upon the summit of Cotylium, one of the mountains which formed the magnificent scenery around that city. Its architect was the celebrated Ictinus, and the sculpture is supposed to be the work of Phidias and his pupils: this sculpture, when perfect, formed an ornamental frieze (the subject a Centauromachia and battle of the Amazons), which ran round the interior of the cella; being, as I believe, a solitary instance of such a decoration. The temple itself was greatly admired for its fine proportions and beauty of construction: contrary to the general practice of the Greeks, it faced N. and S. (Pausan. Arcad. c. 41.) and had only twelve columns on each flank of the peristyle, including those at the angles. The temple of Venus, also upon Mount Cotylium, mentioned by Pausanias, still remains to reward the discovery of future travellers.

tages of a just and moderate government: surely none but a great commercial and ingenious people, for whom other less favoured or less industrious nations penetrated the bowels of the earth and laboured in the noxious mine, could have dared to waste so great a proportion of the precious metals by enclosing them in the tomb: had all the Hellenic tribes indulged in such a practice, not even the mines of Chili and Peru, had they then existed, would have sufficed for such an extravagant expenditure. The grand discovery of these sepulchral treasures was made in the little rocky isle of Ithaca—the principal scene of excavation was Mount Aïto* (or the Eagle), where ruins exist of a city, with its acropolis, and which tradition still fixes on for the residence of Ulysses. The projector and leader of this enterprise was Mr. Fiott Lee, of whom it may be truly said, as of the famed Ithacensian hero, πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω. Had this gentleman not been prevented by mean jealousy and undue influence, he would have enriched his country with a matchless collection of rare and valuable antiquities: these treasures have since fallen into the hands of a semi-barbarian who took advantage of my friend's penetration, counteracted his designs, and reaped the fruits of his labour: part of them he has since sold and dispersed; and has even melted down, as I have been credibly informed, with a more than Verrine stolidity, some thousand ounces of silver and gold comprised in the most beautiful ornaments of Grecian art. From the choice curiosities however which Mr. Lee did procure I shall present the reader with the following list, by which he will be enabled to judge of the loss which this country has sustained from the impediments thrown in the way of that enterprising traveller.

* This mountain stands at the very head of a deep gulf which nearly divides the island into two parts, and in which is Vathi, the modern capital, on a port of the same name. If the dominions of Ulysses abounded thus in wealth at an early period, we might fancy that other charms besides those of his Penelope, attracted that chieftain, amidst all his wanderings, towards the rocky isle.

1. A large silver patera, beautifully embossed*.

2. A fine silver chalice of exquisite workmanship encircled with a beautiful figured pattern, and gilt.

3. Two large silver ear-rings, or bracelets.

4. A very antique silver ring with a plain crystal turning upon a pivot.

5. A silver ring, to which a circular plate, like the head of a button, is attached, bearing the impression of a winged Cupid stretching his bow: round the circumference is a wreath of laurel.

6. A gold ring, similar in shape, but larger than the above, with the impression of an elegant Grecian female pouring frankincense upon a candelabrum from which a flame arises: it has an ornamental border of flowers.

7. Part of some female ornament, of bronze gilt, with a curiously formed hinge and beautifully worked: it was probably intended to confine the hair.

8. A fine gold chain, as perfect as if the workman had just sent it from his shop; very strong, with double links: the ends are tastefully finished with lions' heads, one of which retains the precious stones inserted for the eyes†.

9. The most elegant ornament in the whole collection. It is of the purest gold, and represents a Syren. The upper part of the figure is that of a woman, and the lower that of a bird; she appears to have been holding in her hands some musical instrument which is broken: the wings are erect and raised perpendicularly above the head;

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* A small piece of this and another beautiful relic having been broken off in the carriage I gave them to our common friend Dr. Clarke to analyze. The following is the result in his own words. "The vase, so beautifully ornamented and embossed, is of silver, so nearly pure that it contains much less of alloy than our silver coin: the bracelets (No. 3) are also of silver, but nearly converted into horn-silver by being so long buried."

† At first sight it has the appearance of a Maltese chain, but upon closer inspection this is found not to be the case.

it has the tail of a bird behind, and above this a hook for affixing it probably to some part of the female attire.

10. A considerable quantity of leaves of fine beaten gold, representing the laurel, the olive, and the myrtle: each leaf is perforated for the purpose of forming a chaplet, and there are square laminæ to which the branches have been attached*.

11. Several very fine heads in terra-cotta, votive offerings. The reader may see an excellent representation of similar figures in Dr. Clarke's Travels, part ii. sect. 3, p. 70.

12. Many extremely rare and curious sepulchral vases, of various shapes and materials: some are formed of a vitreous substance of different colours, and ornamented with zig-zag patterns.

These valuable remains of antiquity are all in the possession of Mr. Lee, and have been submitted to my own inspection: but as that gentleman had several companions in his researches, they also became entitled to a share in the treasures that were thus discovered. Among Mr. Lee's memoranda I find mention made of the following articles:

A superb necklace of gold, consisting of a thin band, twenty-eight inches long: the central ornament is a gordian knot, exquisitely adorned with garnets, golden roses, and pendants in the shape of poppy-heads: the workmanship is admirable; on the interior surface appears the legend ΣΑΦΦΟΥ ΛΑΩΔΑΜΙΑΣ.

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* The custom of placing a crown upon the head, as well as aliment and vases by the side of a corpse, is thus alluded to in a fragment quoted by Athenæus, lib. xi. p. 460.

—— Νέκυς δὲ χαμαιτρώτης ἐπὶ θινὸς
Εὐρείης τιβάδος προέθηκ'. ἀντῶισι θαλείαν
δᾶιτα, ποτήριά τε, στεφάνης τ' ἐπὶ κρασὶν ἔθηκεν·

Hence the phrase "operæ coronam imponere:" the custom arose from that of placing a crown upon the head of the conqueror who had finished his course in the stadium, to which that of life was metaphorically assimilated. The Athenians are said to have been the first people that introduced the chaplet or crown of olive, with which they surrounded the bust of Pericles. A similar one, according to Pausanias, was placed on the statue of the Olympian Jupiter (Eliac. c. xi.). One of the laws of Athens forbade a prostitute to wear a chaplet of gold (Meurs. Them. Att. p. 16.).

Chaine d'or filé très fine, terminée à chaque coté par deux cones, une pierre bleue et une tête de bœuf.—Bague d'or en forme de serpent.—Dix feuilles de chêne d'or qui formoient une couronne.—Fleur de laurier-rose.

A golden ornament in the shape of a ring, thick at one end and gradually diminishing to the other, formed of a number of spiral threads of the finest texture: at the thick end is a large head of a lion beautifully executed, at the other one of smaller dimensions. A golden serpent in form of a triple ring; the head and tail in folds and the parts adjoining to them spotted.

The handle of a sword, adorned with a golden chain, upon which are strung beads of the same material in the shape of laurel berries.

A circular lamina of silver adorned with a female head in high relief—the expression of the face very beautiful and majestic; probably a Penelope.

Belier de terre cuite de trois pouces de hauteur et quatre et demi de longueur; la tête très bien travaillée.—Vase d'albâtre très blanc et fin, de quatre pouces de diamètre.

A silver bason seven inches and a half in diameter and three in height, similar in form to the cap of Ulysses represented on the medals of Ithaca.

A magnificent plate of silver nine inches and a half in diameter, one and two-eighths in height; inside plain; but the exterior beautifully worked in a double pattern of embossed conical ornaments, sixteen of which form the interior and thirty-two the exterior circle.

Two large earthen tiles, thirty-nine inches by thirteen, in the shape of shields or bucklers, found at the bottom of a tomb with the concave part uppermost.

Vase magnifique d'argent, d'un travail et d'un goût le plus pur et antique. La partie superieure du couvercle est travaillée en feuilles d'olivier; parmi lesquelles on voit du fruit qui ressemble beaucoup à la cerise.

In addition to this list were found many implements of bronze, as nails, knife-blades, styli, strigils, metallic mirrors, terra-cotta lamps, silver pins, and a few coins chiefly Corinthian. These discoveries of course excited great sensation amongst the literati of the Ionian Islands, and the knowledge of them was spread rapidly through the neighbouring continent by means of the Ionian Ephemeris, or Zante Gazette, which, embracing literary as well as political topics, had obtained a very extensive circulation: this produced a multifarious correspondence upon the subject and some ingenious remarks.

It is impossible to contemplate the establishment of a free Press in this part of Europe, connected with the publication of elementary books, patriotic tracts, and scientific researches subservient to that system of public education, which was, and continues to be so laudably patronised by government, without allowing the mind to range in the wide field of speculative opinion and form its conjectures concerning the result. With regard to the Ionian republic itself, we may fairly augur the most happy consequences, if the plan of amelioration there pursued shall advance gradually from step to step towards the attainment of practical good by cautious investigation and steady perseverance. But the philanthropic mind is led to hope that the advantages of this system will not be confined to the narrow circle of the Ionian Islands, but that in time they may extend themselves to that unfortunate race, occupants of the soil, if not legitimate descendants of those heroes, whose very names still shed a blaze of glory over the land which contains their ashes. This subject has of late engaged much of the public attention, and excited no common degree of interest: where indeed could it excite an interest, if not in this nation, whose constitution breathes so much the spirit of ancient liberty, and whose youth imbibe no inconsiderable portion of their generous sentiments from the inimitable authors of ancient Greece?

Independently however of all adventitious circumstances, there

never was a people that possessed so strong a claim to the sympathy and commiseration of the world as the modern Greeks: their case is without a parallel in the annals of history. Ages of degrading despotism under the Byzantine Emperors had extinguished all the fire of their national character, and rendered them an easy prey to the first invader that should attempt their subjugation. Their beautiful country, decorated by nature like a victim for the sacrifice, seemed to invite the conqueror. He came in the furious fanatic Mussulman: irresistible in his onset like the ocean wave, every prince in Christendom began to tremble for his crown; much less could the enervated arm of Greece oppose a barrier to his progress; it fell paralyzed beneath the stroke of his sweeping scymitar.

Other nations, besides this, have seen their fertile plains overrun by barbarians and subjected to their lawless sway; yet in the progress of years they have amalgamated with the invaders and forgotten their feuds in a peaceable union between the victors and the vanquished: but who like the Greeks ever lay for so many ages crushed beneath the weight which first oppressed them, without solace, without hope, deserted by the world, and separated from their oppressors by the indelible distinction of abject slavery? Their tyrants indeed are now become formidable only to their unfortunate slaves; their military ardour has evaporated with their religious enthusiasm; their power is contemptible, and their glory exists only in the memory of their ancient exploits: yet this very debility has become their strength, this impotence their security: they are considered now as an effectual bar against the encroachment of ambitious potentates, and their rotten throne is supported by the balance of European power. Thus the crescent shines in its wane as bright as in its ascendant: barbarians, stained with inhuman vices, bitter enemies of the Christian faith, are allowed to depopulate whole districts of the finest country upon earth, to massacre their inhabitants by thousands, to load them with every indignity and insult, till they fly for refuge within the pale of Mahometanism, whilst Christian kings

and governors look on with apathy or content, and Christian people stigmatize the very idea of their liberation with impolicy or injustice, crying out with one accord that the Greeks are unfit for liberty.

It would indeed be the height of absurdity to suppose that any nation in these days either will or can be Quixotic enough to attempt their gratuitous liberation. The season for crusades is long past, and any power that should now attempt the invasion of European Turkey, would be instigated only by ambitious motives and the desire of aggrandizement: in this she would be opposed by the other civilized states of Europe, would be obliged to withdraw from the contest, and leave the unfortunate Greeks exposed to the merciless rage of their infuriated tyrants: this was the case when Russia made her last attempt; at that time the poetical figure of rivers flowing with blood was literally exemplified, and the calm of death succeeded to the tempest of roused animosity and disappointed hopes*. The Greeks therefore must deprecate the invasion of their country by a foreign power, and fear such interested friends as mortal enemies.

What then, it may be said, remains for them to expect and others to bestow?—what, but the means of liberating themselves? and these means are not included solely in arms or subsidies: they would be of little service to a people so ignorant, so distracted among themselves, and so debased; a people certainly unfit at present for national independence: it is impossible to eulogize their character: with a few exceptions, it is in a high degree demoralized, and affords as bad a foundation to build upon as ever was presented to the political architect: but being convinced that national manners and morals depend mainly upon the government to which they are subjected, that the constitution of laws, not of minds, forms the chief difference amongst men, that superficial

* The Porte at this time had very nearly come to a resolution of exterminating all her Grecian population: it was only prevented in the divan by the famous Gazi Hassan, Capudan Pasha, simply asking the sage counsellors of the Turkish empire, "who was thenceforth to pay the haratch or capitation tax?"

observers too often mistake a natural for a native character, and that a people always degenerate in proportion as they lose their liberty and rights, I would make a reasonable allowance for their vices, and rejoice to see scope and opportunity given them for the cultivation and exercise of the opposite virtues. I cannot believe that hypocrisy, perfidy, and meanness, are *inherent* in their disposition, being convinced by experience, that the natural sensibility and good qualities of the Greek character are always found more pure in proportion as they are less exposed to the influence of Turkish despotism—fraud is the only instrument left in the hands of slaves to counteract the oppressor's wrongs: avarice takes deepest root, where every honourable stimulus to action is destroyed, or the sources of emulation are diverted: nor is it possible to root out these vices or shew their deformity to a people from whom the light of knowledge is excluded. So completely were the Greeks debased, that it was only by the late attempts of foreign potentates or the casual influx of modern travellers, that they came to know their own claims to independence or the glorious annals of their immortal ancestors. Liberty must still wait until the buds of patriotism can be unfolded and actions be directed by the proper development of principles: but let those who are themselves basking in the sunshine of prosperity be less liberal in their reproaches against this unfortunate race; and let every nation, as she has it in her power, assist them in emerging from the darkness of intellectual bondage, and in breaking the fetters of prejudice and superstition. Knowledge will not do every thing, but without it nothing can be done: without this acquisition the Greeks will never become sensible of their defects, nor learn the true value of liberty: their hereditary feuds and provincial animosities will continue, that unnatural alliance between their oppressors and their priests, who are by habit, interest, and prejudice the supporters of despotism, will be unbroken, all channels for the communication of political sentiment will remain closed, and the direction of popular

opinion, as hitherto, unknown. But when knowledge, whose power is stronger than arms of steel, shall animate the mass and mingle itself in the system, when virtuous and patriotic sentiments shall be sown in infancy, nourished in youth, and perfected in manhood, then may the sons of Greece arise and throw off the yoke of slavery as a lion shakes the dew-drops from his mane; then may they dash down from its pedestal of clay that colossus which now towers above their unfortunate country in all the horrible deformity of an evil genius; then may they claim the sepulchres of those who fell at Thermopylæ and Platæa. How far distant this period may be, is known to that Being alone who can bring good out of evil, and whose throne is far above the reach of mortal ken: but length of time is requisite to perfect the fruits of knowledge; its stem, like that of the oak, comes gradually to maturity. Reform, to be effectual, must be progressive; must work by the light of experience as well as that of reason; must sow the seed before it expect to reap the fruit; and if it fail in compassing its philanthropic views, must console its disappointments by the anticipation of what futurity may bring forth.

Under these impressions, whilst I contemplated the progress of improvement in Zante, I pleased myself with thinking that England might be the nation to whom the Greeks, under Providence, would owe the recovery of their freedom. From the Ionian islands as a centre, I fancied that I beheld the rays of knowledge diverging over the horizon, and continental Greece illuminated by their influence. I saw England placed in a most conspicuous situation, the eyes of Greece turned upon her and imploring her pity and protection; I saw how she now distributed the blessings of civilization among her dependants and maintained her ancient character for generosity and good faith. How ardently did I hope that she might ever preserve that character, and abstain from sacrificing the interests of humanity to a mistaken policy the effect of which would be to alienate from herself the affections of

an interesting unfortunate people, and throw them into the arms of another power, whose preponderance might thence become too great for the repose and prosperity of the European states.

I beg pardon of the reader for this long digression; in consideration of which I will spare him the tedious recital of leave-taking and other preparations for our departure in Zante, and transport him at once over the Ionian waves to the shores of ancient Peloponnesus.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrival at Patrâs—Fast of the Ramazah—Greek Host and his Sons—Hospitality of the English Consul—Turkish Bath—Scenery around Patras—Manners of the People—Serious Affray—Visit to the Vaivode—Departure from Patras—Description of a Turkish Han—Reflections thereon—City of Calavrita—Ruins of Cynethæ—Conduct, and singular Visage of a Postmaster—Suthenà—Arcadian Scenery and Peasantry—River Aroanius—Bridge and Tomb of a Turkish Agà—Han—Climate of Arcadia—Plain of Mantinéa—Arrival at Tripolizza—Greek Dragoman—Unfortunate Dilemma with the Pasha—Cephalonian Doctor—Visit to Ruins of Tegea—Friendly Conduct of Nourri Bey—Extract from Mr. Cockerell's Tour in the Morea—His Discovery of the Phigalian Marbles, &c.—Departure from Tripolizza—Mount Parthenion—Lernæan Marsh—Arrival at Argos.

AFTER the close of day on the 8th of September, we cast anchor in the Bay of Patras: the shades of night were already spread around its cypress groves, but brilliant rows of lighted lamps surrounding the slender minarets of its mosques, rendered the city faintly visible to the eye, as if it had been seen through a darkened glass. This illumination, together with the hollow sound of drums and the grating discord of Turkish music*, announced to us that we had arrived in the fast of the Ramazan, a season of mortification to the disciples of Mahomet, who are enjoined the most rigid abstinence for one month during the whole time that the sun is above the horizon: after sun-set and the celebration of public prayers, their law allows them to take a slight refresh-

* The principal instrument in a Turkish band is called zournas: it somewhat resembles a hautboy, but is smaller, and emits a very shrill and grating sound which is heard to a great distance.

ment, just sufficient to keep body and soul together; but no luxury, not even the almost necessary comforts of a pipe and a cup of coffee. Most of the Turks have greatly relaxed the rigid discipline of this ordinance: preserving its outward form, when the spirit is evaporated, they turn night into day, and as soon as the ceremony of evening prayer is finished, commence a scene of riot and festivity, indulging in every excess with greater zeal from the very circumstance of its prohibition. A few austere mussulmen are however still found, especially in that class called Hadjee, who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and these strictly adhere to all the enactments of the law, avoid even the smell of a nosegay, or the sight of anathematized meat, and would as soon take a dose of poison as a pinch of snuff. Such devotees generally come out of the Ramazan as lean as Pharaoh's kine, but they find sweet consolation in that deference which is paid to their superior sanctity, and the licence which they enjoy of railing at those well-conditioned rogues whose sleek skins and plump faces betoken their contempt for the prophet's commands. This fast begins and ends with one revolution of the moon: hence the new orb of this luminary is welcomed by the half-starved Mahometans with shouts of joy and a constant firing of pistols, musketry, and cannon: in their eagerness to announce the arrival of this interesting visitor, they mount the highest towers, the roofs of houses, and minarets of the mosques.

September 9th. The English ensign flying at our mast-head brought crowds of people to the quay as soon as day began to dawn, and amongst the rest a secretary of the English consul who conducted us to our lodging in the city. The attempt would be vain to express my sensations at first setting foot upon the shores of Greece, that

> "Clime of the unforgotten brave!
> Whose land from plain to mountain-cave,
> Was freedom's home, or glory's grave* !"

* Giaour, l. 103.

The impression is still vivid—never to be effaced—but it defies description. We had scarcely taken possession of our apartment before our host, a respectable Greek, entered, leading in his hand a fine comely boy, about six years of age, whom he introduced as his eldest son Themistocles: the child ran eagerly to our fire-arms which he began to handle with manifest delight: the father observed him with signs of pleasure, telling us that he was a brave boy, though much inferior to Leonidas his youngest brother, whom he hoped to see one day heading his countrymen against their common enemy. What vengeance burns secretly in the breasts of this injured people, like the concealed flame of a volcano! Let the Turks beware of its explosion; for terrible will be their fate if they be caught sleeping in the lethargic lap of power.

After breakfast we adjourned to the consular dwelling of Signore Strani, for whom we had brought letters of introduction and from whom we experienced, during our residence at Patras, that hospitality and attention which so many travellers have acknowledged: from thence we proceeded to the public hummaum, or Turkish bath, which is generally recommended as the best restorative in the world after the fatigues of travelling: in the large outer apartment lay a considerable number of persons enjoying the luxury of repose after their ablution: each occupied a separate couch, having a cloth wrapped round his head and a sheet thrown over his body, and altogether exhibiting the appearance of patients in an hospital: both this and every other room we saw was the very abode of dirt and darkness, a perfect contrast to what we read of those elegant, costly, and diaphanous edifices which the ancients erected for their baths, and adorned with the choicest works of art. Having left our clothes upon couches in the outer apartment, we enveloped ourselves in fine linen, and putting our fee into wooden clogs, marched together into a small interior room under a circular dome, where being seated upon wooden platforms raised about one foot from the floor the apartment was soon filled with steam

so completely as to render every object invisible, and we underwent the operation of stewing, soaping, scraping, and kneading; it was any thing but luxury; yet the sensations that ensued in the elasticity of the spirits, flexibility of the limbs, and invigoration of the frame, were new and delightful.

Patras contains very few remnants of antiquity worthy of commemoration*: but its magnificent site upon the roots of Mount Voithiá, the ancient Panachaicon, commanding the fine scenery of the Corinthian gulf, amidst which rise the majestic summits of Ætolian Chalcis and Taphiasus, is admirably calculated to impress a favourable opinion of Grecian scenery upon the mind of the traveller. This port being the principal entrepot of Morean commerce, is one of the chief places of residence for European consuls in Turkey: nor is it less a rendezvous for villains of every description, stained with the blackest crimes, who escape the sword of justice and resort hither from all the neighbouring islands. This circumstance gives an air and character of peculiar ferocity to its Turkish inhabitants, who allege that, without extreme severity, no order could possibly be preserved among so vile a population. One evening we ourselves witnessed their summary mode of justice and skill in quelling a riot. A quarrel had arisen in the public street between two vagabonds of Cephalonia: this soon attracted a crowd, some of whom became interested in the affray, and others stood by as idle spectators. The Turks were not long inactive; having collected together their forces in considerable numbers from the bazar and adjoining houses, and being armed with long white sticks, which they generally carry in their hands, like the sceptres of ancient heroes, they commenced a furious attack upon the multitude, dealing blows most liberally upon their heads and shoulders, and following

* I found but one inscription, and that had lately been dug up in a vineyard near the city where it was then lying. It was on the pedestal of a statue and commemorated one L. CVRTIVS ONESIP[illegible]VS. Some fragments of antique sculpture are enclosed in the external masonry of the castle w[illegible]VC

them into every place of refuge, especially into the public coffee-houses, where the crash of lustres and glasses, and the demolition of furniture mingled with the cries of assailants and assailed, gave an appearance to the scene of the storming of a city: some of the most savage amongst the Mahometans drew out their ataghans and rushing amidst the crowd cut and maimed all that were opposed to their fury. Our lodging-house soon became filled with fugitives, and happy were they who could gain such an asylum. We observed several prisoners led off by the guards, bleeding from their wounds, whose heads probably expiated this disturbance of the public peace.

One evening during our residence in Patras we accompanied Mr. Strani to a grand party at the vaivode's *. The occasion of it was to sign a contract between the governor and the consul for the exportation of currants. All the chief Turks of the city were present, but the assembly derived its brilliancy more from the dress than the conversation of the guests, being enlivened neither by the flash of wit nor the poignancy of satire, nor the interest of political discussion; the Turks indeed very seldom interrupt their meditations in company, except by an occasional moral aphorism or a few sententious remarks. When they did speak, their language seemed very energetic and sonorous to our ears. But though in flow of soul a Quaker's meeting would undoubtedly have carried away the palm from this conversazione, yet the rich turbans, the ermine robes, the embroidered sashes, and the diamond-hilted handjars, or daggers, of these patrician Moslems, gave it an air of truly oriental splendour, and its novelty had very considerable attractions for a stranger. Each guest, as he entered the room, saluted its master, gracefully placing his right hand upon his breast and slightly bending forward the body; he then seated himself cross-legged upon the divan, received a long pipe from the hands of one slave, a cup of coffee from another, and then soon enveloped himself

* The title given to a Turkish governor of a city, who is not decorated with that of bey.

in smoke and mystery. The vaivode, a very fine-looking man, apparently about forty years of age, sat upon a lion's skin at a corner of the sofa. His son, a beautiful child, was seated beside him whom he frequently caressed with marks of great parental fondness: he bears a high character for probity, and, what is rather singular in this country, so doats upon his wife, that she reigns the sole mistress, not only of his affections, but of his harem. He received us with that attentive but unobtrusive politeness which distinguishes the high-bred Osmanli, addressing his conversation to us for a considerable time through the medium of an amiable and accomplished young Greek who acted as our interpreter: it was not long, however, that we could avail ourselves of his services; for the sudden entrance of a green turban, upon the head of a most venerable old gentleman with a prodigious white beard, raised the whole party upon their legs, drew the governor himself from his corner, and put our poor dragoman to a precipitate and ignominious flight. The first button in the Chinese empire does not command so much respect as the green turban in Turkey: it denotes a lineal descendant from the prophet: death awaits the wretch who should wear it without a proper pedigree, and no Christian subject of the Ottoman Porte dares to sit in its presence, or even stand within the range of contamination. I thought our consul himself began to eye it with some alarm and trepidation, for we had scarcely finished our pipes before he gave the signal for departure. In the gallery of the Serai, which was crowded with the retainers of a court, we distributed the customary presents to the coffee and pipe-bearers, and the same at the door of the consul's house to a troop of attendants who marched before us through the streets with lighted torches, to pay due honour and respect to English milordi. Next evening we saw the vaivode accompanied by the same guests ride past our windows on horseback, the cavalcade was numerous and splendid; their Turkish and Arabian steeds richly caparisoned pranced about in

grand style, and a long train of guards and other attendants, both black and white, brought up the rear.

The day before our departure from Patras we forwarded our heavy luggage up the gulf of Lepanto to Corinth, and dispatched a foot-messenger through the wild mountain passes of Etolia and Epirus, to the city of Ioannina, the capital of the great Albanian chieftain, whose character and manners, as well as those of his subjects, and the scenery of his country, have been sketched by so masterly a hand in the pages of Childe Harold. Our object was to request the kind offices of Mr. George Foresti, British resident at Ioannina, in dispatching an Albanian tatar to meet us at Athens. The arrangements being all completed on the 13th of September, we commenced our intended tour into the Morea: how that was interrupted the reader will hereafter learn. At the door of our lodging we received a very kind message from the vaivode, expressing his best wishes for our welfare, with a letter of introduction to his brother, a pasha of two tails and governor of Napoli di Romania. After much delay from the villany of the post-master, an inconvenience which every person who travels without a bouyourdee * must always experience, we at length forced a passage through the crowds that assembled to witness our cavalcade, and departed under the protection of Mahomet, a tatar attached to Mr. Strani's household. Our route lay over the low eminences of Mount Voithiá, in a S.E. direction, through the ancient province of Achaia. In the evening we arrived at a solitary han in the midst of wild and mountainous scenery, the lofty peaks of Mount Olenos bearing S.S.W. Here we pitched our tent and dined, but the tatar would not permit us to sleep under it for fear of the kleftes or banditti: we therefore spread out our beds in the single chamber of the

* A bouyourdee is a travelling firman or order from the pasha of a district for post-horses in every town within his jurisdiction: it also secures to the traveller lodging, and even food free of expence if he chooses to avail himself of it.

han, which was obliged also to contain the mattresses of the tatar and all our attendants.

If the reader is not already acquainted by description with a Turkish han, let him picture to himself a large court enclosed with a stone wall, and shut in by folding doors: two sides are occupied by buildings constructed of the rudest materials, and in the roughest style of workmanship, destined for the reception of travellers, and the accommodation of their cattle. The ascent to your chamber is by a flight of narrow slippery stone steps, well calculated to break the limbs, in a country where no surgical assistance can be procured to set them: the room itself will be found utterly destitute of all furniture whatsoever, appearing as if it were built under a settled compact, for ready admission to the wind and rain: here you may cook your victuals, if you have been provident enough to bring a supply, and the smoke will find its way through the crevices of the roof before you are quite suffocated: if you have forgotten your wallet, you will have reason to bless your good stars if you can pick up a crust of black bread, and wash it down with some resined wine: but in all probability you will go to bed supperless, where, if hunger should keep you awake, you may amuse yourself by watching the revolution of the constellations over head, or listening to any plot that may be carrying on against you in the stable below. Such are the comforts of a Turkish han; which in comparison with a Spanish venta, or a Sicilian posada is a perfect paradise! But after all, how slight will such inconveniences appear to him who is capable of enjoying the mental luxury which this delightful country affords, where imagination spreads her richest colours over scenes of softest beauty or of Alpine grandeur—where each rock, and rivulet, and fountain, has been distinguished by the poet's song, and every mountain, and every plain is signalized by some heroic exploit! where we tread the ground which those inspired mortals trod, who in the pride of enthusiastic genius, deemed themselves worthy of intercourse with the Gods, and

who, sacrificing to the Muses and the Graces, established the standard of taste, sublimity, and beauty, to all succeeding ages. To borrow the ideas of an elegant French poet, "there is a mute eloquence and a secret voice in the rocks and woods and fountains: there is an invisible link between these inanimate bodies and sensitive beings." But what is it which binds this link forcibly around the heart? which gives harmony to this voice and energy to its eloquence? which can dispel the malignity of the passions, raise the soul to rapture, or bend it to the sweetest contemplation?—It is that unfading charm which departed genius and virtue breathes around, that sanctity which heroic valour and unconquerable patriotism inspire. He therefore, who anticipates no delight amidst the sylvan scenery of Arcadia, no improvement from those remaining miracles of art the works of Phidias and Ictinus, whose blood is not likely to circulate with quicker motion upon the shores of Salamis or the plain of Marathon, will do best to remain at home, and amidst the civilized luxuries of a modern capital calculate the inconveniences of a Turkish han.

Our next day's journey brought us to Calavrita, a large town situated in a recess of the Aroanian mountains; the see of a Greek bishop. It is not built upon any ancient site, though the ruins of Cynethæ are in its vicinity, where there is an acropolis, somewhat resembling in appearance the Cecropian citadel, and at no great distance is the fountain Alyssus, formerly celebrated for the cure of hydrophobia, from whence it derived its appellation. The people of Cynethæ, who were noted for their ferocity *, had a custom not very unlike that which disgraces our ancient borough of Stamford. On the festival of Bacchus a company of young men, naked and anointed with oil, were employed to run down and carry upon their shoulders a bull, which they afterwards sacrificed in the temple of the deity: in our case I believe the bull is anointed instead of the brutes who bait him, and

* Polybius in a disquisition of some length endeavours to shew that this ferocity continued to hold possession of them, from their neglecting the study of music which the rest of the Arcadians cultivated to the improvement of their manners and the amelioration of their dispositions. Polyb. iv. c. 20.

is sacrificed to the genius of the river Ouse by being thrown over the battlements of the bridge.

At Calavrita we again experienced that talent which the modern Greeks have acquired in the art of imposition; the postmaster here was so exorbitant, and at the same time so fraudulent in his dealings, that we found it necessary to cite him before the vâivode, who decided the case with great impartiality, and decreed to the rascal less than we had consented to give him before he broke his contract. This man's countenance would have furnished a fine example for the theory of Lavater; it was one of those extraordinary instances, which are sometimes seen, where the human face takes the peculiar character and expression that belongs to a different species of created beings. The face of this our worthy postmaster was by a singular compression and protrusion of the nose mouth and chin, as well as by a remarkable cast of the eye, assimilated to that of a wolf: here we were on the very borders of Arcadia, and I requested to know if he traced his pedigree up to the celebrated Lycaon: of this he either would not or could not inform us, but the people of the place said he inherited his expression of countenance from his father and grandfather, who were well remembered.

From Calavrita the traveller should diverge in a northerly direction to visit the river Styx and the fine monastery of Megaspelia, situated upon a precipice near five hundred feet in perpendicular height and in the midst of the most terrific scenery. We ourselves were unfortunately deprived of this pleasure. On the third day of our journey we passed through the little village of Suthenà, which stands probably on the site of the ancient Lusi *; and from thence directed our course through the very heart of Arcadia, which realized the most poetical descriptions of that charming country. From the heights immediately below Suthenà, the eye ranges over a continued series of

* (Λυσοί) ruined and almost obliterated in the days of Pausanias. Arcad. c. xviii. 3.

immense terraces, or abrupt natural platforms, covered with rich foliage of oriental planes and oaks, and watered by transparent never-failing streams: the sides are skirted by the most splendid mountain scenery adorned with oaks below and silver firs above, through which many a white and barren peak shoots up like a spire into the sky far beyond the limits of vegetation, whilst the horizon is bounded by successive ranges of distant hills clothed in the richest tints of ethereal blue: amidst these enchanting scenes the Arcadian shepherd, with his pastoral crook, still tends his numerous flocks, or stretched during the noon-tide heat beneath the spreading canopy of the beech or plane-tree, whiles away the vacant hours with his simple flute: the rural sounds call up pleasing ideas in the mind of the passing traveller, and fancy pourtrays visions of Arcadian bliss. Whoever would enjoy the delight of these sensations, let him seek no other foundation for them beyond his own imagination. How cruelly would he be deceived if he searched into the physical and moral state of this wretched peasantry. Instead of rural elegance, pastoral simplicity, peace and contentment, he would discover want and misery, anxiety and fear: instead of bands of youths and virgins exhibiting models for the sculptor or the painter, he would find a hardfeatured race thinly scattered over the country, worn down by labour and famine, or withered by exposure to the summer's sun and winter's cold: he would see a land which nature has formed for the promotion of every innocent enjoyment, blasted by the breath of tyranny and deserted by all the rural virtues. So terrible is the whole system of progressive extortion established and encouraged by the Turkish government! The pashalic is first purchased of the Porte: the pasha then sells every subordinate office, grants the most numerous monopolies, and establishes the most destructive imposts for his own indemnification; whilst all the inferior agents must reimburse themselves at last from the hard-earned pittance of the miserable rayahs*. Such is the state of modern Arcadia!

* The rayahs are the persons who pay the Haratch or capitation tax.

In florid beauty fields and groves appear;
Man seems the only growth that dwindles here.

We dined about noon, in a most romantic spot under the shade of some noble plane trees on the banks of the Aroanius, which like all the other rivers in this region, descends in a rapid current towards the level of the Alpheus. The Aroanius was noted for its musical fish. Pausanias waited on its banks till sun-set, the time when they were said to exert their melodious voices, and was quite surprised that he did not hear them. O the power of faith!

——— mutis quoque piscibus
Donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum!

A fine bridge built over this beautiful but sometimes inundating stream, for the gratuitous accommodation of travellers, attests the munificence of a Turkish Agà, an inhabitant of Calavrita. The tomb of this venerable man is erected here, beneath the foliage of the spreading planes, as if his spirit still loved to linger about the spot which delighted him when alive. In a nation where pride and avarice, lust and sensuality, are the ruling passions, it refreshes one to behold and to record an example of pure disinterested benevolence.

We arrived late this evening at a miserable han about one hour after having passed the Ladon, that most beautiful of Arcadian streams, and famed for the tragic fate of Leucippus on its banks *. The court-yard was crowded with a caravan of merchants, sleeping in the open air, and huddled together with their watch-dogs and baggage round the expiring embers of a large fire. A few days before this time, at Patras, we were scarcely able to sleep from the effect of violent heat; here, on the contrary, we were literally kept awake during the night by the piercing cold. Arcadia is on a much higher level than the rest of the Morea: the severity of its climate is

* Pausan. Arcad. xxv. 7.

noticed by Pausanias, Polybius *, and many other authors: this probably gave its inhabitants that hardy robust habit of body which fitted them not only for the pastoral life, but for the fatigues of war, and gave occasion to the ancient proverb Ἀνδράποδ' ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἀπὸ δ' Ἀρκαδίας ἐπικούρους †, which signifies that a man would choose his slaves from Phrygia, but his allies from Arcadia. Next day after having rode about four hours we looked down from a lofty ridge of hills upon the magnificent plain of Tripolizza, one of the largest and most fertile in all Greece, and which formerly maintained the great cities of Tegea and Mantinea.

We staid a considerable time at a han to rest our horses, and refresh ourselves: from hence the road, which became very good and even practicable for carriages, led us near the ruins of Mantinea, which was built in a circular form; the vast remains of its castellated fortifications affording at this day one of the finest specimens of Grecian military architecture. The sun was setting in the most brilliant tints of golden light, and every object sinking into calm repose, as we approached the modern capital of Peloponnesus, a melancholy gloomy city, ruled at this time with a rod of iron by Mahomet Pasha, a fierce Anatolian despot: he was the immediate successor of the polite and courteous Vely, second son of the great Albanian chieftain, who had been removed from the Morea by the petition of the inhabitants for his profligacy and oppression. In passing through the streets, we observed the effects of tyranny and debasement visible in the haughty demeanour of the Turkish and the dejected countenances of the Greek population: so true it is, that when a power rests solely upon fear, the degradation of its subjects is indispensable for its preservation. We were conducted to a miserable lodging, because the Greek dragoman, to whom we were recommended, feigned absence

* L. iv. c. 21.

† Athenæus, l. i. 27.

from home, lest he should be obliged to shew us civility. Next morning we called at his house and were introduced to him in a small kiosk or summer-house in his garden, where he was seated in a kind of mimic state, smoking his houka, and surrounded by a large train of inferior sycophants. He was evidently embarrassed by our request of a introduction to the pasha, and without pledging himself, made us many protestations which flow so easily from the lips of those who are employed in the servilities of a court. It was not long however before we learned the reason of his conduct. The fanatical tyrant his master had conceived a mortal hatred against the English, on account of some fancied insults, and we were the first unfortunate travellers of that nation who had fallen into his hands. Several days elapsed before we could receive the least communication from him, during which time we were kept in great suspense and anxiety, for the tatar had returned to Patras and we were in the tyrant's power without a possibility of escape. Yet even in this state it was amusing to hear the extraordinary fictions which the dragoman and his people invented to keep us in play until the storm might blow over, and to prevent our imputing any blame to their conduct, as we had several times been deluded with the hopes of an audience: at one time it was represented to us that the pasha's spirits were too much flurried because he had shot a Turk, at another because he had hanged a dozen Greeks; next he had tied up in a sack and drowned some incontinent ladies, and lastly he was indisposed from the austerities of the Ramazan. In the mean time a keen Greek, who sustained the part of pedagogue to the dragoman's son, was sent with several other emissaries to sound us respecting our motives for travelling; but especially to inspect our presents, and observe privately if any of these were costly enough to appease the despot's anger. A pair of beautiful pocket pistols attracted the attention of the emissary, and the negotiation for some time depended on this point. As Achmet frequently walked in disguise about the streets of his capital at night, to spy into the actions of his subjects, it was supposed that he might be desirous of possessing

these arms, as an additional guard of his security: but our hopes in this instance proved delusive. At one of these visits Signor Demetrio from motives of curiosity took up a copy of Childe Harold which lay upon the table. Happening to open it in the appendix, that beautiful Romaic song of the unfortunate Riga beginning, Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, met his eye: the discovery seemed to electrify him; running with the book to his companions, he communicated to them the important fact, and after a short but animated conversation, flew out of the room with the book in his hand. His friends soon followed, and as none of them returned that day, our minds began rather to misgive us lest some plot might be in agitation, and these cunning Greeks might think it a good opportunity of paying their court to the pasha, and shewing their zeal in his service, by exciting his suspicions against us and giving him some pretext for the brutality of his conduct. In this however we wronged them. The book was carried off by Demetrio, for the purpose of copying the song, and exhibiting to a few of the principal inhabitants a specimen of what was done for the Grecian cause in England. Not understanding the context, they supposed that the whole work related either immediately or relatively to the liberation of the Greeks, and the very idea created in their minds an ecstasy of joy, which it would have been a pity to damp by explanation.

At length the dragoman was commissioned to inform us that the roads were at this time very unsafe, and that the pasha could not allow his *dear* friends to incur those dangers to which a journey through his territories would expose us: now it was notorious that the tremendous severity of this man had almost exterminated the very race of robbers, and that a person might at this time have walked safely with his purse in his hand from one end of Peloponnesus to the other. We prevailed therefore upon the dragoman, partly by entreaties and partly by threats, to renew the request, sending our servant Giovanni to accompany him with some recommendatory letters which we had brought from Zante. The next night about twelve o'clock, after the pasha had

returned from the mosque, they were admitted trembling into his presence to lay their documents at his feet: without noticing the bearers, he indignantly stamped upon the letters with his foot, even spitting upon them and spurning them to a distance from the divan: he then commanded them to be taken up and read, after having received these marks of his most sovereign contempt. As ill luck would have it, they were addressed to him by the very persons with whom he was so grievously offended: scarcely permitting the dragoman to finish his task, he exclaimed, whilst his eyes glistened and his mouth foamed with rage, "Tell the ghiaours to depart instantly from my dominions by the shortest way, and that if they move one step out of the direct road, I will not be answerable for their lives. I shall neither grant them a bouyourdee nor a tatar."

We were now certainly in a dilemma: by remaining in Tripolizza we might increase the tyrant's rage, and by departing without an escort might subject ourselves to very serious accidents: neither did it appear easy to procure any means of conveyance, as no persons would be found willing to supply us with horses under fear of the pasha's displeasure: indeed most of the inhabitants began to look upon us with an eye of apprehension, and much speculation was afloat in Tripolizza regarding our probable fate; in our walks round the town we had frequently been insulted, and were obliged to procure a janizzary for our protection: but we never once entertained the least alarm for our safety; we felt confident that our country, feared and respected by these barbarians, interposed an invisible Ægis to protect us, and that the tyrant would never dare openly to violate its sanctity: still our only prospect appeared to be a return on foot to Patras without our baggage. The only person who paid us any attention or civility was a Cephalonian doctor, who had married a daughter of the dragoman, and was settled in Tripolizza. In almost every town of Greece we find one or more personages of this description, who have studied medicine in Italy: they make admirable ciceroni, being generally

acquainted with all the inhabitants, as well as with the politics and intrigues of governors and archons, whom they frequently govern: their information may for the most part be relied upon, except when they talk of antiquities, or of physic and their own cures. A letter from one of these persons will often be of greater service to the traveller than the firman of a viceroy glittering with its golden sand.

With our medical friend we made an excursion to the ruins of Tegea, that bravest of the adversaries which opposed Sparta in the Peloponnesus *. Nothing alas! remains of this once famous city but a ruinated wall and the shell of a large Greek church, built in the times of the Lower Empire: this latter contains a variety of ancient marble fragments and some broken inscriptions worked up in the masonry. The fields, however, all around, which have been turned up by the ploughshare, fully attest by innumerable relics the existence of a large city on the spot. In returning we had a fine view of the Mœnalian chain of mountains, which contained the favourite haunts of Pan †, and which bound the great plain of Tripolizza towards the west.

After we had remained in a disagreeable suspense almost ten days we fortunately discovered that Nourri Bey of Corinth, the most powerful man in the Morea next to the pasha, and his caimacam or vice-roy, was at this time resident in Tripolizza. We had a letter of introduction to him, and we concluded that *he* ‡ would rejoice in the opportunity of shewing civility and doing a service to any travellers of our nation. We were not mistaken in our conjectures: he received us with a shew of great kindness, professed the highest admiration of our country, and promised to exert his influence with the pasha for horses and a firman that we might pass

* Λακεδαιμονίους τε οἱ Τεγεάται πρῶτοι Ἀρκάδων σφίσιν ἐπιστρατεύσαντας ἐνίκησαν, καὶ ἀιχμαλώτους ἀιρῦσιν ἀντῶν τὰς πολλάς. Pausan. Arcad. c. 45. 3.

† The late Baron Haller, who died at Athens, to the inexpressible grief of all his friends, informed me that he had discovered a fine Panéum in these mountains, upon one side of which was inscribed the word ΠΑΝΟΣ in very antique characters.

‡ This is the same personage concerning whom Lord Byron had occasion to write to the Porte on account of some alleged incivilities, and from whom he received a very ample apology.

the Isthmus of Corinth: still the old gentleman like a true Turk endeavoured to barter his good offices for a gold repeater, and in default of that, professed his readiness to accept a telescope, after having minutely questioned our interpreter, and being assured that it was both a *large* and a *good* one. Lest the reader should attach too much consequence to this incident, and view the conduct of the Bey in a more unfavourable light than is necessary, he should be told that in Turkey an interchange of presents is a thing almost as regular as with us an interchange of compliments; and that scarcely any business is transacted without a gift, especially when application is made for the influence or protection of a superior. Other reasons also existed, though delicacy forbids me to relate them here, which tend greatly to exculpate Nourri Bey in his endeavours to anticipate that return for his services which without doubt our own gratitude would have induced us to bestow.

Next day we received a message from the friendly Bey signifying that his application had been partially successful in procuring a firman for the passage of the Isthmus, but no tatar nor permission to travel: the want of the tatar he promised to remedy by sending a faithful servant of his own to escort us, and we were obliged to give up our intention for the present, of visiting the banks of the Eurotas, the city of the heroic Aristomenes, the splendid ruins at Phigalia, and other interesting scenes of this extraordinary country: a country which in the narrow space of one English county contained six powerful kingdoms, crowded with magnificent cities and flourishing in every art of peace and war: then indeed the blessings of Plenty were diffused over its valleys, and its mountain tops were illuminated by the light of Liberty—what a contrast it now affords*!

But although we were prevented from inspecting many of the romantic scenes of this classic land, the reader will not suffer any dis-

* The Morea is one of those four sandgiacks or Turkish provinces which give the title of Vizir to the pasha who governs them, and is thought to contain about 400,000 inhabitants. It is divided into

appointment, having an opportunity of perusing the following interesting memoir of my friend Mr. C. R. Cockerell, relating to his own tour in the Morea with his discovery of the celebrated Phigalian marbles, which he has permitted me to extract from a letter addressed to one of the members of his amiable family.

" We left Zante in a small boat and arrived at Pyrgo the following morning, where we parted from Mr. Gropius, and made our way to Olympia. I was happy to return to the simplicity of Turkey after the strange mixture and variety of characters which I had met with in Zante; in the midst however of enjoying this fancied Grecian simplicity, I soon had good reason to find fault with it in its turn! We arrived in the afternoon at a small village, from which a Greek primate, into whose hands we fell, assured us that Miracca, so the ancient Olympia is now called, was only two hours distant. Upon this intelligence I determined to walk, as my companions could not go faster, the Turkish rate of travelling not exceeding three miles an hour. At night-fall we arrived at the brink of a marsh, which, as the night was very dark, I may thank my stars I passed so well: we waded through pools of water knee deep, lost our way, and spent eight hours before we arrived at Miracca. I was not a little vexed with our primate, who, as I afterwards discovered, gave us this advice, to avoid the em-

the following villaets, each subject to a governor called a vaivode; they are Patras, Gastouni, Pyrgos, Arcadia, Navarin, Modon, Coron, Androussa, Calamáta, Misitra, Napoli di Malvasia, Leondari, Caritena, Fanari, Argos, Napoli di Romania, Corinth, Calavrita, and Vostizza. The governments are purchased at Constantinople and the revenue thence arising and paid into the miri, or treasury, is computed at 20,000 purses. There are in the Morea a few districts from which the revenue of the state derives no benefit: these are appropriated to the service of particular mosques and are called Vacouf, having been given by the devotion of particular sultans. A steward is appointed over this property called Naxir. There are also some independent districts which refuse all submission to the Porte and defend themselves by their bravery and the nature of their situation. Every year a decrease in the population of the Morea is observed, yet the inhabitants of any particular district are obliged to pay the same haratch or capitation tax, an almost unparalleled instance of hardship. The Morea is said to produce seventy different articles of exportation, the principal of which are currants, wine, oil, honey, silk, Valonéan bark, wool, cotton, and goat-skins.

barrassment which our stay at his house that evening would have occasioned. We were disappointed in the site of the once famous Olympia, of which there are no remains worth notice, nor is the plain surrounded by mountains of great beauty. It is the general opinion, that the Alpheus has overflowed and buried many of its edifices, which is certainly I think the case. We sojourned in the tower of a Turkish Agà, not unlike the watch-towers you may have seen in England. We mounted a high stair-case to enter it, and then crossed a draw-bridge: the best room, which is at the top, must be ascended by ladders, from which all light is excluded for the better defence against attacks. In such a tower a Turk named Ali Farmarki defended himself with one hundred men against the whole force of the Pasha during a siege of two months; at the end of which he capitulated to march out with all the honours of war. The peasants of the Morea celebrate the feats of Ali Farmarki in a great many characteristic songs. This occurred about four years ago.

"Miracca is a Turkish village where not a word of Turkish is spoken except the common oaths: the greatest part of the inhabitants are apostates from the Christian faith. The situation is exceedingly romantic; the houses, which are made of brush-wood and clay in the form of bee-hives, standing on the summit of a small hill. We made a long journey of ten hours from Miracca to Andrutzena, a Greek village of Arcadia, and crossed a very beautiful country. On the following morning we set out for the temple of Phigalia, called "the columns," and with sanguine hopes of making some such discoveries as at Ægina, we pitched our tent under the temple.

"The Greeks who are always jealous of Franks, and were the more so of our party seeing us resolved to stay for the purpose of excavation, assured us there was a band of robbers in the neighbourhood commanded by Mustafà of Barduni, and did all in their power to dissuade us from our attempt. As one of their objects seemed to be that of gaining employment for their friends, we engaged twenty of them as

a guard which we afterwards reduced to two. We soon saw what interesting ground we stood upon, and by the assistance of some shepherds, made some valuable discoveries in the architecture of the edifice, and turned up two very beautiful bas-reliefs, which however I contrived to hide from their observation by covering them with stones. On the second day, an order came from the primates of Andrutzena, forbidding the shepherds to dig under the pain of the severest punishment: this order excited so much alarm that we could procure no one to assist us, and I worked hard two days myself with a small pick-axe which I always carry with me: by this means I was enabled to complete the most interesting part of the architectural survey. But in ruins of such magnitude little could be done without farther assistance, and a letter from the vaivode of a Turkish town near, put a stop at once to our proceedings.

"My friend Haller wishing to make some drawings here, we resided upon the spot altogether ten days, which we passed very pleasantly. I despair of giving you an idea of the romantic scenery. The temple stands on a ridge of rock exceedingly high, looking over lofty mountains bleak and barren, with a most extensive country comprising mount Ithome, the hills of Arcadia and Sparta, and the sea beyond. We were six miles from any town. A few Albanian shepherds who lived near, brought us sheep and the only good butter I have eaten since I left England: we sat by a fire till we were disposed to sleep, smoking and talking to the Greeks, whilst our tent protected us from the inclemency of the weather, and perhaps from some other perils, for a sheep had been torn to pieces by the wolves close to our habitation. We were cruel enough one night to put the courage of our janizzary to the test, by giving an alarm of robbers: we found what we expected true enough, for never did a poor man appear in a less fighting humour.

"On our return to Andrutzena, I went to the vaivode to bribe him, if possible, for permission to dig. I found him however fonder of his

head, which he said would be in danger, than of the money we could offer.

" We remained in Andrutzena five days which I employed in completing my Phigalian memoranda, and my friends in sketching the scenery of the place, which is beautiful and truly Arcadian. The names of the peasants amused me; amongst them Alexis is very common. When we walked out, the girls of the village, some of whom are very pretty, brought us each a pear, or a bunch of grapes, or some kind of fruit, every one seeming to think it a duty to shew some attention to the strangers: from what I had seen of the country I scarcely expected this from modern Arcadians: but I have never among the Greeks met with so much urbanity or disinterested kindness as at Andrutzena. They are cruelly oppressed by the Turks; the taxes and charges of various kinds amounting to at least half each person's property. The fourth of all produce is taken by government; the haratch varies according to circumstances and population, but the most abominable charge is that which is called chrea, being the expences of tatars, Turkish governors, &c. &c., amounting with the haratch to another fourth of all property. It is needless to tell you how many times I have been asked, " when the English would come? and why they do not? since the Greeks would be so ready to co-operate with them :" being, to use their own expression, devoured by the Turks.

" We left Andrutzena with regret, and passed a rich valley to Caritena which is on a rugged rock, and a specimen of what we had to expect in our road to Laconia. We were kindly received by the vaivode, who retired on our account into his harem, requesting us to make use of his apartments as we pleased and order what refreshments we desired, for that his sovereign was rich, and happy to entertain such good friends as the English. We took him at his word, for a painful march through the rain had given us strong appetites. After our repast, he begged leave to pay us a visit, and a more polite Turk I have never met with. He had been to Berlin with the Ottoman ambassador and could

speak a little German. I found in the course of acquaintance that his good manners proceeded in great measure from this journey: I also perceived in his conversation great discontent at the Turkish system of government, and the preference he gave to every thing connected with the Franks. This was a great deal indeed from a Turk. Having nothing else worthy of his acceptance I gave him a box, upon the lid of which was an impression of King George the Third, filled with Peruvian bark. He expressed great pleasure in accepting this memorial of his Frank friend; but I could not help observing that he looked anxiously for more presents at our departure: having none unfortunately to give, we fee'd his servants very handsomely and took leave with the best grace we could.

"The mountains around us are celebrated by the Greeks as having maintained a sort of independence of the Turks ever since their invasion of the Morea: and they have many songs in which they celebrate their heroes. Vely Pasha has cleared this country of banditti, and the famous Colykotruni among others being obliged to fly, have enlisted into the British service at Zante.

"We walked over the ruins of Megalopolis and saw those of the ancient city of Lycosura, but found nothing very interesting: we now passed a ridge of mountains which forms a natural boundary between Arcadia and Messenia; it is curious that all the divisions of territory among the ancients arise more from the effects of nature than any other motive: each province is bounded by a mountain ridge, a river, or some natural defence, and a curious comparison might be drawn between the ancient and modern divisions of Greece. A derveni or Turkish guard protects the passage from Arcadia into Messenia: they have little to do in time of peace but to eat and smoke; they always insist upon receiving a bucksheesh, or present, which however is not considerable. On passing this ridge we had a fine view of Ithome, one of the most striking mountains in Greece. In the midst of our reflections upon the disasters of Messene we were

overtaken by a very dark night with rain, and lost our way in a marsh, where I thought we must have remained; but after four hours, feeling for our road, and riding through Indian corn higher than ourselves, in constant dread of bogs and ditches, we at last discovered a light and were received into a Greek cottage: here we supped on bread, figs, and aqua-vita, in company with some very beautiful daughters of our host.

"Next morning we proceeded to Calamata where we found a Greek agent of our consul who put us into a high tower in the town. The shutters of our windows were pierced with the bullets of the Mainiots, whose borders advance within half a mile of Calamata; they have constant quarrels with the Turks, who are here much more meek and humble, finding their independent neighbours more fierce and brave than themselves. Here one evening we heard the report of a pistol in the house of an Albanian guard just under our windows: this man had shot his own brother in a quarrel. I shall always have an unpleasant impression of my stay here, from the horrible stories we have heard of this kind happening almost daily among the savage race of Albanian Turks, or their still more savage neighbours of Maina. We were curious to take a trip into this country if possible. Fortunately a young Mainiot in the English service at Zante happened to be here, and offered us his protection, assuring the vice-consul of our safety. We therefore put ourselves under his guidance and rowed across to the shore of ancient Laconia, anxious, as you may suppose, to see the only free Greeks remaining; an extraordinary people who since the time of the Spartans have defended themselves against Romans, Turks, and all who attempted to invade their country.

"We were received on the shore by the brother of our friend, and some others all armed with pistols and guns, which they discharged as a salute on our approach. We could not but perceive immediately the influence of freedom. Instead of the languid desolate

appearance of the other parts of Greece, all here was cultivated; every patch of ground was tilled and planted with uncommon care: the countenances of the men were cheerful and open, and those of the women the handsomest I have seen in Greece, except at Andrutzena. They bid us welcome in the most engaging manner, by the expression "Many years to you," civilities which are not so frequent in the rest of the Morea: the boys collected round us and said, if we were Englishmen we were fine fellows: they asked why we had not arms with us, and what we had to defend ourselves with? they shook their hands towards the districts of the Turks, and said, the ruffians dare not come among them. As they passed the churches, which are really very pretty, they rang the bells, to shew us the extent of their liberty, for the Turks permit neither a bell nor a steeple to the Christian churches. Our curiosity was so much inflamed by this visit to the borders of Maina, that we resolved to penetrate further and see some ruins which we heard existed in the interior of the country: we therefore made a bargain with a boatman we met here, to carry us under his protection into the interior, that we might complete our researches.—We returned therefore for the present, rowing round the coast.

"As we passed the mountain which divides Maina from the rest of the Morea, the small villages on the summits were covered with black clouds, which rolled among them, from whence the most violent thunder and lightning proceeded: the effect of their situation amidst the darkness which surrounded them was more striking than I can describe. On our return to Calamata, the vice-consul objected to the boatman with whom we had made an engagement, and with some reason, if the story was true that he had murdered a doctor whom he brought from Coron, suspecting that he had much wealth in his possession."

Thus far Mr. Cockerell's highly interesting letter, which if I did not think the reader felt grateful to me for introducing, I would omit the

subsequent extract, which will perhaps delight him even more than what I have already quoted. It is written just after his recovery from a most alarming illness, and concludes the account of the discovery and removal of the Phigalian marbles, which last event took place during an excursion which Mr. C. made into Sicily.

" To what calamities we travellers are exposed! What a sad history is that of the party who left Rome, about the time I left England, for Greece! not one but has suffered in some melancholy way or other, and their adventure has been the cause of sacrificing a very fine young man, a Dane, who died in Zante of a violent fever. Another poor fellow, whom I have before mentioned to you, lost all he had during my absence in Sicily. He was making a tour of the Morea, and thinking how he might visit Maina, he wrote for *himself, as from me,* a long letter of introduction to Captain Murgino, whom I have described to you in a long history of our Mainiot adventures. Well, in the road from Sparta to Calamata, on the borders of Maina, he is stopped by a party of robbers: he recollects his letter, and says—" I have a letter of recommendation to Captain Murgino.'—' Have you?' reply they. ' If he were here we would play him twice the pranks we play you:' and immediately they strip him of every thing in his possession: nor could he obtain redress, though he presented the pasha of the Morea with a letter in a red velvet cover. Baron Stakelberg, in a late tour through Maina, found his watch and purse, with several other articles, exposed for sale in the house of one of the captains. The price was too enormous for him to purchase all, but he recovered a ring to which the owner attached a particular value.

" The poor traveller returned quite forlorn to his friends, who were digging at the Temple of Apollo at Phigalia. How much I regret the not having been of that delightful party! You recollect perhaps my description of our former visit when we stayed there nine days.

That was pleasant enough, but not to be compared with this last. The party was very large, consisting of Gropius, Haller, Foster, Bronstedt, Lynckh, and Stakelberg, besides their servants superintendants, &c. amounting to above fifteen persons. On the top of Mount Cotylium, from whence there is a grand prospect over nearly all Arcadia, they established themselves for three months, building round the temple huts covered with the boughs of trees, amounting almost to a village (a city I should have said) which they denominated Francopolis. They had frequently fifty or eighty men at work in the temple, and a band of Arcadian music was constantly playing, to entertain this numerous assemblage: when evening put an end to work, dances and songs commenced, lambs were roasted whole on a long wooden spit, and the whole scene, in such a situation, at such an interesting time, when every day some new and beautiful work of the best age of sculpture the world has ever known was brought to light, is hardly to be imagined. Apollo must have wondered at the carousals which disturbed his long repose, and have thought that his glorious days of old were again returned!

"The success of the enterprise in getting permission from the pasha has astonished every one: since few would risk such an adventure, who are always surrounded with those that are glad to find any ground of complaint against them at the Porte: and this was a discovery of great extent and notoriety.

"In all the circumstances connected with this event good fortune attended us. Just at this time Vely Pasha was removed from his government of the Morea: we should have been much embarrassed by our agreement with him, which made him proprietor of half the marbles; but he was now very glad to sell us his share, and scarcely were the treasures put on board a vessel, ere the officers of the new pasha came down to the port with the intent of seizing the whole; but they were then safe. Perhaps at no other time could such a per-

mission as we obtained have been procured, and Gropius certainly managed this part of the business with great dexterity."

These beautiful specimens of ancient sculpture were landed safely at Zante, and from thence transferred to England, where they may be now seen amongst the principal ornaments of our national Museum.

About noon on the 22d of September, we left our confinement in Tripolizza, determined to represent the conduct of this pasha in its proper light at Constantinople, and return to travel through the Morea in spite of his teeth. Crossing the great plain in an easterly direction, we passed the site of Tegea about one hour distant on the right hand: soon afterwards we entered a defile of Mount Parthenion, called Steno, where the Athenian ambassador Pheidippides is reported to have held a conference with Pan, when that cloven-footed deity severely taxed the Athenians with ingratitude for having erected no temple to a benefactor who had so often assisted them by striking a panic into their enemies*. From the summit of this hill we first caught a glance of the Ægean Sea: the beautiful fountain Amymone, or the Alcyonian Lake, was scarcely visible when we passed it, through the obscure shades of twilight: we were just able to observe a white mist of malaria emanating from the Lernæan marsh, the poisonous breath of that very hydra† which has again appeared to depopulate this unfortunate country: when, alas! will another Hercules arise to crush the monster? The darkness of night enveloped Argos when we approached that city: no light gleamed now from the deserted citadel of Larissa like that which

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* The just representations of the Deity produced the desired effect: hence the origin of the Cave of Pan, that *προσβοῤῥον ἄντρον* under the north-east end of the Athenian acropolis. Herod. l. vi. c. 106.

† "Veteri (spumat jam) Lerna veneno." Stat. Theb. i.
The wisdom which dictated the laborious drainage of this marsh was designated under the idea of Minerva assisting Hercules in the destruction of the Hydra. Pausan. Eliac. c. xvii. 4.

shone to cheer the fugitive Polynices *: but, like him, we should have been obliged to seek a residence for the night under the protecting shelter of a portico, had it not been for the authority of our Turkish tchocodar: nor could even he gain admittance into a house at this unseasonable hour until he not only threatened to break down the door, but actually commenced the execution of his threats.

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* "Ab Inachiis victa caligine tectis
Emicuit lucem devexa in mœnia pandens
Larissæus apex." Stat. Theb. i.

CHAPTER VII.

Larissæan Acropolis—View from thence—Reflections thereon—Plain of Argos—Excursion to Tiryns—Cotton Harvest—Description of Tiryns—Cyclopéan Masonry—Historical Inquiry into the Origin and Character of the Cyclopes, &c.—Architecture introduced by them, with its subsequent Improvements—Nauplia—Kind Reception by the Pasha—Manners of the Turks—Feast of the Bairam—Curious Incident in the Street of Argos—Visit to the Vaivode—Investigation of Argos—Theatre—Statue of Telesilla—History of that Heroine—Endeavour to explain the strange confusion of Argos and Mycenæ by ancient Authors—Albanian Inhabitants of Argos—Custom of the Girls carrying Coins upon their Heads—Visit to Mycenæ—Acropolis—Gate of the Lions—Homeric Age and Poems—Treasuries of Atreus—Defence of the Argive Character.

NEXT morning I was up before the sun, which scarcely appeared above the horizon when I stood upon the summit of the Larissæan acropolis. This lofty rock, domineering over the city, is crowned with the castellated remains of a large Venetian fortress, built upon the massive substruction of its Cyclopéan walls. The view from hence was transcendantly beautiful; but even more interesting by its associations than by its natural magnificence. Before me lay that plain where knowledge was first transplanted into Europe from the prolific regions of the east; a plain so identified with the earliest ages of Grecian story* that every object upon which my eye rested might have formed a subject for the muse: the very cradle of demi-gods and

* Παλαίτερα δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ Ἀργολικὰ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου λέγω, &c. Cl. Alex. Strom. l. i. 138.

heroes, the scene of the most impassioned writings of the Grecian poets.

Long before the ship Argo transported its heroic freight over the Ægean waves, or the Egyptian Neith*, the divine Minerva, occupied her Cecropian citadel, Danaus brought hither the dark rudiments of Memphian mythology and science†. But the smiling plains, the sunny hills, and transparent atmosphere of Greece, soon cast their own bright tints over the gloomy institutions of her Egyptian colonists‡: to their mournful rites and wailing sacrifices succeeded the brilliant pomp, the festive dance, and the animating choir; to their frightful catacombs, the purifying fire of the funeral pile; to their ponderous architecture, the light elegance of the dipteral temple; to the unbending forms of their stiff square sculpture, the grace and swell of more than human beauty; to their uncouth dialect, a language that combined sweetness with strength and copiousness with precision.

The mysteries of the ancient helio-arkite worship were soon confined to the bosoms of the initiated, whilst all the characters, attributes, and passions that could be ascribed to the Supreme Deity, were personified

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* The Egyptian Neith.

Αιγυπτιστὶ μὲν τῶνομα Νηΐθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ ὡς ὁ ἐκείνων λόγος, Ἀθηνᾶ. Plato in Timæo. The worship of this goddess was very early introduced into Thebes as one of the seven gates denoted, being called NHITAI after its patroness: there was also a city of Bœotia named Athenæ. Pausan. l. iii. 73. 2.

† The colony of Danaus, though not the first inhabitants, appear to have instructed very early the rude barbarians already possessed of Argos in the arts of civil life and the ceremonies of religious worship.

Ὦ γῆν Ἰνάχου κεκτημένοι
Πάλαι Πελασγοὶ Δαναΐδαι δὲ δευτέρον, says Orestes. (Eurip. Or. 931.)

Danaus is said by Polybius (l. xxxiv. c. 2), to have instructed them in the art of digging wells, as particularly necessary in this thirsty plain. All ancient authors confess that the religious rites, &c. of Greece came originally from Egypt. Σχεδὸν δὲ πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, says Herodotus (lib. ii. c. 50). Even in the time of Pausanias the Argive women sung their mournful elegies in celebrating the rites of the Syrian Adonis, the Thammuz of Ezekiel. Paus. Cor. c. xx. 5. It was the intimate connexion of the Greek rites and ceremonies with those of Egypt, that makes Heliodorus so naturally observe in his Æthiopics (lib. ii.) that the philosophers at Delphi hung with delight upon the discourse of Calasiris when it related to Egypt, and that they were never weary of asking him questions relating to the customs of the Egyptians. Αἰγύπτιον γὰρ ἄκουσμα καὶ διήγημα πᾶν Ἑλληνικῆς ἀκοῆς ἐπαγωγότατον.

‡ Ægyptiaca numinum fana plena plangoribus Græca plerumque choreis. Apul. de genio Soc. The Argives retained only the melancholy rites of Adonis out of all those which they had received from their Egyptian colonists.

in a thousand forms. Hence Neptune calmed the raging ocean with his trident; Pluto took possession of his infernal palace and ruled the shades; Apollo occupied his oracular shrines, and Diana became the huntress of the silver bow; warriors ranged themselves under the banner of Mars, and the successful lover raised an altar to the Cytherean queen: the woods became peopled with satyrs, fauns, and dryads; every fountain had its protecting naiad, and every river flowed from the urn of its sedge-crowned deity: illustrious mortals too were raised by the gratitude of posterity to the rank of celestial beings: the lyre and the harp resounded with the praises both of gods and heroes: the most beautiful and picturesque sites were occupied with ornaments of temples, altars, porticoes and statues; whilst the pomp of processions, the elegance of rural fêtes, and the contests of the theatre, fed the flame of that brilliant imagination, that love of the beautiful, that electrifying sensibility, which vibrating on the nerves of its population made Greece the land of taste and sentiment*.

Such reflections is the view from Larissa calculated to inspire into the mind, whilst the eye is almost equally delighted with the soft features of the surrounding landscape: amidst the retreating folds of that fine semicircle of mountains which enclose the plain, my eye caught the majestic summits of Arcadian Cyllene, the parent of the Grecian lyre; from thence passing over two conical peaks which tower aloft behind imperial Mycenæ, (μυχῷ Ἄργεος) it rested upon the heights of Arachnæum, where that last light gleamed in the beacon-train † which announced

* If we credit the account of the Egyptian character as given by Ammianus Marcellinus, we can scarcely help agreeing with Quintus Curtius that the genius of men is formed by the situation of their countries. They are described as dusky in their complexions, and inclined to melancholy, so tenacious of their opinion that no force of torture could be invented which should compel an Egyptian to declare his name if he wished to conceal it. It was the opinion of Aristotle, that the climate of Greece was the best possible for the production of great men. The Greeks, said that philosopher, held a middle place in physical and moral qualities, as well as topographical situation, between the northern Europeans and the southern Asiatics; possessing the courage of the former without their torpor of intellect; the ingenuity of the latter without their abject disposition. Arist. Pol. l. 7. c. 7.

† The first beacon was lighted upon Mount Ida, and successively upon Hermæus, Athos, Macistus, Messapius, Cithæron, Ægiplanctus, and Arachnæum, Æsch. Agam. 272, &c. I believe this is the first instance of telegraphic signals upon record.

the fall of Troy and gave the signal for an adulterous queen to whet the murderous axe against the royal Agamemnon. In the plain itself appeared the ruins of Mycenæ and Tiryns, with Nauplia couched, as it were, under its towering citadel of Palamedi; beyond it lay the Argolic bay bearing clusters of islands on its resplendent bosom, and at the foot of the lofty rock on which I stood Argos was extended, amidst whose dark cypress groves the Turkish mosque shoots up its delicate and graceful minaret. It was upon this imagery, glowing under the same brilliant sun which now illuminated it, but set off and adorned with every beauty of cultivation and every grace of art, that the poor Argive turned his dying thoughts when stretched upon a foreign plain. "Sternitur et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos." I was surprised that a noble poet, whose enchanting strains have conferred an additional interest even upon scenes sung by the Grecian muses, should think the epithet in this passage misapplied *: it appeared to me on the contrary a strong instance of that discriminating taste which characterizes the ancient poets: softness and repose are the peculiar features of this fine plain and the undulating outline of its surrounding mountains: nor can I persuade myself that Virgil used the epithet in a moral rather than a natural sense, which would deprive the passage of its greatest beauty†; that country must contain real charms of scenery which shall inspire its inhabitants with such vivid attachment: what

* Notes to Childe Harold, p. 167.

† In confirmation of this opinion I might observe that Statius applies the *same* epithet to Argos when it must be used in the primary sense. Tydeus, in whose mouth he puts it, was not a native and had none of those mental associations which could make the secondary sense applicable. After all, the old adage will ever remain true, "de gustibus," &c. I could not help dissenting from the extravagant eulogy bestowed by the same author upon scenery which appeared to me and other foreigners as well as to the natives themselves, quite unworthy of more than common praise. I allude in particular to Zitza and Delvinachi in the country of Epirus: neither would I give my own opinion upon these points as infallible. Probably other travellers will differ in many instances from the descriptions which I have endeavoured to draw. These however are but matters of taste and of little moment: let me at least pay a debt of gratitude I owe to the noble author above alluded to for the exquisite enjoyment I received in perusing his enchanting poetry amidst the scenes which gave it birth: to say that it gives in general the most perfect ideas of the country, manners, and characters of the inhabitants, would be granting it scarcely half its meed of praise: its soul-inspiring flights are felt by all, the untravelled as well as the travelled reader.

poet would risk a dying Dutchman breathing out his soul in effusions of tenderness for the dykes of Holland? No, it is the Swiss peasant with whom we sympathize when in the last agonies of death his mind dwells with melancholy regret upon the hills and vales of his romantic country.

On my descent down the Larissæan steep I entered into a deep cavern at the S.E. end of the rock whose sides, of natural marble, retain the remnants of an extremely fine and highly polished stucco. Advancing towards its further extremity and ruminating upon the story of Danae in whose brazen chamber I began to fancy myself, I was startled by a tremendous howl, when a large animal of a bright dun colour rushed past me as fast as three legs could carry him; the fourth had been broken or severely hurt, and the poor beast had taken refuge in the solitude of this retreat, from whence I unwarily disturbed him: whether it was a wolf or a large Albanian dog I was unable to discover; but the circumstance made me cautious in future of entering such places alone without any means of defence. On my arrival at our lodging I held a consultation with my friend upon the propriety of remaining a few days at Argos; and we resolved to satisfy our curiosity, in spite of the surly tyrant who ruled in Tripolizza: we have great reason to rejoice in this determination, for otherwise we should have enjoyed but a very transitory glimpse of this beautiful region. How rarely does a traveller ever recover the opportunity of visiting those interesting scenes which he may have passed either by accident or design!

Having procured horses and a guide from the vaivode, we directed our course across the thirsty Argive plain towards the citadel of Tiryns, that we might inspect that ancient piece of fortification. The country exhibited a cheerful scene from the gatherers of the cotton harvest who were scattered over the plain which is very celebrated for this production. The shrub is about two feet high; its flower, which is of a pale yellow, is succeeded by a round capsule with four partitions

containing seeds, to which is attached a white down: when the cotton is ripe the pods open and display their concealed treasure*. The men were busy in cutting them off the stalks, whilst an immense number of women and children were picking them up in baskets and carrying them towards bags prepared to receive them. In about an hour we alighted from our horses under the acropolis of Prœtus, the venerable and impressive appearance of which carries the mind back to the remotest periods of ancient history, whilst its massive walls and their peculiar construction suggest various subjects for reflection and research. The strength of this fortification is noticed by Homer †, and strangely exaggerated by Pausanias, who, when he observes that a pair of mules was unable to draw the smallest stone employed in its construction, and joins them with the Egyptian pyramids as objects of curiosity, uses the licence, without the spirit, of poetry. The stability however of its construction has enabled these huge uncemented masses to withstand the storms of more than 3000 years, and still preserves them in a very extraordinary state of perfection, probably quite as entire as when they were inspected by the Grecian topographer.

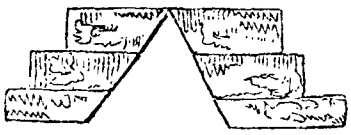
This citadel stands upon a low eminence, rising abruptly from the plain, partly natural and partly artificial: its dimensions are 295 yards by 75, where the breadth is greatest: in shape it has been imagined to bear some resemblance to the double-prowed ship that conveyed Danaus to the shores of Greece; if there be any truth in this conjecture it may possibly contain some mystical allusion to the Egyptian worship. It had three entrances, the principal one of which was on the eastern side, towards the city, flanked by a massive tower of solid

* It is an annual plant: the seeds are sown from January to March: lopping and weeding is the only cultivation necessary: a brilliant sun and moderate rain is requisite for its perfection. The pods begin to open in August and the harvest continues till October. Women and children are employed in pulling the cotton from the pods, after which it is separated from the seeds by a machine, then picked and cleaned. A crop of this vegetable is extremely valuable, but more than doubly so if it be spun before it is exported.

† Τίρυνθά τε τειχιόεσσαν. Il. β.

masonry: a grand flight of steps led up to this entrance, on the left of which (that is towards the sea, which has retired considerably from its walls) the fortifications remain in the greatest degree of perfection. Their natural elevation is here heightened and strengthened by enormous walls surmounted with very curious covered galleries, which open towards Nauplia, containing large apertures from whence assailants might be annoyed with missile weapons; and this lower tier of defence was probably, when perfect, crowned by an upper range of castellated battlements. The shape of these apertures, and the roof of the galleries, is a highly pointed arch; though in construction it differs entirely from that which we call Gothic or Saracenic. The Tirynthian arch is formed by the simple contrivance of large stones placed in horizontal courses, and projecting one over the other, whilst the inner surface of each block is cut away by the chisel at an angle of about forty-five degrees till the opposite sides meet*. The stones used in these galleries and in the whole circuit of the citadel are huge polyhedric masses, piled upon each other without any accuracy as to joints, and rendered steady chiefly by their own incumbent weight; for which reason we frequently find the largest used in the upper courses, as well here as in similar building at Argos and Mycenæ: the interstices of the walls were filled up with stones of smaller size, though many of these have fallen from their places without any apparent injury to the building. This ancient fortress is a pure specimen of that peculiar species

* The meaning of the author will perhaps appear more clear to the reader after an inspection of the annexed figure, which represents not any part of the galleries, but only the principle of their construction.



of masonry termed by Pausanias and other writers Cyclopéan, of which there are but very few genuine remains in Greece *.

In viewing generally the antiquities of this country, we admire the works of a people endued with exquisite taste and consummate judgment, and in their edifices we trace those designs of genius and contrivances of art or science by which we ourselves are guided in similar operations; but in contemplating these rough enormous masses in the ruins of Tiryns, heaped up with less art but with immense labour and powerful means, we seem carried beyond the reach of authentic records into the remotest ages of venerable antiquity; ages whose obscurity is but partially illuminated by gleams of historic truth: an extraordinary set of personages called the Cyclopes are presented to our imagination, the offspring of the gods, heroes of poetic fable, and monsters of gigantic stature †. Hence we become naturally anxious to extend our inquiries into the origin and character of these remarkable beings, who are said to have introduced into Europe not only architecture, but the metallurgic art ‡, the invention of light-houses, and the celebration of certain curious religious rites; who left behind them a fame for genius and enterprise § so superior to the early nations amongst whom they spread themselves under the titles of Cadmians, Idæi

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* I only met with one other example besides those on the plain of Argos. The one to which I allude was at the ancient city of Cichyrus or Ephyre, on the banks of the Acheron in Epirus.

† Ὥσπερ Κύκλωπές τε καὶ ἄγρια φύλα Γιγάντων· Odyss. η. 206.

‡ Fabricam ferream invenere Cyclopes. Plin. N. Hist. l. vii. c. 56. Apollodorus (I. 4.) says they were the first who formed the helmet for Pluto: see also a Corinthian coin given by Carrera. Descript. [illegible]æ. p. 10. They are joined by Statius with the Telchines (a people of the same family) in the construction of Harmonia's fatal necklace.

Hoc docti quanquam majora laborant
Cyclopes notique operam Telchines amica
Certatim juvere manu. Theb. l. ii.

These Telchines are said to have forged the trident of Neptune (Callimach. hym. ad Del. 30) as well as the sickle with which Saturn mutilated his father Cœlus, and which being dropped on the shore of Sicily formed the harbour of Messana, thence called Dancle or Zancle.

§ The old Scholiast upon Statius, lib. i. observes "quicquid magnitudine sua nobile est, Cyclopum manu fabricatum dicitur." See also Plutarch: Dissert. de Virtute docenda. sub. init.

Dactyli, Curetes, Telchines, Læstrigones, and Cyclopes, that in succeeding ages they figured in the writings of the poets as the fellow-workmen of Vulcan, and the architects of the Plutonian Pandæmonium, nay, they were even worshipped as deities and received sacrifice upon the very altars which they themselves had erected.

There seems little doubt but that these colonists emigrated originally from that land of early science, Egypt: that they came over the sea seems plainly denoted by their being constantly called the Sons of Ocean or of Neptune*, and the Cyclopéan walls of Mycenæ are said to have been constructed according to the Phœnician, which is the same as to say, Egyptian style of architecture. (φοίνικι κανόνι·) Their origin is referred by the learned Mr. Bryant to an Ammonian tribe of Anakim, men of superior stature †, descended from the sons of Anac, of the same family as the Hivites or Ophites who settled on the borders of Canaan, adoring the sun under the mystic symbol of a serpent in whose honour they instituted the fire-worship and the cruel practice of human sacrifices. Their chief places of settlement seem to have been the fertile plains of Catana and Leontium ‡ on the eastern coast of Sicily (ὑπ' Αἴτνῃ, τῇ πυριςάκτῳ πέτρᾳ. Cycl. 297.) being considered by Thucydides and other historians as the original inhabitants of that beautiful island. Homer gives an interesting description of their mode of life, habits, and customs in the adventures of Ulysses with the giant Polyphemus (Od. Z.) and Euripides in the following lines particularizes their most remarkable qualities:—

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* Ποντίᾳ παῖδες Θεᾶ. Eurip. Cycl. 20.
Μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ τὸν τεκόντα σ' ὦ Κυκλωψ. 261.

† Ἐπόιησε δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Φαιάκων λέγοντα εἶναι τὰς Φαίακας ἐγγὺς ὥσπερ ΚΥΚΛΩΠΑΣ καὶ τὸ Γιγάντων ἔθνος. Pausan. Arcad. c. 29. 2.

‡ Cyclopes itaque hi, quoniam portentosæ erant corporis staturæ, non urbes, non oppida, sed Ætnæos Leontinosque ac alios eximiæ magnitudinis specus, quas in dilectis sibi montibus effoderunt (ut in hanc usque ætatem cernere licet) habitabant. Fazello de Imis Siciliæ habitat. c. i. Guarnerius (in dissertat. de orig. Catanæ. c. v.) says that the Cyclopes are proved to have inhabited Sicily by the immense skeletons which are dug up. "Testantur id quoque magnæ molis cadavera, quæ subinde sunt eruta." This however is a fact which I should be much inclined to doubt.

——— τὴνδ' ἐς 'Αιτνάιαν πέτραν
'Ιν' οἱ μόνωπες ποντίου παῖδες Θεοῦ
Κύκλωπες οἰκοῦσ' ἄντρ' ἔρημ' ἀνδροκτόνοι· Cycl. 20.

In this passage they are said to inhabit desert caves in the region of Mount Etna, to be one-eyed, Sons of the Ocean God, and slayers of men *. This latter imputation seems to have arisen from their introducing the cruel rites of fire-worship from the East and sacrificing unfortunate strangers whom chance drove upon their coasts †; a custom which prevailed in many parts of the world especially in the Tauric Chersonesus, amongst the Lamii of Italy, and the Læstrigones of Sicily. In process of time, when the Cyclopes themselves became objects of worship and received divine honours ‡, they were propitiated by similar rites: for Apollodorus (lib. iii.) informs us that the Athenians during the calamity of a dreadful pestilence, offered up a sacrifice of three virgins, daughters of Hyacinthus, upon the tomb of Geræstus the Cyclops §. They received the epithet μόνωπες ‖ or "one-eyed" (being represented with a large eye in the centre of the forehead "Argolici clypei aut Phebeæ lampadis instar") either from the fire-altars (τάφοι,) which they erected, or, more probably, from the great circular towers

* In a subsequent passage he calls them men-eaters (Cycl. 92.) but cannibalism does not well agree with that pastoral life which these primitive inhabitants led, nor with their simple food of milk and cheese and now and then a sheep or kid, nor with that attachment to music by which they could even attract the sea-nymphs from their caves to listen.

"Quin etiam, Polypheme, fera Galatæa sub Ætna
Ad tua rcjantes carmina flexit equos." Propert. iii. El. ii. 5.

See also Theocrit. Idyl. vi. 9. and Lucian in Dial. Doris & Galatæa; where he says the lyre of Polyphemus was formed from the skull of a hind and the horns were its handles.

† ἐδεὶς μολὼν δεῦρ' ὅστις ἐ κατεσφάγη. Cycl. 128. and the Chorus calls this a sacrifice. Ἔχει θυσίαν Κύκλωψ. 365.

‡ A temple was erected to them upon the Isthmus of Corinth. Pausan. Corinth. c. ii. 2.

§ Where, though in all probability the promontory of Geræstus, which was sacred to Neptune and contained some work of the Cyclopes, is by mistake personified, still the existence of the barbarous custom is denoted. Ulysses adjures Polyphemus to spare his life, by the Geræstian promontory sacred to his father Neptune. Cycl. l. 294.

‖ Πᾶσι δ' ὑπ' ὀφρὺν
Φάεα μυνόγληνα φάκει ἴσα τετραβοείῳ. Callimach. H. in Dian. l. 52.

of which, according to Aristotle, they were the inventors *: these they built upon the dangerous parts of the coasts fixing therein large blazing lights, or beacons, to guide mariners amongst the rocks and shoals: nor is it impossible but that the poetical allegory of Neptune's indignation against Ulysses for putting out the eye of his son Polyphemus, may have been framed from the extinction of a beacon in one of these towers by the Trojan sailors, and the consequent wreck of their vessel. Mr. Bryant indeed gives a more recondite explanation of this extraordinary attribute, referring it to the device of an eye† placed over the portal of Egyptian temples dedicated to Osiris or the sun, that deity,

Ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ὑπακούει.

It is supposed that the Cyclopes introduced the custom of carving symbolical emblems over portals, upon temples and the walls of citadels, and that the thunderbolt, being a frequent device of this kind, gave occasion to the poets of representing them as the armourers of Jupiter. The head of Medusa was thus carved by them upon a building on the acropolis of Argos (Pausan. Corinth. c. xx. 5.) and considered probably as a charm or amulet‡, in like manner as a hair from the head of that Gorgon was considered and kept with the greatest care in the temple of Minerva Poliatis at Tegea. (Paus. Arcad. c. xlvii. 4.)

I have said that Sicily was the principal residence of these extraordinary personages. But they were not confined to Sicily, nor can I agree with those old grammarians who reckon up three distinct species of Cyclopes, those of Argos, those of Sicily, and those men-

* Turres, ut Aristoteles, Cyclopes invenere. Plin. lib. viii. c. 56. One of these probably was the celebrated Pharos of Messina, the construction of which is given by ancient historians to Orion. Near to this Pharos was a very celebrated temple of Neptune the reputed father of the Cyclopes.

† This symbol with the addition of a sceptre is mentioned by Plutarch de Isid. & Osir. p. 342. and by Macrobius Saturn. c. xxi. "insculpunt sceptrum, inque eo speciem oculi exprimunt, et hoc signo Osirin monstrant - - - - quia Solem Jovis oculum appellat antiquitas."

‡ A similar ornament or amulet in gold was affixed to the S. wall of the acropolis of Athens just over the theatre of Bacchus, according to Pausanias. Att. c. xxi. 4.

tioned in the theogony of Hesiod. The Grecian and the Sicilian Cyclopes agree together in too many characteristics to have a different origin. They were similar in gigantic stature, in the ordinance of their bloody rites, in their custom of inhabiting caves *, and especially in their architectural skill †; being in both these latter instances like the Saracenic tribes who inhabited that island in later times, a people who very speciously claim the invention of that noble style of architecture, which we commonly term gothic, and which is as superior to the Cyclopéan building, as the structures of that race were superior to the rude huts of the aborigines among whom they settled. With regard to the Cyclopes of Hesiod, they are merely the creatures of poetic fable.

The first introduction of this race into Greece seems to have been about the year 1379 before the Christian era, when Prœtus employed them to erect the walls of Tiryns: this prince being expelled from Argos by Acrisius, retired to the court of Jobates, king of Lycia, whose daughter he married, and by whose assistance he returned to his own country, and regained possession of Tiryns. Now we know from Apollodorus that extensive settlements of the Cyclopes were found in Caria and in Lycia, and from those countries Prœtus in all probability brought over his architects ‡, who according to their native

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* The Cyclopéan caves about Nauplia (*σπηλάια τὰ περὶ τὴν Ναυπλίαν*, Strabo, vol. i. p. 541.) correspond with the *ἄντρ' ἔρημα* of Mount Etna.

† See a letter of the Catanians to the architect Dædalus, in Diod. Sic. vol. ii. p. 656, ed. Wess. "Nos ne videremur prodigi, aut securitatem nostram in reparandis crassis muris turribusque immanibus, ANTIQUISSIMORUM FABRORUM NOSTRORUM CYCLOPUM oper- multis abhinc sæculis inchoato, collocasse, plures annos a perficiendis iisdem supersedimus." See also a letter of the same to Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum (p. 657.) in which they mention the brazen gates of their temple of Vulcan, as the work of the same artificers. "Portas æreas templi nostri Vulcani, antiquissimum et nobile opus CYCLOPUM." Whether these letters be spurious or not they shew the opinions held concerning the Cyclopes by the ancient inhabitants of Sicily.

‡ Strabo expressly says they came from Lycia, and that they were invited (*μεταπέμπτους*). According to him they were seven in number, called *γαστερόχειρες* (by Hesychius *ἐκχειρογάστορες*) from gaining their maintenance by their manual labour. Strabo, vol. i. p. 540—1, we may observe here that Olen, a poet who flourished before the age of Orpheus, and is supposed by some to have established the oracle at Delphi, was a Lycian.

customs* resided in the Nauplian caverns (ἐν οἰκοδομητοῖς λαβύρινθοις. Strab. l. 8. p. 369.) during the time spent in fortifying the city. This specimen of their ingenuity at Tiryns seems to have met with very general approbation, for they were soon afterwards employed to erect the walls of Argos, Mycenæ and Hermione; and from their numerous and extensive labours, the region of Argolis has been denominated the Cyclopéan Land κατ' ἐξοχήν. (γᾶ Κυκλωπεία. Eurip. Orest. 963.) Of this same family, are supposed to have been the celebrated architects Trophonius and Agamedes, who built the palace of Amphitryon, the temple of Neptune near Mantinea, that of Apollo at Delphi, and the treasury† of Hyrieus: we find Cyclopéan settlers on the Pangæan mountains of Thrace‡ and in the district of Curetis; whilst the expression of Bacchylides, that "Galatus§, Illyrius, and Celtus were the sons of Polyphemus," leads us to suppose that the Galatians, Illyrians and Celts, were of Cyclopéan origin.

It would not be difficult to multiply quotations both from ancient and modern authors respecting this curious people, but it is time to pass on to the architecture of which they appear to have spread the first rudiments in Greece.

Of that peculiar style of building properly termed Cyclopéan, wherein rude masses of broken rock are laboriously piled one upon the other, I observed very few vestiges: the largest specimen is at Tiryns, and the rudest at the ancient Ephyre of Thesprotia: the finest is

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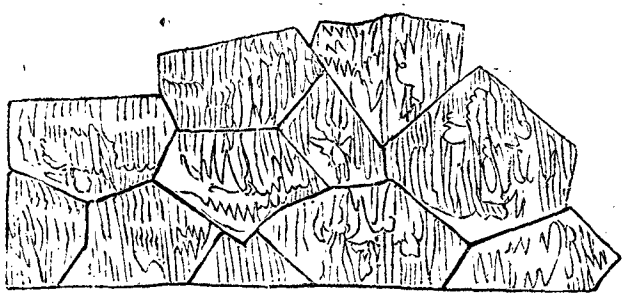
* ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων σπέσσι γλαφύρησι. Od. γ. 112.

† In the construction of this treasury these worthies left one stone very nicely adjusted, but loose in the wall, on the removal of which an aperture was formed sufficient to admit the body of a man. Through this hole they were accustomed to enter the treasury at pleasure, and carry off the riches which it contained. Hyrieus finding that his wealth sensibly decreased, though the door of his treasury was locked and the seals unbroken, adopted a plan for the detection of the thieves: at the mouth of his jars he placed secret springs or traps and left them as before. The rogues entering as usual, Agamedes thrust his hands into a jar, and was held fast by the inextricable noose: but lest he should be put to the torture and confess his accomplice, Trophonius in mercy to his brother and himself cut off his head and escaped through the wall. The story is related by Pausanias, Bœot. c. xxxvii. 3.

‡ Vid. Schol. in Eurip. Orest. 963.

§ See also Natalis Comes, l. ix. 8.

exhibited in the great portal or propylæa in the Acropolis of Mycenæ *, most part of which edifice appears to have been built, or at least renewed, after an improvement or rather a second style in the architecture, had marked the progress of the people in scientific skill. This alteration consisted in adapting accurately the sides and angles of each polygonal block to those by which it was surrounded, so that no interstices were left in the outward surface, which thus became compact and even, like the tesselated pavement of an ancient Roman road. The specimen which I here present to the reader for the sake of making this distinction clearer to him, is taken from the peribolus of an ancient temple in Epirus.



No cement was used in this construction, at least in the exterior joints: in such large indurated masses cement would have contributed to dilapidation; this substance became useful only in the absorbing nature of the Roman brick, by which it was so thoroughly imbibed, that separation without fracture can scarcely be effected. The finest specimens of this second style of Grecian architecture are at Mycenæ, (that ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον of Homer) the Pnyx at Athens, the walls of Mantinea and Chæronea, though indeed almost all the fortified cities in Græcia propria and Epirus were thus constructed †. In process of

* Πόλισμα Περσέως κυκλωπίων πόνον χερῶν. (Iphig. in Aul. 1500.) whose walls were called κυκλώπεια τ' ἐράνια τειχῆ. Eur. Elect. 1158.

† It is very common in Tuscany and Magna Græcia, and may be seen to great advantage at Cortona, Fondi, Cora, and Pæstum.

time an additional improvement, or a third style, was effected, in which square and oblong blocks of stone were laid in horizontal courses, nearly similar to modern usage; but at first this style contained some irregularities, the lines being not always regular nor the joints perpendicular. The best specimens I recollect are in the citadel of Amphissa, the walls of Æanthéa, the theatre of Thoricus, and a similar building of immense size, about ten miles distant from Ioannina in Epirus: it arrived at perfection in those superb temples built of Parian and Pentelic marble, which adorned Athens and other cities of ancient Greece.

In this review of Grecian architecture we find a regular gradation of beauty and art upon the basis of solidity and strength: necessity laid the foundation, convenience and taste successively exerted their powers in improvement and polish, until the splendour of Attic genius shone forth and infused all its beauties into the august edifice of the Parthenon. In canvassing the early stages of architecture we must not be led astray by the authority of any representation respecting either its superiority of construction or the extraordinary bulk and dimensions of its parts: in affairs of remote antiquity a love of the marvellous is always apt to preponderate, and even the accurate Pausanias, in considering the works of the ancient Cyclopes, has given loose reins to his imagination. Architecture in fact, connected as it is with the mechanical and mathematical sciences, promoting their most noble views and most extensive operations, will ever bear a constant ratio to the progressive culture and improvement of a people. Utility conjointly with symmetry and beauty being its object, it will designate, more perhaps than any other art, the character of an age, and display the various stages of refinement and sublimity in the nation by which it has been cultivated.

The following list of comparative dimensions in various stones used in architecture is taken from Mr. Cockerell's measurements.

	FEET.	INCH.	
The largest stone observable at Tiryns is - - -	9	6	in Length.
	4	0	in Breadth.
	3	10	in Depth.
The largest in the treasury of Atreus - - - - -	27	0	in L.
	4	6	in B.
	1	6	in D.
In a wall in the Isle of Zia is one - - - - - -	19	0	in L.
	4	0	in B.
	4	6	in D.
Over the portal of the Opisthodomus in the Parthenon are four blocks of Pentelic marble, each - -	25	0	in L.
	4	6	in B.
	1	9	in D.
At Balbec in the sub-basement of a Temple are two stones, one - - - - - - - - - - -	56	0	in L.
and the other - - - - - - - - - - -	60	0	in L.
In the Palazzo Pitti at Florence is a stone - - -	27	0	in L.
	2	0	in B.
	4	0	in D.
In the Louvre is one - - - - - - - - - -	36	0	in L.

From Tiryns we proceeded to Nauplia*, about one mile and a half distant, a city beautifully placed at the head of the Argolic gulf, upon the roots of a magnificent acropolis, whose modern appellation (Palamedi) recalls to memory the unfortunate Palamedes. This rock is crowned by a very strong fortress, so impregnable that the Venetians made Nauplia their seat of government; as also did the Turks until within a few years, when Tripolizza was selected on account of its central situation. The ascent to the top is guarded by a covered way; nor has the pasha himself power to grant access to a foreigner without a special firman or licence from the Porte. As we rode under the citadel we observed several caves in the rock, which are probably those mentioned by Strabo as the Cyclopéan habitations: having admired the fine gardens in the suburbs, we crossed a deep moat by a drawbridge, and passing under a gateway adorned with the Venetian arms, proceeded through the narrow and irregular streets to the serai of the pasha. Several horses richly caparisoned stood in the court, numerous state attendants lined the antechambers, whilst black slaves and officers called chaoushes, carrying sticks of ebony adorned with silver knobs and chains, cast an air of considerable magnificence upon the scene. We found the pasha himself seated in a small chamber looking over the sea, a singularly venerable and courteous personage. He gave us the kindest possible reception, declared himself much mortified that we had not sent him notice of our intended visit, that he might have prepared a house for our accommodation, and entertained us as his guests. When informed of our treatment by the tyrant of Tripolizza, he expressed the utmost indignation, advised us to pursue our plan of returning into the Morea with proper authority, and extracted a promise from us that we would then accept of his proffered hos-

* In former times Nauplia was conquered by the Argives and became their principal naval arsenal. Τὸ τῶν Αργείων ναύσταθμον· τὸ δὲ ἔτυμον ἀπὸ τῶ ταῖς νανσὶ προϋπλεῖσθαι.* Strabo, vol. i. p. 535. It is now generally called Anapli, or Napoli di Romania; but is recognised in the country by its ancient title.

pitality. The opportunity of cultivating such an acquaintance, and of gaining thereby a more intimate knowledge of the domestic habits and manners of the Turkish nobles, was not to be rejected. By far the greatest part of the population of Nauplia consists of Mahometans: the seraglio is beautifully situated, like many other houses of the rich inhabitants, which are environed by gardens and orangeries and decorated with fine galleries for ornament and use: there as on a raised terrace, open to the breeze and defended from the sun, the indolent Moslem sits cross-legged upon his sofa, with his amber-headed pipe, sipping his coffee, and inhaling the fumes of his highly-scented tobacco. He casts no thought upon the rich scenes of historic interest which lie extended before him: he recalls not the past, nor anticipates the future, but seizing the enjoyments of the present hour, resigns himself to his destiny: to him the amusements, the pursuits, the intellectual pleasures of more civilized nations would be as intolerable as the manacles of slavery: he is fond of power because it ministers to his sensualities, he is careless of fame because those sensualities re-act upon and enervate the mind.

Having bade adieu to the benevolent pasha we retraced our way through Nauplia without experiencing any of that insolence and rudeness which is generally attributed to its inhabitants: we observed a very large proportion of black slaves amidst the populace, both within and without the city. As we skirted for a short distance the head of the gulf, the Argive plain lay stretched before us like the Coilon of a noble theatre, fairly illustrating the expressions of the poets* who frequently describe it by that term. Its works of art indeed are laid level with the ground, but its natural features retain that imposing beauty which so early attracted emigrators from the east, and still enchants all people but its barbarian possessors: Larissa with its crowned heights, had from hence a striking and picturesque

* Τὸ κοῖλον Ἄργος βὰς φυγὰς, &c. Œd. Col. 378.

effect. We proceeded leisurely, in order to enjoy this delightful prospect, till we came within the environs of Argos: it then became necessary to push our horses into a gallop, for the Turks in all parts of the city were firing off their pistols and muskets, like madmen, in their entravagant joy at the expiration of the odious Ramazan. The new moon had appeared, and it seemed as if all were stricken by her influence. We heard several balls whistle over our heads, and thinking it possible that some of them might perchance be carrying a ticket* from fate against our Christian skulls, we made all haste to secure ourselves from the reach of such unpleasant messengers. Having checked our steeds at the entrance of the town, we were marching slowly up the main street of Argos towards our lodging, when behold an ass met us carrying a large load of faggots on his back. Well knowing the unbending nature of this beast, we readily turned aside and allowed him the middle path: not so the tchocodar; a Moslem give way to an ass! he would as soon have thought of doing so to a Greek: degradation was in the very idea! But the ass, on his part, determining not to give way to a Moslem, they naturally met in contact, and Mahomet encountered the shock of faggots. This did not concern the animal, who pursued his way with great composure, and was considered as beneath his adversary's resentment. But upon his unfortunate master, who had loitered a little behind, the full storm of the Turk's indignation fell: with his white sceptre, that had known neither bark nor leaves since it had been cut upon the mountains †, he smote the Ghiaour upon the head till the blood ran in streams down his face. The wretched Greek dared not utter a complaint—nay he was obliged to stifle his very cries; the least sign of displeasure at such

* The Mahometans believe that every ball is ticketed by fate and many of them are quite careless in exposing themselves to a volley of musketry.

† Νὺι μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον τὸ μὲν οὔ ποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους
Φύσει, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτα τομὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι λέλοιπεν, &c.
Il. α. 234.

uncivil treatment would have drawn the enraged Turk's ataghan from its sheath or his pistol from his belt. Could the poorest Englishman, who is discontented with his lot, have seen this, he would have blessed Providence for the land in which he was born!

It may be right to observe that the ass did not eventually escape the operations of even-handed Justice. The blows of the Turk were transferred to him, with interest, through the medium of his master; who as soon as he got to a convenient distance from our party, gave free scope to his outcries and exclamations: these he accompanied with resounding blows upon the back of the original offender, who raising his unmusical voice to the highest pitch, ran off followed by the Greek singing in concert till they got within range of the Mahometan musket shots: these possibly quieted the affray.

This evening we paid a visit of ceremony to the vaivode. His serai was extremely mean, dirty, and ill-furnished. The master was a fine-looking man, but vulgar in his manners, like one who had been raised from a low rank in life. He was the first Turk whom we had yet known that avowed himself attached to the French interests: we found it impossible to persuade him that Bonaparte had met with any disasters either in Spain or Russia. Upon our return home we sent him a very handsome present, which he received, and afterwards commissioned his secretary, a cunning Greek, to visit us and procure from our generosity a brace of pistols: these advances however we thought proper to repel.

Next day three tatar couriers passing through Argos engaged all the post-horses, and obliged us to confine our researches to the place of our residence. In company therefore with Mr. Parker I again ascended the citadel of Larissa*, and being provided with a

* Pausanias says that Larissa received its name from a daughter of Pelasgus. There never was such a person as Pelasgus: but thus it is with the ancient Greek writers; whenever they want a name for any place they find a nymph or a hero, a man or a god; it is all the same. It may appear an extraordinary assertion, but I believe that no nation ever existed so ignorant of the real circumstances of

copy of Sir William Gell's admirable Itinerary of Argolis we amused ourselves with surveying every object of interest in the plain and comparing it with his most faithful delineation. The remains of temples which once adorned this commanding rock have been swept away by the hand of time, nor is there a single trace of Jupiter's Larissæan shrine upon its summit, unless it be a very curious antique inscription, half buried in the wall of the fortress, which I tried to decypher, but in vain, as the sun was shining full upon the stone: without much difficulty however we discovered the theatre; about sixty rows of seats cut in the solid rock mark indelibly the site of this ancient monument: it is on the south side of the hill, and commands a noble prospect. At a little distance from it, higher up the rock, appeared a small Greek chapel: it has been made an invariable rule with the later Greeks to select the site of some Pagan temple, if possible, for the foundation of their Christian churches or chapels, and in these sacred edifices the traveller is rarely disappointed in his search for architectural remains, mutilated sculpture, and inscribed tablets. To this little chapel I ascended, for it appeared to occupy the site where Pausanias fixes that temple of Venus, before which stood the

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their own history as the Greeks: though they derived their language, their mythology, and their civil institutions from the orientals, yet an absurd pride of referring their origin to the remotest antiquity, and a desire of being considered autochthones, urged them to an emulation of each other in confounding all the events of their early ages and rejecting that assistance which nothing but a knowledge of eastern history could have given them. Diodorus Siculus says that the Samothracians had a peculiar language of their own in their sacred rites, and Jamblichus asserts that the language of the mysteries was not that of Greece but of Egypt and Assyria, accusing those of folly who said that barbarous words had no inherent signification. Our learned mythologist Mr. Faber derives the name of Larissa from Lares-ai, the land of the Lares or Solar Cabiri, Lar being a contraction from El-ar, the Solar Deity. No name was more common in Greece than this of Larissa; Strabo mentions ten places so called in one passage, and Stephanus Byzantinus eleven. The most celebrated was that on the Peneus in Thessaly, the most ancient this of Argos. Strabo observes (vol. i. p. 630) that the Larissa of Thessaly was also called Pelasgia (ἡ δὲ ἀντὴ μὲν Πελασγία λεγομένη καὶ Λάρισσα). If Pausanias had said the place was named by the Pelasgi, instead of a daughter of Pelasgus, he would probably have been much nearer to the truth. Phoroneus first collected settlers here, and the Cyclopes afterwards fortified his citadel. Thus Juno observes to Jupiter:

> ———scis semper ut arces
> Cyclopum magnique Phoroneos inclyta fama
> Sceptra viris opibusque juvem. Theb. lib. i.

statue of Telesilla, a heroine pre-eminent amongst the great and glorious characters of antiquity: in this elevated situation she stood upon the Larissæan rock, in full view of the citizens; a helmet in her hand, and at her feet the volumes of her soul-inspiring poetry, like a guardian genius, looking down upon a city which her talents had adorned and her valour saved! Venerated be the spot, as long as the page of history shall brighten with her name*!

Argos was reduced to the brink of destruction by the Spartans under Cleomenes: these enemies having destroyed the flower of the Argive youth in battle or by treachery, advanced to attack the city in its defenceless state. All hope appeared extinct and despair took possession of its people, when safety arose from a quarter where it was least expected. The young, beautiful, and accomplished Telesilla, casting away the terror natural to her sex and taking down the sacred armour from the temples of the gods, clothed herself in complete panoply, and animating the Argive women to follow this spirited example, led them out against the victorious army, to triumph or to die for honour and for liberty. They met the invaders and fought with the intrepidity of veterans. In the midst of the conflict a sudden sense of shame spread, like a panic fear, through the Lacedemonian cohorts. The disgrace appeared equal either in victory or defeat—the very idea was overwhelming—they retreated from the field, and this little band of heroines, more glorious than that of Leonidas, returned triumphantly to Argos. The virtue of patriotism is always animating: but when its pure and brilliant flame glows in a female breast, in a shrine adorned by beauty and dignified by genius, it enraptures the soul, it demands the admiration of all ages, and it consecrates to imperishable fame the place where it shone and the

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* Ἡ Σπαρτιάταις ἐνθωπλισμένη Τελεσιλλα, δι' ἣν ἐν
Ἄργει θεὸς ἀριθμεῖται γυναικῶν Ἄρης·

Lucian. Amores. §. 30.

people that matured it. Let the traveller therefore who visits the remains of that which once was Argos, if he wishes to encourage generous sentiments in his heart, and pay that homage to virtue and talent which greatness and power so frequently demand, seek the spot where stood the statue of Telesilla: though he may have viewed the solemn groves and mountains of Arcadia with indifference; though he may have trod with apathy over the mouldering shrines of Delphi, or cast a transient glance on the wonders of the Parthenon; yet will he feel here at least a momentary glow, unless he be destitute of those virtues, the memory of which, so pressed upon his mind, fails to animate and inspire him.

Below the theatre an ancient wall of brick encircles this part of the acropolis to support the soil; it contains frequent apertures, some of a triangular, others of a semicircular shape, affording a vent for those violent torrents of rain which sometimes descend. It is probably of Roman construction, as also is the ruin * of a large uninteresting edifice which fronts the theatre, and is called, by a vulgar error, the Palace of Agamemnon: that indeed was at Mycenæ, a capital, in his days, perfectly distinct from Argos, and far superior to it both in magnificence and power †. It is true the tragic poets take an extraordinary liberty in confounding these two cities, using the name of

* I conceive this building to be Roman, not on account of the materials with which it is built, but rather from its alcoves or arched roofs, which were constructed upon scientific principles. It is an error to suppose the ancient Greeks never admitted the figure of an arch in their buildings: the pointed arch is exhibited in the ruins of Tiryns, and I have met also with an ancient Cyclopéan gateway constructed in a beautiful cove or semicircle; but this, like the Tirynthian galleries, was formed by cutting the stones into form, not by the use of centering and the application of science: the extraordinary circumstance of the case is, that so ingenious a people, knowing the figure should seem not to have discovered the principle of the arch. Another common error is that of supposing the Greeks never to have used brick in the construction of their public buildings, and thence referring all ruins in which this material appears to the time of the Romans. Vitruvius (lib. ii c. 8.) expressly tells us that the Greeks used brick not only in their private but public edifices, and even in their city walls. "Nonnullis civitatibus et publica opera et privatas domos, etiam regias e latere structas videre licet, et primum Athenis murum qui spectat ad Hymettum montem & Pentelensem." See also Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 14. Pausan. Corinthiaca, c. xviii. 3, &c.

† Μυκῆναι μέν γε τῷ πρὸς Ἴλιῳ πολέμῳ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἠγωνισμένη. Paus. Arcad. c. xxxiii. 1. vid. Strab. Geog. vol. i. 540.

Argos indiscriminately for both; nor has any satisfactory reason been given for this licence: some eminent critics have deduced it from the supposed contiguity of the two capitals, and brought the example of London and Westminster in support of their opinion: this error they never would have fallen into had they had an opportunity of ascertaining the real distance which intervened between them, and which very accurately coincides with the fifty stadia of Strabo, i. e. about six miles according to our measurement. As Euripides is the author who most frequently confounds these cities under one name, a reason has been suggested for the practice in the destruction of Mycenæ by the Argives, which occurred when that poet was about thirteen years of age: but this will not apply to Æschylus who uses the same licence; neither would it form a proper excuse even for the other tragedian, since the scenes of his drama are laid at a time when Mycenæ was in a state of prosperity. It is difficult to form any decided opinion upon the subject, with such very slight ground as we have for a foundation—to hazard a conjecture, I should suppose that when the plain itself, in which these two great and regal cities stood, received the appellation of Argos, their names became as it were amalgamated with that of the territory, the citizens of both were termed Argives*, and Mycenæ was sometimes designated by the generic, sometimes by the specific term†: and I am rather led to this conclu-

* Vid. Eurip. Orest. 103 and 118, where Helen, although in Mycenæ, says she fears to go out lest she should irritate the Argive multitude "ταρβῶσά τε Ἀργέων τόλον;" and in the same play Electra calls the chorus who were ladies of Mycenæ, the principal Argive women, whilst the chorus in their answer term Mycenæ the city of the Danaides. In the Electra of the same author Mycenæ is styled πόλις Ἀργέων· l. 1313.

† If it be objected to this hypothesis that Mycenæ is also used for Argos, it may be answered that this occurs in very few instances, and that the circumstance above alluded to having occasioned a change of name in one city, the poets would probably, without considering the nature of the case, take the same liberty with regard to the other, a liberty suggested by convenience, though not sanctioned by reason. In many instances occurring in the Greek tragedies, when Argos is mentioned, the plain is to be understood where an incautious reader might imagine the city was meant. Thus I should conceive Agamemnon on first landing after the siege of Troy, addresses his country not the city of Diomede.

Πρῶτον μὲν Ἄργος καὶ θεὸς ἐγχωρίους
Δίκῃ προσειπεῖν· Æschyl. Agam. 783.

sion by considering that this usage is not found in Homer and the more ancient poets, in whose time the name of Argos was never applied to the plain*.

No city of Greece has suffered such a total dilapidation as Argos, if we except its ancient enemy and rival Lacedæmon. The traveller must be content to inspect the sites alone of ancient edifices here: these, under the guidance of Pausanias, it may not be difficult to determine; but however their investigation might delight the scholar, their enumeration would scarcely interest the generality of readers. The streets of the modern town are formed by long parallel rows of mean detached cottages, roofed with broad pantiles and inhabited chiefly by Albanians, a people who at different times have overrun the greatest part of Grecia Propria, committing the most terrible outrages, slaughtering and slaughtered, attacking friends and foes, sometimes defeated and at others maintaining possession of their ground, here establishing themselves with the consent of the inhabitants, and there holding their possessions in defiance of surrounding powers: but in all places retaining their habits dress and language, together with that activity of mind and body in which they so much excel both the Greeks and Turks. The Albanian women at Argos are generally employed in gathering the cotton harvest and weaving at the loom; (ἰσὸν ἐποιχόμεναι·) the men in the labours of agriculture and the care of their flocks, keeping for that purpose so many large and fierce dogs of the Molossian breed (that amica vis pastoribus) which they have introduced from Epirus, that it is actually dangerous for a stranger to walk unguarded through the streets of this town. Both here and in many other parts of Greece the savage nature of these animals makes it advisable for a traveller to wear a weapon of defence at his side. I once owed the preservation probably of my life to a small dirk which

* Ἄργος δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδίον λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις, παρ' Ὁμήρῳ δ' οὐδ' ἅπαξ· Strabo, vol. i. p. 539.

I generally carried concealed in my travelling jacket. The unmarried Albanian girls bear their marriage portions upon their heads—their skull-caps, made of scarlet cloth, are surrounded with rows of Turkish paras piastres and other coins, like scales; sometimes straps ornamented in a similar manner fasten the cap under the chin, and their long plaits of hair hanging down the back are seen glittering with this nuptial treasure; so that they have the appearance of Amazonian warriors prepared for combat: amongst the more opulent classes alternate rows of Venetian sequins and other gold coins are interwoven amidst the silver*. It is incredible what a degree of fatigue the poor peasant girl will undergo to add a single para to this store, or what privations she will endure rather than diminish it by that mite. All her hopes of settlement in life depend upon the completion of the dowry—no beauty, no attachment however fervent, will hasten the bridal day—imperious custom has so ordered it, that Plutus must precede or Hymen will not follow. In the midst of these erotic treasures may frequently be found the most valuable coins of ancient Greece, given to them by friends and relations on their birth-days and other festivals, or picked up by themselves after rain amongst the ruins. A traveller has no better chance of increasing his collection than by application to the head-quarters of these Albanian damsels: the sum generally offered is so superior to the intrinsic value of the medal that they seldom hesitate in making the exchange, though sometimes no entreaties, no bribes will induce them: the reason of this obstinacy is that they regard the legend impressed upon the coin as an amulet or charm like the celebrated Ephesian letters of antiquity†,

* The custom of wearing coins, especially antiques, is not of late introduction. We learn from Pomponius that in very early times "aurea numismata vetera vel etiam argentea gemmarum vicem implere;" so also Pascal, lib. ii. c. 10, de Cor. "ut viros monilia non decent, ita nec pauperibus convenire coronas & magnam supellectilem & multitudinem numismatum."

† The περίεργοι χαρακτῆρες, which were so esteemed and sought after, according to St. Basil. Homil. in Psalm. 45.

Ἐφέσια τοῖς γαμοῦσιν ὅτος περιπατεῖ
Λέγων ἀλεξιφάρμακα. Fragm. Menandri Παιδίῳ. See also Lucian. Sympos. vii. c. 5.

powerful in driving away evil spirits and averting the influence of diseases. I purchased a very beautiful coin of the Opuntian Locri from off the head of an Argive girl, but though I offered another the sum of four dollars for a Macedonian medal of Alexander the Great she obstinately refused it.

In the course of the evening a few antiquities were brought to us for sale, greatly mutilated and totally void of beauty or interest: Colonel de Bosset was more fortunate, who passed through the place a few weeks afterwards, when he procured a piece of sculpture in mezzo-relievo, representing a Jupiter and Leda, which has been pronounced by our British Phidias* to be one of the finest specimens of Grecian art which this country possesses.

Next morning we procured horses for the purpose of visiting Mycenæ. Passing through Argos we left the hill of Phoroneus on the left, near the site of the gate of Ilithyia†: soon afterwards we crossed, without wetting our horses' hoofs, the streamless channel of the Inachus, which is an impetuous torrent or a dry ditch according to the season of

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Ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ Μάγοι τὸς δαιμονιζομένους κελεύουσι τὰ Ἐφέσια γράμματα πρὸς ἀυτὸς καταλέγειν καὶ ὀνομάζειν, κ. τ. λ. The origin of these Ephesian letters is generally ascribed to certain mystic characters upon the Head and Zone and Feet of the Ephesian Diana: their introduction is attributed by some to the Idæi Dactyli (Cl. Alexand. Strom. i). Athenæus intimates that they used to be carried about the person in little leathern bags (Deipnos. lib. 12). These have been the practices of superstition in all ages. The Jews had their phylacteries, the early Christians applied to the head little written sentences of the Gospels, to cure the head-ache, (St. August. in tract. 7 in Joann. Evang.) or hung them up over the bed against the attack of the spiritual enemy, where the Roman Catholics at this day affix a crucifix and the Greeks a picture. Almost all the Turks carry amulets round their necks, inscribed with sentences from the Koran, of which there is a large manufactory in the Seraglio at Constantinople. There is a curious passage in St. Chrysostom (Serm. de Mulierum ornatu), who, in speaking of the custom of wearing coins about the neck and legs by way of charm, mentions the medals of Alexander as held in high estimation for this purpose. Τί ἂν τίς εἴποι περὶ τῶν ἐπῳδαῖς καὶ περιάπτοις κεχρημένων, καὶ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΑ χαλκᾶ Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ τῷ Μακέδονος ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ περιδεσμῶντων: That fine head which adorns these medals was probably copied from the statue of Alexander by the celebrated Lysippus. The horn attached to it is thus explained: ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἄμμωνος υἱὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ κερασφόρος ἀναπλάττεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν, τὸ καλὸν ἀνδρώπῳ ὑβρίσαι σπεύδων κέρατι. According to our modern ideas his father Philip had a better plea for the introduction of the horn.

* This monument is preserved in our National Museum.

† There is no doubt but this is the hill called Aspis by Plutarch (in vit. Pyrrhi): its shape is very similar to the ἀσπὶς or circular Argive shield, Argolici clypei instar: for the name of the gate here situated, see Pausan. Corinth. c. xviii. 3.

the year*. Riding rapidly, we arrived in about an hour at the small village of Kravata, near which is a Pyrgo, or tower, built upon the estate of a rich Turkish proprietor. In a few minutes more we met with a clear rill or water-course whose windings we followed up to the very foot of the citadel, a noble fortress, still crowned with enormous walls bearing that same character of uncouth and solid grandeur which distinguishes those of Tiryns:

Cerno Cyclopum sacras
Turres labore majus humano decus!

The back ground of this ancient city was formed by two fine mountains, conical in shape, and the most prominent objects in the Argive plain: at their roots to the north-east of the citadel is the source of that transparent rill which flows amidst the ruins, and is probably the fountain Perséa†, so named from the heroic founder of the city‡. The Propylæa, or massive portal of this acropolis, is one of the most interesting antiquities which time has spared. It is of Cyclopéan architecture constructed with blocks of surprising magnitude, the architrave consisting of a single stone, fifteen feet in length by four and a half in height; two parallel walls, composed of huge masses, piled up in a most uncouth manner on each other without regard to joints, and which nothing but their size and weight would ever have kept firm, project from the gateway and form an oblong court about fifty feet deep, where probably the princes of the people (Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες) sat to administer justice upon their polished and conspicuous seats.

* In the rainy season, or at the melting of the snows, the Inachus overflows its banks:
" ruit agmine facto
Inachus et gelidos surgens Erasinus ad arctos,
Pulverulenta prius calcandaque flumina." Stat. Theb. lib. i.

† Pausan. l. i. c. 16. 5.

‡ Perseus founded this city on the spot where the μύκης or fungus of his scabbard, not the pommel of his sword, as is generally supposed, fell upon the ground: this μύκης was a circular piece of leather or metal at the end of the scabbard in the form of a mushroom—See Herod. iii. c. 64, where Cambyses in mounting his horse was wounded in the thigh by his own sword, because the μύκης or fungus of the sheath had fallen off. Hence this city was called Μυκήναι.

οἱ δὲ γέροντες
Ἕιατ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ*.

Over the architrave of this portal is the most ancient piece of sculpture existing perhaps in the world: it is cut in high relief upon a triangular stone, the base of which is eleven feet, and the perpendicular height ten, being very similar in appearance to an armorial shield or escutcheon. The subject is an inverted column resting upon a portion of its entablature between two lions rampant for supporters: each animal stands upon a columnar plinth, at equal distances from the pillar, whose inverted pedestal is decorated with a kind of beaded string, consisting of four spherical balls: there is seen also on the frieze of the entablature, immediately under the capital of the column, an elliptical excavation, and half the same device appears under each of the plinths upon which the lions stand. The sculpture bears a very antique cast; the stiff unpliant form of the figures gives it exactly that appearance which we should expect in a style between the later Egyptian and the earlier Greek: the heads having been destroyed, many travellers have fancied these animals were intended for lionesses, and others for tigers, quite contrary to the assertion of Pausanias†, and with unnecessary scrupulosity; for in that very early stage of the art we cannot expect the sculptor to have been extremely accurate in marking every nice shade of sexual or generic difference: we shall be convinced of this if we only look to the commencement of the arts in our own or any other nation.

The whole of this imagery is considered by many well qualified to judge upon the subject, as emblematical of the worship paid by the

* The children of Israel had their judges or princes of the tribes, who "sat in the gate" to administer justice to the people.

† Λείπεται δὲ ὅμως ἔτι καὶ ἄλλα τῷ περιβόλῳ, καὶ ἡ πύλη· Λέοντες δὲ ἐφεστήκασιν ἀυτῇ· Κυκλώπων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ Προίτῳ τὸ τεῖχος ἐποίησαν ἐν Τίρυνθι· l. ii. 16. 4. If this be true, the Cyclopes had improved in their art by practice, for the walls at Mycenæ are built much better than those of Tiryns, especially if we suppose them to have perfected their masonry by that second style which is observable here in most part (though not all) of the peribolus of the citadel, wherein the angles and sides of the polyhedrons are accurately fitted together.

Egyptians to the sun. Though it scarcely becomes one totally unversed in oriental antiquities to controvert this opinion, especially when it is known that the lion was one of the most common emblems of that deity*, yet I cannot help observing, that a more obvious and natural idea presents itself in the designation of a Watch or Guard: indeed, this is the very reason given by Valerian† for the appearance of lions over the identical gate in question; and this no doubt assigned a place to that noble animal at the feet of Britania's guardian genius, upon the insignia of Great Britain. For the same cause also images of dogs in silver and gold adorned the threshold of Alcinous's palace:

> Χρύσειοι δ' ἑκάτερθε καὶ ἀργύρεοι κύνες ἦσαν,
> Οὓς Ἥφαιστος ἔτευξεν ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσι,
> ΔΩΜΑ ΦΥΛΑΣΣΕΜΕΝΑΙ μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο,
> Ἀθανάτους ὄντας καὶ ἀγήρως ἤματα πάντα. Od. H. 91.

Having satisfied our curiosity in the view of this noble entrance, we made our way over its ruins into the interior of the acropolis. Its area is of considerable size, and once contained numerous buildings: fragments of ancient terra-cotta vases lie scattered about in great quantities. The mind of the traveller here feels a secret thrill of horror if he reflects that he is standing on the very spot where the inhuman feast of Thyestes was celebrated, where the royal Agamemnon fell by domestic perfidy, where a son imbued his hands in a mother's blood whilst the

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* Ægyptii (says Macrobius) . . . Leonis signum domicilium Solis appellant; quia id animal videtur e naturâ Solis substantiam ducere, primumque impetu et calore præstat animalia, uti præstat Sol sidera; validusque est Leo pectore et priore corporis parte, ac degenerat posterioribus membris. Sat. c. xxi. He also describes the triple-headed image of Serapis or the sun, and observes that the middle and largest head was that of a lion, c. xx. The throne of Horus also, who particularly represented the solar deity, was supported by lions, that animal by his large head, his fiery eyes, his flat circular countenance, and his shaggy radiated mane, being considered the fittest emblem of the great luminary. Horapoll. Hierog. l. i. § 71.

† Quare semper (Leo) somni expers esse videtur: quapropter significantèr admodum non tantum Mycenarum portis, sed etiam reliquorum ædificiorum, præcipuè vero fanorum valvis ædiumque sacrarum vestibulis Leones tanquam Divinorum custodes, ut est passim cernere, statuebantur. Hierogl. l. i. c. 4. At the door of the great moveable shrine in which the remains of Alexander the Great were conveyed from Babylon, we find that golden lions were placed fronting those that entered. Diod. Sic. vol. ii. p. 278, edit. Wess.

heart-appalling cries of Electra were heard exulting in the vengeance and encouraging the matricide.

Following the course of the walls, we arrived at the south-east angle of the precipice which hangs over a deep and rocky glen once enclosed by the habitations of Mycenæ: this point, as we look in the direction of the Argolic gulf, gives us the most comprehensive view of that truly venerable Homeric city, on whose remains the stamp of remotest antiquity is impressed; so massive and majestic, that they appear the monuments of a race different from ourselves; that in contemplating them we seem to glide back insensibly into those heroic ages of whose spirit, and pursuits, and institutions, they are, as it were, a faithful record; ages which not only produced a Homer, but ministered aliment to nurture and mature his genius: for it is not when the manners of men become polished and moulded into an infinite number of forms by discipline and social commerce, acted upon by a vast variety of collateral interests and a multiplicity of duties, that the most free scope is given to fancy and expression. Such an age indeed may suit the finer shades of comedy or satire; but that is most likely to produce and best employ the talents of an epic poet, whose simplicity exhibits the manners in grand masses and bold combinations, which presents original traits of character unrestrained by refinement contrasted in the strongest lights and shadows; when the passions, too violent for the restraint of laws, carry men on impetuously, not only to great virtues and great crimes, but to great success and great calamities; when the language, figurative and bold, draws its images and metaphors more immediately from natural objects; when even the marvellous can be admitted to heighten the effect, open sources of invention, and inspire that anxiety, astonishment, and delight which appear to proceed immediately from inspiration. Hence those irresistible charms of the Homeric muse. She caught her fire from the spirit of the times; when, amidst scenes ornamented by Nature's lavish hand, and peopled by an heroic race, the tide of human action flowed like a majestic stream

in a deep and impetuous course: it was then the great aim of poetry, like philosophy at a later period, to teach and to reform, to curb the unruly passions, and to soften the rugged manners of a people: thence the revered character of the bard, and the epithet divine, attached to his effusions.

We passed out of the acropolis through a small postern-gate on the other side, opposite the propylæa; between them we observed some ancient cisterns, half full of water, lined with a fine coating of beautiful cement, as well as one of those subterranean edifices (ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα) which Pausanias* calls the treasuries of Atreus. As this however was nearly filled up with earth, we proceeded to another at a short distance that had been completely cleared: we were guided to it by the water-course which runs over the ridge under which it has been excavated. We are indebted for the unencumbered state in which this monument is now seen, to the exertions of two eminent noblemen, one an Englishman, the other a Turk†; the first inspired by his love of the fine arts, the second no doubt induced by the hope of discovering what this ancient TREASURY might contain; for the Turks, both high and low, without any exception, suppose that in our visits to these ancient monuments we are impelled by the most interested of motives, and that, like the Athenian Timon, we pore over old ruins only because we have received certain intelligence of the abode of Plutus there, waiting to be turned up by the spade. This opinion prevails amongst the Turks to such a degree, that a little before our arrival in Athens, one of these cognoscenti having dug up a superb marble statue in his garden, refused any price for it, but chose rather to break it into pieces and grind it down to powder, under the confident expectation of finding immense treasures within. Many of them actually think that statues are human beings, under the effect of a charm. The vaivode of

* Corinth. c. xvi. 5.

† Lord Elgin, and Vely Pasha late governor of the Morea, the latter of whom met with great success in his excavations at Argos.

Athens one day asked my friend Mr. Cockerell how Englishmen amused themselves in Greece? His reply was, in examining antiquities and ancient cities which were greatly celebrated in the accounts of historians. The next question was, do those same historians in their accounts ever tell you where to find sequins?

Descending down a slope flanked with enormous walls, we arrived at a plain entrance, noble in its simplicity and magnitude, being ten feet in breadth by eighteen in depth, whilst one of the stones composing the architrave or lintel of this portal, being a single block, is twenty-seven feet long, sixteen broad, and four deep: immediately over it is a triangular aperture, which probably once contained sculpture pertaining to Egyptian rites: the pyramidal form of the triangle is considered an emblem of the fiery element. The chief apartment of this treasury is a dome, very similar in shape to one of our English bee-hives: it is curiously constructed, like the galleries of Tiryns, with large blocks in parallel horizontal courses, each course projecting over the one immediately below it, whilst the interior surface is cut into form by aid of the chisel. The diameter of the area is forty-seven feet: at the end of the first quadrant, to the right of the entrance, is a passage leading to an inner room (about twenty-seven feet by twenty in dimensions), the walls of which are not lined by any kind of masonry; probably however this was the depository of the treasure, holes being visible in the blocks for the admission of folding doors, whereas nothing of the kind is observable in the great entrance of the circular dome. Here we lighted a fire of straw and dry faggots, which brought from their lurking places such a numerous host of bats, that we made a precipitate retreat into the outer chamber: the height of this vault appeared about fifty feet, finished at the top by a single stone, like the treasury of Minyas at Orchomenos; however, it is not a key-stone, for the principle of the arch is totally unapplied to this peculiar mode of construction: the inner surfaces of the blocks are pierced with nu-

merous holes from which many bronze nails have been extracted*: it is supposed, and not without probability, that these nails served to fasten plates of the same metal over the whole interior surface of the edifice, in the same manner as the pantheon at Rome was cased, and the forum of Trajan, which was admirable for its brazen roof according to Pausanias, who cites it for the purpose of illustrating that brazen chamber in which Acrisius confined his daughter Danaeٹ: similar no doubt were the Cyclopéan chambers of the daughters of Prœtus near Tiryns: so also was the brazen vessel in which, according to Homer, Mars was kept a prisoner thirteen months by Otus and Ephialtes (χαλκείῳ ἐν κεράμῳ, Il. E. 385), whilst the subterranean brazen vase in which Eurystheus is said to have hid himself upon the return of Hercules to Mycenæ, may have been a similar building to that under consideration. There is nothing in the expression of Pausanias which makes it necessary to suppose that Atreus *built* these subterranean vaults, but only that he applied them to the purpose of concealing his treasures: they may have been erected in ages far anterior to his time by the early Egyptian colonists or artificers, and may have been also connected with their religious rites and ceremonies‡: I am aware that some travellers of high consideration view them in the light of sepul-

* Mr. Parker procured one of them at the village of Kravata. They have been analyzed, and proved to consist of copper and tin in the proportion of 88: 12. The metal therefore, as Dr. Clarke observes, is, properly speaking, the χαλκὸς of Homer, or *bronze;* a compound distinguished from the *orichalchum* of later ages, or *brass*, which consisted of *copper* and *zinc*—See Clarke's Travels, Part ii. Sec. ii. p. 698.

ٹ The expression of Pausanias regarding the chamber of Danae is very similar to that which he applies to the treasuries of Atreus, calling it a κατάγαιον οἰκοδομήμα· l. ii. c. xxiii. It is not at all improbable but that the Argive chamber was also a treasury, such buildings being sometimes used for the confinement of prisoners: that of Messene was the scene of Philopœmen's murder. Let the reader compare this treasury of the Atridæ with that of Myron King of Sicyon at Olympia. Ἐν δὲ τῷ θησαυρῷ καὶ θαλάμους δύο ἐποίησε, τὸν μὲν Δώριον, τὸν δὲ ἐργασίας τῆς Ἰώνων. ΧΑΛΚΟΥ μὲν δὴ αὐτὸς ἑώρων εἰργασμένους· Paus. Eliac. c. xix. 1.

‡ The earliest form of the temple seems to have been that of a cavern: Pausanias mentions one upon the Tænarian promontory, before which stood a statue of Neptune, "ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναὸς ἐικασμένος σπηλαίῳ," l. iii. c. xxv. 4; and Parnassus was held particularly sacred on account of its caves: so also was Bœotia. Learned orientalists refer all these caverns to the great Mithratic grotto as their origin.

chral caverns, and fix upon this particular edifice for the tomb of Agamemnon. Yet it did not, I must own, give me the least idea of a sepulchre, nor has any thing, I believe, appertaining to funereal rites ever been discovered in it: the structure is too vast for the tomb even of that "king of men," and though I would not lay any great stress upon the lines of Sophocles quoted in the margin*, still they seem to mark the sepulchre of Agamemnon for an elevated monument, not a subterranean cavern like this, whose summit is quite level with the surface of the ground, inasmuch as the water-course abovementioned is carried over it, and a person might stand upon the top without being conscious that the earth was hollow under his feet.

I shall refrain from taking up the reader's time with a more extended detail of these ruins, interesting as they are, since the subject has been so admirably treated by Sir William Gell in his Itinerary of Argolis. But there is one incident connected with the demolition of this city which it is impossible to pass over without a few observations, inasmuch as if it were true, it would be sufficient to render the Argive name not merely an object of scorn and detestation, but of disgust and horror, so long as one spark of virtue remained to animate the human race. Can it be conceived that so demoniacal a spirit could ever have taken possession of a people as that which, according to Pausanias†, urged the Argives to the destruction of Mycenæ? a people too that produced a Cleobis and Biton, that boasted a Telesilla, and erected a statue of the "mild Jupiter" within the precincts of their walls! Can it be credited that such a people would have united to overthrow a noble city, through mere envy because eighty of its sons had earned the meed of immortal glory with Leonidas at Ther-

* Chrysothemis returning from the tomb of her father, informs Electra that she found the summit of the tumulus flowing with libations of milk, and the sepulchre encircled with garlands of various flowers:

Ὁρῶ κολώνης ἐξ ἄκρας νεορρύτους
Ηηγὰς γάλακτος, καὶ περιστεφῆ κύκλῳ
Πάντων ὅσ' ἐστιν ἀνθέων θήκην πατρός· Soph. Elect. 894.

† Corinthiaca c. xvi. 4.

mopylæ? Yet Pausanias asserts the fact without a commentary upon it in his description of Mycenæ. It is fortunate for the Argive character that Diodorus Siculus not only gives a colour to this fact*, but mentions it among many other reasons which induced the people of Argos to make war upon their neighbour: and what is very extraordinary, Pausanias himself in a different part of his work, as if unconscious of his former assertion, lets out by accident the true reason; viz. the fear entertained by the Argives of the Lacedemonian power, and their inability to withstand it without destroying the other cities of the plain and uniting their strength to that of Argos. Having said thus much to palliate rather than to vindicate this action of the ancient Argives as a measure at least of political necessity, a vindication which modern statesmen will surely not oppose, I shall soon take leave of their descendants.

* He represents the people of Mycenæ as sending these eighty of their citizens to Thermopylæ in opposition to the general decree of the cities of Argolis, and thereby rendering themselves suspected of favouring the Lacedemonian interests. Lib. xi. 275.

The Acrocorinthus, or Acropolis of Corinth.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cross the Plain of Argos—River Inachus—Cave of the Nemean Lion—Nemea Cleonæ—Arrival at Corinth—Excellent Character of the young Bey—His great Hospitality—Failure in our Attempt to ascend the Acrocorinthus—Ascent of an adjoining Mountain—Departure and Passage over the Isthmus—Megara—Interesting Discovery made there by Mr. Jones—Plain of Eleusis and Saronic Gulf—First View of Athens—Arrival there—Visits of Ceremony from the Inhabitants.

NEXT morning, after having distributed a variety of small presents among the family of our host, we resumed our journey across the plain of Argos. Leaving Mycenæ* a short distance to the right, we soon entered some defiles leading to Mount Tretus and the plain of Nemea:

* It appears very extraordinary that these ruins which are certainly of prodigious magnitude compared with those of almost all the Grecian cities, were entirely overlooked by Strabo, who says that not a single vestige of Mycenæ was to be seen: ὥστε νῦν μηδ' ἴχνος εὑρίσκεσθαι τῆς Μυκηναίων πόλεως. T. i. p. 540.

the natural rocks of this district present in their exterior surface such a strong resemblance to the Cyclopéan masonry, that it requires a near inspection to be convinced of the deception. In about two hours we deviated from the direct road in the direction of Nemea, leaving Antonietti and the tchocodar to make the best of their way to Corinth. We very soon observed a large cave at the end of a long mountain on our right hand, which is supposed to have been the retreat of the Nemean lion * whose destruction afforded one of the twelve labours to the Grecian Hercules: winding round this hill (the ancient Tretus) we entered upon the spacious plain, that scene of animated contests and tumultuous passions, now solitary as the desert and silent as the grave. Three lofty Doric columns, remains of the great temple of Jupiter, cast as it were a melancholy charm over its solitude, seeming as if they were spared but to impress upon man the awful moral lesson, "that all his pomp is vanity." Turning through a chasm amongst the hills behind this temple, we passed a fountain of delicious water, probably that mentioned by Pausanias under the name of Adrastéa: soon afterwards we discovered the ancient road by which the chariots passed to Nemea, the rock being in many places indented to the depth of more than a foot by the constant attrition of the wheels: there is nothing to detain the traveller upon the site of Cleonæ, for that ancient city—ingenti turritæ mole Cleonæ—has been long swept away by the besom of destruction. The Acrocorinthus soon afterwards appeared in view, and remained a land-mark to direct our course: after a very fatiguing journey under the hottest sun we had yet endured, we reached Corinth about eleven o'clock at night. Tired beyond measure and sadly in want of refreshment, we were obliged to wander about the town for a full hour before we could discover the

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* κακὸν τέρας ἀγροιώταις
Κοίλαν ἄνλιν ἔχοντα Διὸς Νεμέοιο παρ' ἄλσος.
Theoc. Id. κε. 170.

Pausanias mentions the cave as existing in his days, and upon inquiry I could not discover that any other cavern existed in the vicinity of Nemea but this.

house allotted for our residence; Antonietti and the tchocodar conceiving probably that we should find it by inspiration had given themselves up to mirth and jollity, making copious libations to the rosy god. I believe that Antonietti, who in general was a pattern of sobriety, was seduced on this occasion by the old Turk, who was not slow to take some compensation for the odious restrictions of the ramazan so lately terminated: he had fairly beaten the Italian in the Bacchic contest, and had put him to bed; when we entered the house, he was singing, dancing, and playing all the antics of an ancient Silenus: upon our opening the door he threw off his turban and ran up to embrace us for very joy, calling us his excellent and beloved masters, and declaring that he should cry with sorrow when we separated: this promise he literally kept, and it is but justice to declare that a more kind-hearted, facetious, entertaining Mussulman could scarcely be found: he was a great favourite with the Bey his master, who regarded him in the light of a confidential old friend rather than a dependant.

Early next morning the young Bey of Corinth, eldest son of our friend and protector at Tripolizza, sent an officer of his household to inquire about our health. After breakfast we paid our respects personally at his seraglio, where we were received with the most gratifying marks of polite attention and cordiality by this young nobleman, whose manners would have graced any court in Europe: after having partaken of the refreshments usually offered to guests, we entered into conversation, in which he displayed a character full of interest, with more liberality of sentiment, more taste and general knowledge, more acuteness of intellect and readiness of communication, than we ever met with in any other of his countrymen; at the same time the genuine stamp of sincerity seemed impressed upon all he said or did. He expressed himself a great admirer of the institutions of our country and regretted much that he had never enjoyed the advantage of visiting Great Britain—but he had married early and to leave his wife and children would be to pluck up his happiness by the roots—saying

this, he ordered two fine boys to be called into the room and presented them to us as his sons, making the little fellows kiss our hands and salute us as the friends of their father. Certainly foreign travel was not necessary to divest this excellent man of those prejudices or that pride and bigotry which his countrymen too generally betray; yet he was said by the Corinthians to be a better and more strict Mahometan than the zealots of the faith. Did the Turks all resemble him and the pasha of Nauplia the Greeks would have little reason to complain of their destiny: still the blessings and the miseries of a constitution must be estimated by the intrinsic merit of that constitution itself, rather than by the practice of those who administer its laws; that must always be bad which can only be good by chance. An Achmet of Tripolizza will more than counterbalance the virtues of a dozen beys of Corinth; and even the severities of a thousand Achmets are light as a feather in comparison with that terrible theocratic principle in the Turkish government which is the main-spring of their policy, which makes power hang solely upon religious faith, and authorizes the meanest disciple of Mahomet to vilify and tread under foot every Christian subject in the empire without fear of retribution.

Before we left the bey he expressed his intention of preparing apartments for us in his own seraglio, and entertaining us as his guests on our return: amidst such civilities and hospitality we almost fancied that the rites of Xenian Jupiter were still cultivated in this country. Finding him thus kindly disposed towards us, we ventured to request an order for admission to the acropolis, which very few travellers have been permitted to see. This however it was out of his power to grant. The disdar Agà, or commandant, is absolute in his fortress, and the jealousy of the Turks is extreme regarding the entrance of foreigners into their citadels: a sure mark this of a declining power*.

* They may indeed defend their practice by the example of the ancient Athenians who had a law prohibiting any foreigner from ascending even their city walls, and putting him to death if he entered the place of their assembly.—Meursii Them. Att. c. 26 and 29.

He advised us to apply for a firman of admission from the Porte before our return, though he assured us that from his own observation there was not a vestige of antiquity remaining*, and the view might be seen to equal advantage from an adjoining height, whither he would send us in the evening upon his own horses under a proper escort. With this arrangement we were of course content, and taking leave of our courteous friend, strolled through the town which contains little to remind the traveller of Corinthian splendour, except a few columns of some temple, which antiquarians find very difficult to identify: their antiquity is attested by their massive structure, the height being only four diameters, a less proportion than is known to exist in any other Grecian building. It is not surprising that Corinth should be so divested of its ancient ornaments: standing as it does, in the very gap, the pride and bulwark of the Peloponnesus, it was opposed to every invader, and few indeed were they who required any instigation from the prophetic Pythia to seize this horn of the Peloponnesian heifer: though no city was ever less anxious to disturb the tranquillity of its neighbours, being contented with the empire of luxury nor aiming at that of power, yet none has suffered more from the attacks of enemies, and its cruel destruction by Mummius will ever remain an indelible blot upon the Roman annals†. In the evening the bey kept his promise of sending horses and a guard: the latter was quite necessary, as the Turks of the citadel are particularly barbarous. Passing over the roots of the acrocorinthus by a paved road on the north-west side, we met many Corinthian women returning from the fountain of Pirene, and carrying on their heads pitchers of that water

* This account was afterwards confirmed to us at Athens by Signore Lusieri, who procured a firman with very considerable difficulty: he told us that a silver key would have unlocked the gates of this otherwise impenetrable citadel, had we applied it secretly, for the Disdar Agàs are generally so poor as to be very accessible to a bribe. Chandler was permitted to inspect the Acrocorinthus, and even then found no remains of interest, except what he thought to be the fountain Pirene, which amongst various other springs, it is scarcely probable he could identify.

† The 'nollem Corinthum' of the philosophic Tully speaks volumes on this point.

which was reckoned by Athenæus the finest of all Greece*. We soon began to ascend a hill lying south-west of the acrocorinthus, and equal to it in height; its summit is crowned by the remains of a Venetian fortress. It commands the citadel, which Mahomet II. actually battered from this spot. The view from hence, though certainly grand, was much inferior to our expectation. Whilst Mr. Parker kept the Turkish guard in play, on the other side of the ruin, I contrived to sketch that plan of the acrocorinthus which is prefixed as a vignette to this chapter †. A modern fortification including both these heights within its lines, might render this citadel, commanding as it does both sea and land, the bulwark of Peloponnesus, impregnable as another Gibraltar, and entitle it more justly to that appellation bestowed upon it by a Macedonian monarch, the "fetters of Greece" (πέδας Ελλάδος.)

Early next morning we departed from Corinth: the rocks on our right hand between the city and its ancient ports were covered with large vultures, whose soaring flight and piercing screams at our approach had something in them of the terrible and grand: passing by the remains of a small Roman amphitheatre near the Hexamilia, and casting a thought upon poor Ovid as we viewed the harbour of Cenchrea, whence that unfortunate poet set sail in his miserable exile, we ascended the pine-clad mountains of the Isthmus ‡. We took what is called the upper road, avoiding the Kakiscala § and the Scironian rocks. About noon we made a frugal repast by the side of a crystal fountain under a plane-tree which by its venerable appearance one might suppose had sheltered Spartan soldiers when their armies advanced over the Isthmus to the invasion of Attica. We

* L. 2. c. 5.

† The acrocorinthus was taken by Mahomet the second, and became a Turkish post in 1459: it was recovered by the Venetians in 1698, and finally ceded to the Turks in 1715. Corinth like the rest of Greece had grievously suffered by the devastations of Alaric.

‡ These hills are finely covered as in ancient times with that species of fir called πίτυς or Pinus Pinea: hence in the old Epigram we are informed that the πίτυς was the reward of victory in the Isthmian games. (Pinea corona victores apud Isthmum coronantur, Plin. l. xv. c. 10.)

§ Literally the 'Bad-road.'

found a tatar already seated under its shade, and occupied in the customary ablution before his meal καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ ὄθεν ῥέεν ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ. This man had rode from Thebes, or Theeva as it is now called, that morning. The scenery in most parts of this Isthmus is quite superb: frequently the sea enters from both sides into its deep recesses, assuming the appearance of beautiful lakes, on whose azure surface the pine-clad mountains that encircle them are finely reflected. The annoyance however that we endured from innumerable myriads of flies was some drawback from the pleasure of contemplating these beauties. The bellies of our horses were actually covered with a dense black mass of those insects, so that I no longer wondered at the ancient Pagans, for invoking their supreme Jupiter under the title of "the fly-killer*:" a "giant-killer" would not have been half so useful.

In less than two hours more we arrived at the derveni or guard-house, on the Ionian side of the Isthmus according to the ancient pillar of Theseus. Here we showed our firman to a few ragged guards, and were allowed to pass on the payment of one piastre and a half. The charge of these Isthmian defiles is committed to the people of Megara, in consideration of which they enjoy certain immunities and privileges which are denied to the rest of his Greek subjects by the pasha of the Morea. It was at this pass that the blood of those Albanian marauders was justly shed, who took advantage of the troubles into which the Morea was thrown by the Russian invasion of 1770 to massacre and pillage the unfortunate inhabitants without distinction; they were hunted down by the army of the Capudan pasha with a quantity of the enraged inhabitants, caught here and literally exterminated. After being absent nine hours from Corinth we arrived at Megara, the most mean and miserable town of modern Greece: a mud cottage many degrees inferior to an English cow-shed was the best lodging we could procure. The view from Megara of its ancient port

* Pausan. l. v. c. 14. 2.

Nisæa, with the famed Saronic gulf, and its scattered islands is extremely interesting. The friend of Cicero even in those days endeavoured to console himself in his domestic troubles by recalling to his recollection the melancholy fate of so many noble cities which are observed in sailing up this gulf. Where is the wretch so unfortunate that he cannot draw consolation from the same source of comparison?

Many fragments of monumental inscriptions and other antiquities lie strewed about the streets of Megara or appear in the mud walls of the miserable cottages; some very fine pieces of ancient sculpture also have rewarded the trouble of excavators in its immediate vicinity. One of the most fortunate discoveries was made by a friend of the author before mentioned in this volume*: in his journey through the place a poor peasant brought for sale a marble hand, which evidently had been attached to a statue of delicate workmanship. Mr. Jones acutely conjecturing that this hand pointed out a body to which it belonged, desired the man to conduct him to the spot from whence it had been taken: this happened to be in a little garden at the south-east extremity of the town facing the Saronic gulf. Here he immediately commenced an excavation with the aid of several Greeks, and at the depth of about four feet below the surface of the ground turned up an exquisite marble group, representing a youthful Bacchus standing upright, with one arm reclining on the shoulders of a faun and the other turned gracefully over his own head, whilst a sleeping Ariadne is sculptured in fine relief upon the front of the pedestal. After this discovery, the great difficulty consisted in the removal of the treasure. The report soon spread itself in the town, and two fierce looking Turks came to demand what was found in the name of the Agà, with a high tone and insolent demeanour: there was no method of silencing these barbarians but by assuming an air of equal importance and assurance: this was pursued by Mr. Jones, who threatened in his turn to appeal, not only to the

* The Rev. W. Jones, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

consul at Patras, but to the British ambassador at Constantinople; in consequence of which the claimants departed, muttering curses between their teeth, and allowed him to remain in possession of his prize: he then detached the Bacchus,† as the finest part of the group, from its pedestal and carried it with him during his tour through the Morea, whilst the rest was dispatched under care of the suradgees to Athens, where he found it safe on his return. Mr. Fauvel was highly struck with its beauty and made a fine cast of the whole which now adorns his classic studio*. The inhabitants of Megara are extremely rude and illiterate, but, what is remarkable, are the only people who pronounce the letter *upsilon* like the Italian *u* instead of assimilating its sound to the *i* or the Greek ι according to the custom of their countrymen; thus they alone make any distinction between the words ὑμεῖς and ἡμεῖς.

October 29th. We left Megara at ten o'clock, and in four hours, after passing under the fine mountains called Kerata, or the horns, arrived on the plain of Eleusis: expecting to return hither, we passed it without examination, and thus lost for ever the satisfaction of surveying so interesting a spot: let the traveller beware lest he omit viewing any object of interest under the vague idea that he shall possess a future opportunity—in all probability it never will occur. Beyond Eleusis we observed traces of the sacred way, worn so many ages ago by the steps of superstition; the Saronic gulf, land-locked by the two curved extremities of Salamis, seemed as if spread out like an immense lake glittering in the sun; a soft breeze was blowing over it, the waves fell gently rippling on the shore, as on that day when the beauteous Phryne bathed here in presence of assembled multitudes; and when her lovely form emerged from the parting waves, the ecstatic crowd, brilliant even in the aberrations of their imagination, cried out with

† Upon its arrival in England, after inspection at the Custom-House, Mr. Jones found it broken, though it had been most carefully packed up by Mr. Fauvel himself, and the head of the beautiful Bacchus gone. It has since been charmingly restored by Mr. Hinchliff, under the direction of our British Phidias Mr. Flaxman, who refers the design of the group, though not the execution, to Praxiteles.

one accord that Venus herself was riding from her native element, and Apelles transferred the glowing picture to his immortal canvass. In about two hours from Eleusis we arrived at the Defile, or "Mystic Gap," between mounts Icarus and Corydallus; once adorned by the magnificent mausoleum of Pythionice, and an ancient Ionic temple of Venus: here we burst suddenly upon the view of Athens.

The heart of him who indites these pages even now thrills with sensations of delight as he recalls that view to memory. The repose of evening was spread over the landscape, and the last rays of the sun, sinking behind the Epidaurian mountains, cast their mellow tints over the ruins of the acropolis *: the deep colours, glowing on the stately columns of the parthenon, harmonized with the scene and with the best feelings of the human heart: it is under the setting sun alone that the first view of Athens can properly be enjoyed; its meridian blaze seems to mock the decaying splendour, the magnificent desolation of a city, which like that orb itself has run a race of glory, nor parted with its radiance even in its fall. To view this scene had ever been among the most ardent of my wishes—it lay now before me surrounded with its own elegance of decoration, and connected with the most interesting classical associations—every danger, every trouble, every fatigue which had occurred in the way, was forgotten in the satisfaction of the moment.

In this view nothing appeared to me more remarkable than the

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* Slow sinks, more lovely ere his race be run,
Along Morea's hills the setting sun;
Not as in northern climes obscurely bright;
But one unclouded blaze of living light!
O'er the hush'd deep the yellow beam he throws,
Gilds the green wave, that trembles as it glows.
On old Ægina's rock, and Idra's isle
The god of gladness sheds his parting smile:
O'er his own regions lingering loves to shine,
Though there his altars are no more divine.
Descending fast the mountain shadows kiss
Thy glorious gulf, unconquer'd Salamis!

Corsair, Cant. iii. l. 1.

charming disposition of its parts; it seemed as if nature had in this instance conformed to the most accurate rules of art, and that a Claude himself could not have desired any alteration to form the most perfect landscape. A wood of ancient olives covered the spacious plain that was stretched below us: beyond this rose the temple-crowned Acropolis encircled with the habitations of the lower city; whilst Hymettus formed a magnificent back ground to the picture, flanked on one side by the fine outline of Pentelicus, and on the other by those isles which "crown the Ægean deep:" as we advance a little, the Saronic gulf comes into view on the right, with Ægina, Piræus, the ever-glorious straits of Salamis, and the Argolic mountains: on the left is seen Parnes, the heights of Deceléa, and the interesting little eminences of Colonos, the birth-place of the Attic Bee, and the scene of his most pathetic tragedy *.

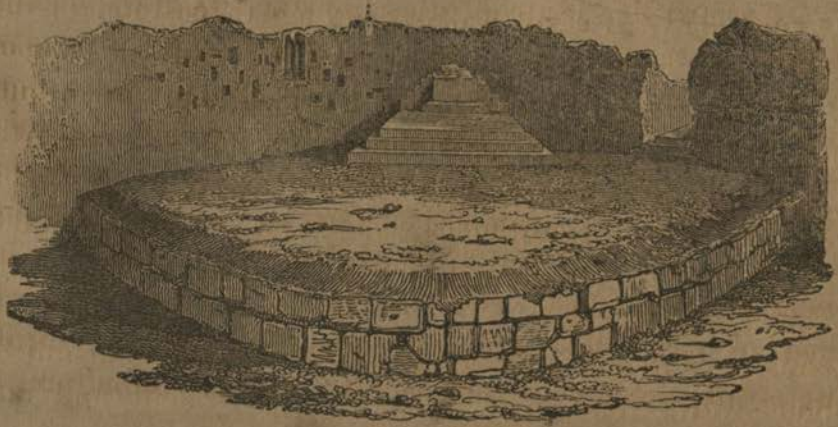
It was so long before I could tear myself away from this enchanting prospect, that the rest of our party had nearly advanced without me to the walls of Athens. I was roused from contemplation by the report of the tatar's pistol, and caught them near the city gates. We there met an English traveller on his road to Piræus for the purpose of embarkation: he was accompanied by a very handsome young Greek, mounted upon a fine spirited horse richly caparisoned. Having passed through a gate which answers to the ancient Dipylon †, the eye of the delighted stranger rests upon that most perfect model of art the Theséum: he quits the spot to enter with disgust into the narrow filthy streets of modern Athens. We met with comparatively good accommodations in the house of Signore Vitali; and in the course of the evening received congratulatory visits from many of the inhabitants: amongst others appeared the young Greek whom we had met at the

* There is only one point of view in the Attic plain which can come into competition with the one here described; I mean that which is afforded by the heights of Parnes: but there the chief objects of interest are too much diminished by distance and the noble back ground of Hymettus is lost.

† The origin of this name has been much canvassed: Livy seems to think it was so called from its superior magnitude, saying that it was "Major aliquanto patentiorque quam cæteræ." Lib. xxxi.

city gates. This gentleman's name was Alecco, youngest son of the Archon Logotheti a personage well known to those who have visited Athens: his knowledge in the politics and statistics of the country, his insinuating manner, his discrimination of character, and the arts with which he usually turned it to his own advantage, procured him sometimes the appellation of the modern Pericles—a comparison however which is not very complimentary to the great original*. Alecco was one of the most ingenuous and accomplished Greeks we met with; his kind offices and disinterested friendship have left on our minds an impression not easily to be effaced. These visits of ceremony being ended, we retired to rest. Sleep scarcely could be expected, surrounded as we were with such objects and agitated by the tumultuous sensations they inspire.

* He certainly contrived to hold great sway in Athens in spite of the Turkish governor, and of the Athenian archbishop and council; but he had nothing of the Olympian Pericles about him; no thunder and lightning in his eloquence, no taste for the fine arts, no sublimity of soul.



Bird's Eye View of the Pnyx at Athens.

CHAPTER IX.

Walk in Athens—Pnyx—Adventure there—Athenian Acquaintance—Mr. Cockerell—Temple of Theseus—Tweddell—Archon Logotheti—Trait in the Character of the modern Athenians—Athenian Girls—Manners and Customs—Visit to the Vaivode—Dispatch a Messenger to Constantinople—Visit the Acropolis accompanied by Signore Lusieri—English Frigate entering the Piræus—Disdar Agà—Parthenon—Erecthéum—Colossal Statue of Minerva—Spoliation by Lord Elgin, &c.—Character of the ancient Athenians, and Traits of the modern—Athenian Ball—Manners of the Turkish Women—Curious Adventure of the Author—Lusieri's Collection of Antiquities—Fauvel's—Walks round Athens—Ancient Platforms, Seats, Sepulchres, &c.—Prison of Socrates.

EARLY in the morning I set out, with Signore Vitali for my guide, and before breakfast had not only rapidly explored the Theseum, the Areopagus, the Pnyx, and almost all the antiquities in this quarter of

the city *, but had actually recited the first Philippic oration upon the very Bema of Demosthenes †. A considerable number of inhabitants, who were enjoying their early walk, according to custom, in the cool of the morning, assembled on this ancient resort of democratic majesty: they listened for some time with profound attention but total ignorance of the language, until the sharp ears of one Athenian caught a few words in which our pronunciation and accent coincide with those established by Romaic rules: he observed significantly to Signore Vitali that there must be an extraordinary similarity between the English and the Hellenic.

After breakfast we delivered our letters of introduction and formed acquaintance with several gentlemen from whose talents and information we received as much instruction as pleasure from their social qualities. Amongst others was Monsieur Roque, a French merchant long settled in Athens, whose daughter is the most accomplished girl of that city; Signore Marmaraturi the translator of Anacharsis into Romaic; and Monsieur Fauvel the celebrated French consul: if we did not experience from this last gentleman all that cordiality which many travellers have been proud to acknowledge, it must be ascribed solely to that irritation of mind which the disasters of his country were at this time calculated to produce in a patriotic Frenchman: but the kind attentions and communicative disposition of that excellent man and inimitable artist Don Tita Lusieri left us nothing to regret: we brought a letter of introduction to him from Dr. Clarke, and that name is sure to excite his best exertions. We found our future friend and fellow-traveller Mr. Cockerell, whom we had long traced by fame, just recovering from the effects of one of those terrible fevers to which all persons, and particularly foreigners, are liable in

* It does not enter into the author's plan to dwell upon the edifices of Athens which have been so often and so well described: he had prepared some materials for the illustration of its topography, but the publication of these would now be superfluous.

† See the vignette.

this otherwise delightful climate, most especially if they incautiously approach and remain upon those spots which are tainted with the malaria. We had the pleasure, however, of seeing this estimable person gain strength daily. The accounts which he communicated to me of his illness were quite appalling. He was in so dreadful a state that the principal physician of the place utterly deserted him, thinking that the fever was infectious or even the plague itself, since some of the symptoms, especially the swelling of the glands, were very similar: he suffered but little acute pain except during the paroxysms of the disease, at which times nothing could be more horrid than the images and ideas presented to his imagination: the worst state of all, however, was the complete exhaustion in which the malady left him at its departure. To use his own expressions—he expected at every gasp to breathe out his soul; he felt himself unnerved to the greatest possible degree, whilst all interest in his occupations and pursuits totally vanished. Under Providence he attributed his escape to the unremitting care and attentions of his kind hostess, a Madame Maçon, and of his two excellent German friends Baron Stackelberg and the late Baron Haller; the latter of whom literally never left his bed-side. They never despaired, though all others did, of his recovery; and in this hope they prevented the officious vice-consul from putting seals upon his property and taking away his keys, kept his physician and apothecary attentive, and saved him from all the conjurations of the Greeks which would probably have soon sent him to the temple of Theseus, that great mausoleum of British travellers. As it was, even the kind Madame Maçon one day attempted a spell when she happened to be unobserved by the Germans: seeing her poor patient in violent agony from the glandular swellings, she hastened to apply a precious preparation for his relief, which was to charm him into convalescence at once: this panacea consisted of resin, pitch, a lock of hair, and two papers, each inscribed with the figure of a pyramid and other symbols drawn with a pen. Moreover all the

churches in the neighbourhood were lighted, night and day, for his relief, and his nurse assured him, on his recovery, with great gravity that he owed it entirely to the intercession of the Panagia Castriotissa, or "our Lady of the Acropolis," who has usurped the seat and powers of Minerva Medica. On our return home Monsieur Fauvel accompanied us to the temple of Theseus. This beautiful monument, erected by a grateful people to a patriotic prince, remains after the lapse of 2000 years a perfect model of the architectural art: but in this delicious climate time, unaided by barbarism, seems almost powerless in destruction; here only the zephyrs breathe: our desolating northern blasts, contracting frosts, and penetrating thaws, are rarely felt.

The temple is built of pure Pentelic marble polished to the last degree, and its blocks are so accurately adjusted as to deceive the nail and resist the force of earthquakes, whose tremendous power is still visible in the fabric. From the state of a pagan temple it was converted into a Christian church and dedicated to St. George; but the fine sculpture in its metopes and frieze was broken by that iconoclastic zeal whose bigot fury endeavoured to destroy the arts by confounding them with idolatry *. It has now become a classic and most appropriate mausoleum for the interment of those unfortunate travellers who by a cruel fate expire so far from their native land. If the bitterness of that fate could be alleviated by the magnificence of sepulture and the religion of the place, this consolation, at least, is not denied them. Our accomplished and lamented countryman Tweddell was for many years the sole occupant of this superb sepulchre: his remains were deposited here by the interest of Monsieur Fauvel in

* All the metopes of this temple were not adorned, but only those at the east end and four adjoining them on the north and south sides: the labours of Hercules the friend of Theseus formed the appropriate subjects: the celebrated Micon was the artist: no sculpture remains in the pediments, but I was informed by Mr. Cockerell, who had mounted and inspected them, that traces of its existence may clearly be distinguished.

whose arms he breathed his last*. A festival or fair is held annually at Easter on the ground adjoining this beautiful edifice, where Turkish, Greek, and Albanian families assemble together in holiday attire and variegated costumes: music and the dance occupy the young who come decorated in garlands, whilst the aged are seen reclining under the marble porticoes of the temple, viewing the sports, smoking their long pipes, listening to the adventures of others and recounting their own, or indulging that hilarity, so inherent in the Greek character, which still breaks forth at intervals from the dark cloud of oppression that hangs over them.

From the Theséum we adjourned to the house of the Archon Logotheti, who promised to accompany us next day to the vaivode for the purpose of procuring a tatar to carry our dispatches to Constantinople: our affair with the pasha of the Morea had already got wind, and it would be difficult to describe the bustle which it caused at Athens; anxiety seemed to sit on every countenance; all mouths were open to make inquiries and every ear erect to catch the slightest information: even great political changes were prognosticated and the fate of nations seemed to hang upon the event. Few persons however expected that the vaivode would allow us a tatar to complain against so formidable a neighbour: but old Logotheti, who was much better acquainted with his character and views, did not despair.

The Athenians are still said to be the most inquisitive amongst the Greeks and to retain many of those volatile traits of character that distinguished their ancestors: but though the genius of the people seems to have degenerated under continual despotism into craft and cunning, though animosities and feuds are still fomented, as in ancient times, by

* The impression made by that interesting traveller upon the mind of his friend was still vivid and fresh: he could not speak of him without emotion, and the tears ran down his cheek one day when he recounted to the author the circumstances of his lamented death. He had formed, partly from a cast and partly from memory, a very beautiful bust of Tweddell and was engaged at this time in taking a copy of it: the countenance had a pensive but engaging physiognomy.

violent passions and jealous spirits, though they assume that pride in prosperity which seldom fails to end in ruin, and that meanness in adversity which checks the sympathy it wishes to excite, still I observed no peculiarities distinct from the Greeks in general, who preserve a great similarity of sentiment and uniformity of manners. We no longer remark, as a distinguishing characteristic, the ethereal spirit of the Athenian, the pastoral simplicity of the Arcadian, the stupidity of the Bœotian, or the laconic brevity of the Spartan. The sweeping hand of despotism hath confounded together in one mass all the delicate colouring, the lights and shades of the picture, which may now be compared to that dark monochrome upon a light ground, which is seen on many of the antique vases.

This evening our hostess Signora Vitali introduced us to our next-door neighbours, who consisted of her own sister with three fair daughters considered at this time the belles of Athens. They are known by the title of consuline, their father having held the post of British vice-consul. One of these young ladies was supposed to be that "Maid of Athens" who is celebrated in some beautiful verses annexed to Childe Harold: her countenance was extremely interesting and her eye retained much of its wonted brilliancy; but the roses had already deserted the cheek, and we observed the remains only of that loveliness which elicited such strains from an impassioned poet. So fading a flower is beauty in these climates that a very few years see it rise to sparkle like a meteor and to vanish. A Grecian damsel of sixteen is frequently angelical; at twenty she becomes plain; and in five years more, frightfully ugly. There is no transition, as with us, from the light beauty of the girl to the mature graces of the matron and the venerable dignity of advanced age: the face of a sylph becomes almost at once transformed into a gorgon's head. In discussing this subject with Signore Lusieri he assured me that the fault lay not so much in the climate as in the destructive habits of the Grecian females, more especially in the abuse of the bath, which they attend almost daily,

remaining in its hot sudatories several hours at a time, where they discuss more scandal than circulates at an English tea-table in as many weeks: hence their colour vanishes and their fibres are relaxed; hence they become languid and unable to take wholesome exercise: soon after the age of twenty wrinkles begin to appear and they suffer all the inconveniences of premature debility. My informant very justly stigmatized another custom also connected with the bath, which permits young boys to attend their mothers in the bathing room till they arrive at the age of ten or twelve years; a practice more pernicious than this to the morals of youth can scarcely be conceived. Though the Grecian females are not accomplished, yet they possess a considerable degree of elegance in their address and manners: their salutation is particularly graceful, consisting of a gentle inclination of the body whilst the right hand is brought in contact with the waist: they are generally found by visitors reclining indolently on the sofas of the apartment, their silken robes bound round with a silver-clasped zone, their hair partly wreathed with flowers or adorned with pearls, and partly flowing in curls over their shoulders, their eyebrows carefully arranged and tinged with surmè, a powder of the blackest dye, their nails stained with henna, and their complexion too often aided by artificial lustre; exhibiting melancholy examples of the neglect of nature's choicest gifts, the substantial graces of the mind.

Next morning we accompanied Signore Logotheti to the serai of the vaivode, which is built within the peribolus of an ancient temple of the Corinthian order*. He received us with civility and only hesitated in his grant of a tatar long enough to extract a more exor-

* It divides the opinions of literati for the honour of having been the great temple of Jupiter Olympius which was finished with so much splendour by the Emperor Hadrian. Mr. Hawkins however has very satisfactorily proved (in the memoirs published by Mr. Walpole) that the magnificent Corinthian columns near the Ilissus to the S.E. of the acropolis belonged to that edifice. It is nevertheless a curious circumstance that Pausanias should make mention of a temple in this very quarter of the city called the Pantheon which had a periphery of 120 columns, the very number which scientific architects assign as necessary to complete the peristyle of which those identical pillars are a part.

bitant price for his condescension: we were ignorant at this time that he was quite as anxious as ourselves to dispatch a messenger to the Porte; being very desirous of purchasing his government for another year from the kislar Agà, or chief black eunuch in the seraglio of that Byzantium which Athens once numbered amongst her tributary states: nor did his counsellor fail to urge this opportunity of paying his court to that party whose political interests were most in favour at Constantinople. In the evening we prepared our dispatches for Mr. Liston the English ambassador, and next morning the tatar was on his road to the Turkish capital.

November 4. Signore Lusieri, who had kindly proposed to conduct us over the acropolis, called this morning to perform his promise. It was no slight augmentation of our pleasure to visit the Cecropian rock with so intelligent a guide. We began our ascent on the northern side, winding around to the western extremity where the remains of the ancient propylæa, that superb entrance of the citadel, still exist, though sadly disfigured with Venetian towers, and mud walls erected by the Turks: the marks also of Morosini's battering train are plainly visible upon the Pentelic marble.*. As we stood upon one† of those two pedestals which once supported equestrian statues, to enjoy the magnificent view of the Saronic gulf dotted with its islands and terminated by the lofty acrocorinthus, we perceived an English frigate in full sail entering the harbour of Piræus: so that if on the one hand we were contemplating the triumphs of ancient taste, on the other we at least discovered the pre-eminence of modern science. After examin-

* This edifice extended quite across the W. end of the acropolis, being 185 feet in breadth. Its magnificence excited the envy of other states, for we find Epaminondas, according to the testimony of Æschines, (in Orat. περὶ παραπρεσβείας) declaring in the assembly of the Thebans that they ought to carry it away from Athens and place it as an entrance to the Arx Cadméa. Mnesicles was the architect employed by Pericles in this building and the odéum.

† This pedestal is inscribed with the name of AGRIPPA. The whole inscription was visible in Chandler's time, who thus translates it: "The people have erected Marcus Agrippa son of Lucius, thrice consul, the friend of Caius." It is not improbable that the opposite pedestal supported the statue of his friend and sovereign.

ing the plan of the Propylæa, we proceeded to the dwelling of the Disdar Agà, an old officer, who, in quality of commandant of the fortress, might starve upon a salary of 200 piastres (about £8. per annum), did not Minerva take him into her service. Having drank in haste a cup of coffee and declined the pipe, we presented him with five dollars for permission to view the ruins*, and after walking about twenty paces from his door we stood directly under the portico of the Parthenon.

Every edifice of antiquity with which we are acquainted must sink into insignificance when compared with this; which to elegance of taste and splendour of ornament added all the grandeur of sublimity and the majesty of simplicity†. It was the very school of architecture and sculpture combined, where each gave additional lustre to the other and augmented its magical effect: however numerous, however sumptuous were the decorations of this temple, they were all made subservient to design: nor was the unity of this design ever broken into for the sake of ornament. That inimitable frieze representing the Panathenaic procession, a combination of the most spirited and various attitudes which animated nature is capable of assuming, was not visible to the spectator till he came within the portico, whilst the tympana of the pediments and the metopes, between the triglyphs, were the very places adapted to ornament and even mean without it. And what ornament was there displayed! figures clothed with celestial grace and majesty, exhibiting every essential character of the human form but free from its defects! the triumph of that genius which could raise its ideas to the contemplation of divinity and embody them! By these immortal works alone is Phidias made known to posterity; and these are enough to justify all the encomiums bestowed upon him

* Having promised him five more at our departure we had liberty of visiting the acropolis at pleasure.

† The length of this temple was 227 feet by 101 in breadth, and its height, to the centre of the pediment, was 65. It was entirely built of Pentelic marble, upon which are still visible the remains of painted cornices.

by ancient authors: yet even these are far inferior to the chef d'œuvres of that mighty artist. The statue of the goddess, twenty-six cubits high, which stood in the hypæthral court of this temple, was so wrought in ivory and gold that even the materials themselves were surpassed by the excellence of the workmanship; every part was so elaborately finished that the most scientific eye dwelt with rapture upon its minutest ornaments*. Still even this was surpassed by his unrivalled personification of Olympian Jove, that statue to which the ancients unanimously decreed the palm of superiority, and in which the artist was thought to rival the sublimity of the poet†.

Ἦ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων.
Ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἀρα χαῖται ἐπερῤῥώσαντο ἄνακτος
Κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον.

Il. α. 528.

What would have been our ideas of ancient art had these works outlived the ravages of time? Whilst the sculpture of the Parthenon is capable of forming the taste of a nation and eliciting all the genius of its artists, these might have turned emulation itself into despair.

It would be tedious to investigate all the causes which raised the fine arts at Athens to such a pitch of eminence: we may observe briefly

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* Ebore hæc et auro constat: sed scuto ejus, in quo Amazonum prœlium cœlavit intumescente ambitu parmæ, ejusdem concava parte deorum & gigantum dimicatione; in soleis vero Lapitharum & Centaurorum: adeo momenta omnia compacta artis illi fuere. In base autem quod cœlatum est, Pandoras genesin appellavit: ibi Dii sunt xx numero nascentes, victoria præcipue mirabili. Periti mirantur & serpentem & sub ipsa cuspide æream sphingem.—Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

† It was upon the pedestal of this statue that the artist, assuming the pride due to exalted merit, placed the following inscription: Φειδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖός μ' ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ, using the last word instead of the usual ἐποίει. The classical reader will easily understand the difference. Pliny calls this a statue quam nemo æmulatur (Nat. Hist. l. xxxiv. c. 8.) The Temple of Jupiter at Olympia, lofty as it was, seemed too low for it, although it was in a sitting posture, and the spectators felt in pain lest it should arise and burst the roof of the sacred edifice (Strabo, l. viii.). From these great and celebrated works of Phidias having been executed in ivory, it has been sometimes imagined that he did not sculpture statues in marble: but besides that the figures in the pediments of the Parthenon may be accurately denominated statues, we have the authority of Pliny for the contrary opinion, who says, "Et ipsum Phidiam tradunt sculpsisse marmora, Veneremque ejus esse Romæ in Octaviæ operibus eximiæ pulchritudinis" (l. xxxvi. 5). Evidently however the fact was doubted from the scarcity of examples. We cannot help lamenting that his grand works should have been composed of those very materials which would excite the cupidity of barbarians and hasten their own destruction.

that the principal one was patriotism. To an Athenian his country was the very idol of his attachment, and he viewed its decorations with a pride and rapture little known to modern times: domestic parsimony supplied the means for public splendour—and whilst the sacred edifices of Athens excited the admiration of the world, the houses of Themistocles, of Cimon, of Aristides and other great men, were scarcely to be distinguished from those of the common citizens. The arts too which contributed to the gratification of this patriotic feeling were dignified and ennobled: a public decree forbade the practice of painting and sculpture to any but a free man, and the most exalted citizens disdained not to exert their abilities in the embellishment of their country: even a Socrates left impressed upon marble, Graces, inferior only to those with which his philosophy abounded.

From the contemplation of the Parthenon, that perfect specimen of the manly Doric, we turned to view the feminine elegance of the Ionic Erectheum*: nothing can exceed the finish of this temple; it is worked with all the delicacy of an ivory cabinet, and polished as highly: every moulding and every ornament about it might serve as a model. This was originally a double structure, one part being dedicated to Erectheus, or to Neptune under that surname, the other to Minerva Polias; besides which there was attached a small but elegant portico, named the Chapel of Pandrosos, supported by female figures called Caryatides, but more probably representing the Canephoræ of the Panathenaic procession †. These figures are supposed by many Turks and Greeks to be living beings under the influence of enchantment, and the story still obtains credit that one of them which Lord Elgin

* So called from Erecthéus, a surname of Neptune, not as some have imagined from Ericthonius the Athenian king, who was buried in that part dedicated to Minerva Polias.

† Two virgins under the same title were attached to the service of the temple, and lived in its vicinity. Vid. Pausan. Att. c. xxvii. 4. In the portion dedicated to Erectheus was a salt spring: though this has now disappeared, a brackish fountain still remains on the ascent of the acropolis, flowing probably from the same source and attesting the accuracy of the ancient accounts.

removed from its place into the lower city*, uttered the most doleful cries throughout the night, which were answered by a lamentation in concert from its sisters in the acropolis. Whilst we were examining this edifice, the disdar agà, surrounded by a party of his ragged guards, came up and joined us: taking his long pipe from his mouth, and endeavouring to throw an expression of curiosity into his features, he requested us to give him some information respecting the Genii who had erected these grand buildings: upon our assuring him that they were all the work of human beings, he acquiesced under the idea that they were giants: but when we endeavoured to convince him that these giants were the ancestors of the Greeks, the ghiaours of Athens, he burst into a loud laugh and pointed with his finger to the habitations of the modern city†.

From hence we passed to the eastern or principal front of the Parthenon, on whose entablature are seen a great number of holes apparently made by the insertion of nails. Here it has been supposed by some that rich drapery was extended upon occasion of solemn festivals, but others with greater probability assign this place for the suspension of the Persian shields and other pieces of armour‡. At a little distance from the temple I observed part of an immense circular

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* Its place was then filled up ignominiously with loose bricks and stones. Lord Guilford, that modern Atticus, with a truly noble spirit of liberality and taste, has transported to Athens a similar statue carved in England, for the purpose of supplying the deficiency.

† Probably the same idea passed in his mind as that expressed by the poet, "Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis," &c. The following anecdote of this personage is extracted from one of Mr. Cockerell's letters, dated August 1814. "The wife of the old disdar agà died a few days ago. She was one of the first dames of the place, a respectable and excellent woman: every one was touched with the poor disdar's lamentations—'She was the ship in which all my hopes were embarked! She was the port in which I sought shelter from all the storms and troubles of the world! She was the anchor to which I trusted!'—Every morning he visited her tomb, and causing water to be brought to him poured it around upon the earth, that her remains might be refreshed. Three days after, according to custom, some of the elders among his relations paid him a visit, for the purpose of engaging him to marry again. This however he refused, hoping soon, as he said, to follow his beloved wife."

‡ Nothing was more common than the suspension of similar trophies: to mention only one instance; it occurred in the great temple of the Pythian Apollo at Delphi, upon which both the Athenians and Ætolians hung the shields of their vanquished enemies. Vid. Pausan. Phoc. c. xix. 3.

pedestal protruding itself above the ground, though for the most part concealed by the adjoining houses. As Signore Lusieri conceived this to have supported the colossal statue of Minerva, whose spear and helmet (according to Pausanias) might be seen even by persons sailing round Cape Sunium, I began with a large knife to clear away the soil and stones until I discovered some Greek characters which I decyphered with much difficulty*. (See the note.) The inscription probably ran round the whole block, for I found the marks of a second line below the first: its complete development must be reserved for more propitious times. In passing to the south side of Minerva's fane we were struck forcibly by the lamentable overthrow and ruin occasioned during its last spoliation†. Shafts, capitals, and entablature lie heaped together in masses capable of furnishing materials to build a palace of marble. Though an Englishman may exult in the possession of these unrivalled specimens of ancient sculpture, and yield to many of the arguments that have been urged in defence of their deportation, still if a spark of enthusiasm exists in his bosom, he cannot but grieve at the wanton devastation committed in their removal, at that avidity for plunder which in carrying off parts of little comparative value, but which helped to sustain the fabric, has exposed this venerable structure to premature ruin, and has removed from their ancient sites, whence most of them acquired their beauty and all their interest, numerous monuments not at all necessary for the improvement of the arts in that nation which now possesses them.

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* ΟΣΘΕΑΙΡΩΜΗ · · ΑΙΣΙ · · · · · ΩΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΣΤΡΑ, &c. This seems to prove either that it never was the base of the abovementioned statue, or that after its demolition the pedestal was employed for some other purpose.

† When it was in contemplation to erect a national monument in this country commemorative of our great military successes, some persons, with more taste perhaps than judgment, proposed the Parthenon as a model to be exactly copied; a work much more to be hoped for than expected. The cost of the original edifice was 1000 talents—a sum nearly equal to £200,000. sterling. At that time money was about twenty times of greater value than it is now: marble was procured from every mountain in the vicinity of Athens, the drudgery work was performed by slaves, and artists worked for glory and the love of their country. It is left to the reader's own imagination to suppose what the expence would amount to in these days.

μῶρος δὲ θνητῶν ὅστις ἐκπορθεῖ πόλεις,
Ναούς τε, τύμβους θ', ἱερὰ τῶν κεκμηκότων.
Ἐρημίᾳ δοὺς· αὐτὸς ὤλεθ' ὕστερον.

It is surprising, after all the spoliation and destruction to which this city has been exposed, that so much remains. Romans burn it, Goths sack it, Venetians bombard it, Turks grind down its monuments for mortar, and cold-blooded connoisseurs export them as articles of commerce: still Athens is the best school in the world for an architect. If it does not present to his view so great a variety of designs as some other cities, it presents excellence to his imitation in all. Nor is the contemplation of its ruins calculated only to improve his taste but to excite his genius, stimulate his ingenuity, and quicken his intellect: it will lead him to reflection, bring his reasoning powers into action, and richly reward his discoveries. As we descended slowly down the acropolis I could not help reflecting upon the extraordinary character of the people who thus adorned it—a people brave as the Spartans, luxurious as the Corinthians, fickle as the winds, but intellectual as the gods*; swayed alternately by the convictions of reason and the impulses of caprice, devoted to liberty but disturbed by factions, sometimes haughty and imperious, at others base and adulatory, they could excite their citizens to the highest pitch of glory, then banish and prosecute them for the very virtues which they admired; they could erect an altar of mercy in their forum, yet butcher the unfortunate Melians under the most sophistical pretences; they could desert their city at the approach of the enemy, leaving themselves nothing to share with the other Greeks but the common danger, and then

* Pliny says that the celebrated painter Parrhasius endeavoured to represent the genius of the Athenian people upon canvass.—"Pinxit & Dæmonem Atheniensium, argumento quoque ingenioso. Volebat namque varium, iracundum, injustum, inconstantem; eundem vero exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque & omnia pariter ostendere." N. Hist. l. xxxv. c. 10. It has been often doubted whether the ancients excelled in painting as much as in sculpture: in the author's mind this very passage, puts the matter beyond all question: not that he supposes it possible for such a portrait ever to have been executed---but who would have attempted it, or even conceived the idea, except a consummate master of the art?

desert the Platæans, their only allies on the plain of Marathon, to the vengeance of the Spartans: yet amidst their political imbecility or imperious arrogance, their democratical licentiousness or slavish adulation, under their ancient kings, republic, or tyrants, they still cultivated the field of sentiment, till their feelings became as fine as their climate, and their exquisite sensibility corresponded to their atmosphere. To use the expressions of their pathetic bard, they fed upon wisdom, scarcely deigning to touch the earth in the elasticity of their step through the bright ether which surrounded them;

Φερβόμενοι
Κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν,
ἀεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτω
βάινοντες ἁβρῶς αἰθέρος.

Unlike the other Grecian states, who scrupulously adhered to their own particular idioms of language, manners and customs, the Athenians, taking what was excellent both from Greeks and barbarians, incorporated it into their common stock: they neglected no branch of literature, science, or the liberal arts; they aimed at intellectual dominion, and established its pre-eminence: this dominion outlived their physical power, civilized their conquerors, illuminates the present race, and reserves its blessings for the most distant generations: this sheds an attractive splendour round the ruins of their acropolis, and fulfils the prediction of their immortal Pericles—that Athens should excite universal interest when oblivion brooded over its warlike rival.

This evening the captain of the English frigate Orlando, with a small party of ladies and gentlemen from Smyrna, came up from the Piræus to the city; upon which occasion a ball was given at the house of a rich merchant and the principal families of Athens invited.

A ball is the only amusement of modern times which the Greeks enjoy: abridged of the refined pleasures of music and the theatre, rarely indulging in the sensualities of the dinner-table, disqualified by want of education for the charms of conversation, they only break the

dull monotony of life occasionally by a dance. But to a Grecian ball the reader must not annex those ideas of sprightly mirth and active festivity which accompany such entertainments in the civilized parts of Europe; here, that seclusion and degradation to which the fair sex are subject, render their manners and deportment constrained, that limitation of their acquirements to trifling common-place attainments, unfits them for the enjoyments of imagination, for the trial of wit, the readiness of retort, or the playfulness of humour: hence their conversation becomes still less than that of the men, either a vehicle of information or a stimulus of fancy: moreover, by an intemperate use of the bath, which has been before adverted to, such a languor and relaxation of the muscles is produced that they are for the most part insensible even to that animation and vivacity which exercise itself is capable of inspiring.

The following are a few traits by which the reader may judge of the state of society in this city, which is still as in ancient times the most polished in Greece. A lady of the first rank one day thought to please and engage the attention of a friend of mine, by taking a flea from her own fair person and putting it upon his shirt. Two others once put their hands into his waistcoat pocket, and taking out some small gold coins, begged his permission to add them to the stock which they carried on their heads*. The same gentleman once gave a pair of scissars to each of two young ladies: next morning, (for every action of a Frank is immediately spread over all the city, and even the dishes at his table are all numbered) he received a message from the Archbishop of Athens to say that his Grace having heard he had in his possession, amongst other valuable articles of British manufacture, some excellent scissars, earnestly requested he would make him a present of a pair, that he might trim the inside of his nose with more comfort to himself.

* This custom of women carrying coins upon the head like scales round the little red scull-cap has been before alluded to.

At about nine o'clock we escorted our fair neighbours to the scene of action: a large party were assembled and the dance had begun: it was that Romaika which has been so often described, in which the whole set, taking each other by the hand in a regular alternation of male and female, form a long undulating line, moving slowly backwards and forwards whilst the first couple perform a few more agile movements, at certain intervals elevating their hands, or the handkerchief which they hold between them, to allow the whole party to pass beneath like a set of children who are playing at thread-my-needle: sometimes however the coryphæus, if he happen to be an active man, cuts strange capers and jumps about in fine contrast with the languid motions of his followers: some persons have fancied they saw in this figure a remnant of the ancient Labyrinthean dance which Theseus introduced from Crete*; for my own part I should rather refer it to the Hormus or "necklace-dance," the description of which, in Lucian's treatise upon this art, very accurately coincides with the mode of conducting the Romaika†. The music which enlivened this exhibition proceeded from a vile instrument in the likeness of a violin, with eleven strings, five in the upper all catgut, and six in the lower row, which being made of brass and out of reach of the fiddle-stick, are intended probably to sound by vibration: this wretched music, a concatenation of discords, was assisted, and sometimes nearly drowned, by the voices of the company proceeding through their nasal organs; for according to ancient custom‡ the Greeks always sing to the motion of their feet: this orchestra was quite overpowering. Before the assembly broke up, an English figure was

* The representation of which was introduced upon the shield of Achilles.

Ἐν δὲ χόρον πόικιλλε περικλύτος ἀμφιγύηεις
Τῷ ἴκελον οἷον ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνώσσῳ εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἡσκήσεν καλλιπλόκαμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ. Il. 18. 590.

† Ὁ δὲ ὅρμος ὄρχησίς ἐστι κοινὴ ἐφήβων τε καὶ παρθένων, παρ' ἕνα χορευόντων, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὅρμῳ ἐοικότων· καὶ ἡγεῖται μὲν ὁ ἔφηβος τὰ νεανικὰ ὀρχούμενος, καὶ ὅσοις ὕστερον ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσεται, ἡ παρθένος δὲ ἕπεται κοσμίως, τὸ ἦθος χορεύειν διδάσκουσα, ὡς εἶναι τὸν ὅρμον ἐκ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας πλεκόμενον. De Saltatione, § 12.

‡ Τοιγαροῦν καὶ τὸ ᾆσμα, ὃ μεταξὺ ὀρχούμενοι ἄδουσιν, &c. Luc. de Salt. § 11.

attempted, but it failed; when young Signore Logotheti, another Epaminondas in the dance, gave us a specimen of the ancient Pyrrhic with the vice-consul of Tino: we retired about two o'clock in the morning.

Next day Signore Lusieri had a shivering fit: this did not proceed from any bad effect of the Romaika, in which he did not join; but as he observed to us, he is always thus attacked whenever an English or a French frigate anchors in the Piræus. The young midshipmen are then let loose upon the venerable monuments of Athens, and are seldom deterred by the religion of the place from indulging in the most wanton devastation of statues, cornices, and capitals, from which they carry off mementos of their Athenian travels*.

November 9. This day the Orlando got under weigh and Lusieri recovered. He dined with us under our tent, which we pitched upon the site of the Pnyx, from whence we commanded a charming prospect both of the town and country. We found no pleasure more delightful than these Attic repasts which we made almost daily, varying the spot and enjoying the society of one or more intelligent friends. As we stood before the tent a party of Greek women came up, anxious to look through our telescope and catch a last view of their husbands and relations who were then sailing out of the Piræus in their little barks. Some Turkish ladies also attracted by curiosity approached rather nearer than etiquette allows in general, but soon moved off as if the sight of a Christian were contagious. The face of a Turkish woman must not be seen in public: if a man meets one in the streets unveiled, he turns his face towards the wall till she has passed: so strong is the force of custom, that I one day saw the disdar agà turn his back upon

* I have heard that this evil has much increased lately from the greater number of vessels which arrive at the port, and that poor Philopappus has lost his last leg by the hands of a mischievous young Frenchman. There may be some excuse for these youths, but what shall we say in defence of the captains of two English frigates who brought a tar-barrel on shore at Cape Sunium and bedaubed the white and brilliant columns of Minerva's temple with long lists of their own names and those of their officers and boat-crews, in this indelible material? This instance of barbarism we saw with a mixture of surprise and indignation: we only felt the latter sensation when we observed the accompanying signatures of a Sicilian crew: *they* cannot consider themselves entitled to any better claims for immortality.

his own daughter, a young girl of exquisite beauty, as she walked unveiled up the steps of the propylæa.

These ladies however are not so squeamish when out of observation, as I myself soon afterwards found. Copying inscriptions one afternoon in the court-yard of Lusieri whilst that worthy signore was enjoying his siesta, I heard a gentle knocking at the outer gates, which I immediately opened and discovered to my great surprise about twelve or fifteen Turkish ladies, covered with long white mantles or veils reaching from head to foot. Having let them in, they made me understand by signs that the object of their visit was to see a fine clock with musical chimes that Lord Elgin had presented to the city of Athens, as if to recall the despoiler of the Parthenon every hour to remembrance. They followed me slowly in perfect silence to the temporary shed in which it was placed; but had no sooner entered than they began to giggle, and presently burst into a loud laugh: they then threw back suddenly their long veils as if by a preconcerted scheme to surprise me by that blaze of beauty which radiated from their large black eyes: I certainly never beheld so glorious a sight. I may have seen handsomer women perhaps than any individual among them, but never did I see such a combination of beauties; such beaming eyes and silken lashes, or such dazzling complexions: they appeared like a legion of houries sent express from the paradise of Mahomet. The lovely creatures seemed to enjoy my astonishment, and to triumph in the effect of their charms: encompassing me in a circle they gently pushed me towards the clock that I might shew them its mechanism: this I had no sooner done, than with a shout of joy they seized the wires, and rang such a peal upon the chimes, that the Italian awoke from his nap, and running to the spot in his gown and slippers, began to chide them in so severe a strain that the laughter immediately ceased, silence was restored, the veils drawn again over their faces, and in the same slow and solemn step with which they entered,

the whole party moved off the premises, leaving me in the state of a person just awakened out of a most extraordinary dream.

My excellent friend could not forbear smiling at the posture of mute surprise in which I stood; but beckoning me into the house he endeavoured to make me some recompence for putting my houries to flight, by displaying his portfolio of inestimable paintings and his cabinet of ancient treasures. The drawings of this admirable artist are too well known to require any eulogium of mine: amongst his antiquities I was particularly struck with an Attic vase of superlative beauty, which had been discovered in a very superb sepulchre: the figures portrayed upon this valuable relic are red upon a highly polished black ground, the exquisite folds of drapery being delicately touched with black lines: the subject is Venus surrounded by nymphs in the most varied and graceful attitudes: Cupid in shape of a beautiful boy with large wings, is seated upon her shoulder, whilst a nymph is weaving a cage for the purpose of confining the fugitive: the goddess herself reclines upon a couch over which her name (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) is inscribed in small characters of dotted gold: in the same manner also each nymph is distinguished by an appropriate appellation, as ΠΑΙΔΙΑ, ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ, ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ, &c. Though the outline of these figures is alone delineated, yet they have a grace and an expression which seems equal to the most finished picture*; they are probably the work of some eminent artist, or at least a copy of some celebrated painting: no inferior person could have either designed or executed such a composition, which fully vindicates that renown which we know from ancient authors the Attic

* The outline is after all, perhaps, the most difficult part of the graphic art. Apelles and the ancient painters generally used but four colours, yet they found it much easier to fill up than to delineate the outline. "Parrhasius confessione artificum in lineis extremis palmam adeptus; hæc est in pictura summa subtilitas; corpora enim pingere et media rerum, est quidem magni operis, sed in quo multi gloriam tulerint: extrema corporum facere rarum in successu artis invenitur." (Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxv. c. 10.) It seems to have been a custom even with great painters, such as Polygnotus, to inscribe names over the different personages which they represented. Vide Paus. Phoc. c. xxv. 2.

vases to have possessed*. Having been found by itself in a distinct niche of the sepulchre, and containing no deposit of any kind, it is supposed to have been one of those vessels which were filled with oil from the Morian olives† and given to the victors in the Panathenaic contests.

Another of his most interesting monuments is a small sepulchral tablet of marble, on which appears an ancient painting of singular beauty, though its colours are much faded: it represents the figure of a handsome young man looking with a melancholy kind of interest upon a little infant, which is seated upon the ground stretching out its hands to him in a supplicating posture: the picture is charmingly designed, and surrounded by a very elegant border: over a pediment at the top is the word Kollion (ΚΟΛΛΙΩΝ). It has sometimes been made a matter of doubt whether the ancients ever painted upon marble.

It would be inconsistent with the plan of this work to describe all the various objects of interest in his collection: they were almost all procured by excavations among the tombs, instances of that extraordinary superstition which induced the ancients to bury with the deceased, not only the necessary implements of civilized life, but the objects of luxury or taste in which he most delighted. Thus I observed the armour of the hero; the prizes of the victor; the metallic mirrors, clasps, and other ornaments of the belle; little grotesque toys and playthings intended to appease the tender manes of the infant and afford amusement even in the solitude of the tomb. These latter were formed of glazed and coloured earthenware representing children riding upon sticks, foxes running away with geese, cranes flying off with

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* Τὸν δὲ τροχοῦ γάιης τε καμίνῳ τ' ἔκγονον ἔυρε
Κλεινότατον κεραμον, χρήσιμον οἰκονόμον
Ἣ τὸ καλὸν Μαραθῶνι κατασησάσα τρόπαιον·
Καὶ ἐπανεῖται ὕτως ὁ Ἀττικὸς κέραμος· Athenæi, lib. i. 28.

† They grew in the academy and were peculiarly sacred to Minerva and the Morian Jupiter. Vid. Soph. Œd. Col. 704. Παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς Παναθηναίοις τὸ ἔλαιον τὸ ἐκ τῆς Μορίας· Lucian. de Gymnasiis, § 9. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριστέλης καὶ τοῖς νικήσασι τὰ Παναθήναια ἐλάιῳ, τῷ ἐκ μορίων γιγνομένῳ, δίδοσθάι φησι· Schol. in Œd. Col. l. 730.

pygmies and such like droll devices. Mr. Fauvel shewed us a very beautiful relic of antiquity which he had discovered in an Athenian sepulchre; this was a small vase elegantly decorated with figures of Genii, thegilding upon whose wings and parts of the drapery is admirably preserved*. He had also in his possession a curiosity for which a true antiquarian would walk bare-foot to Athens—this was no less than the jaw-bone of a man between two of whose grinders sticks the original obolus put there to pay his passage over Styx by Charon's ferry-boat†. The very court-yards of these two indefatigable excavators contained treasures in urns, hermæ, sarcophagi, monumental tablets, &c., sufficient to fill a museum. I often employed my leisure hours in copying inscriptions at the house of Signore Lusieri. If any should appear likely to interest the reader they will be found in the appendix.

We resisted every instigation to follow the example of many travellers in commencing excavations: neither Mr. Parker nor myself felt inclined to sacrifice that time which the inspection of such a work requires: not for all the treasures of the Ceramicus would I have given up my rambles over the site of this venerable city, this eye of Greece, as it was called, this Ἑλλάδος Ἕλλας; where, as soon as I had thoroughly examined the remaining monuments of its magnificence and power, I received little less interest and satisfaction from inspecting the vestiges of domestic life left by a people who have so captivated the regards of posterity. A certain species of knowledge too that books cannot bestow, may be acquired by thus connecting

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* These Genii held a middle rank between the Gods and Heroes (vid. Eurip. Hecub. 164 & Schol.) The ancients supposed that one accompanied every man through life.

Ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαράστατει
Εὐθὺς γενομένῳ Μυσαγωγὸς τῦ βίυ.
Menand. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.

They derived their name from the knowledge they were supposed to have concerning human beings and the operations of the universe.

† I was informed at Athens that this custom is still in existence at Thebes. Illness made me forget to inquire about it when I was at the latter city.

history with its ruins, by verifying the pictures of imagination and the delineations of admired writers with their interesting localities, and by recalling to memory the heroes and sages of antiquity as we view their sepulchres or the scenes of their philosophic retirement: nor is any place more capable of inspiring that peculiar train of thought which tends to soften and improve the heart by detaching it from self, than Athens—it is the same now as in the days of Cicero—"Multa in omni parte Athenarum sunt in ipsis locis indicia summorum virorum .... quacunque ingredimur in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus." Here a splendid portico intermixed with the mean dwellings of modern misery speaks at once to imagination and to thought; there a small stelé, or monumental pillar, meets the stranger's eye and tells him that a noble Acharnensian, a commercial Piræean; a tender virgin, or a faithful slave has submitted to the common fate of humanity *—at one spot his attention is arrested by a detached and graceful column, at another by those large circular thones or chairs of marble † in which the gymnasiarchs or the judges, the agonothetæ or the archons used to recline: sometimes he lights upon one of the mutilated hermæ, and may exercise his ingenuity in decyphering or restoring a motto which has served to enlighten the Athenian populace ‡. Upon the hill of the Areopagus he will delight to trace the vestiges of that solemn court immortalized by the eloquence of St. Paul, where the mighty champion of the Christian faith declared the "Unknown God" in

* The following are some specimens of the forms upon these sepulchral monuments, among a vast number copied by the author:—

1. ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΟΥ ΑΧΑΡΝΕΥΣ

2. ΗΔΙΣΤΗΣ ΤΟΔΕ ΣΗΜΑ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ ΠΑΙΔΙΚΟΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ——3. ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΩ——4. ΣΚΥΘΗΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ——5. ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ ΝΑΥΚΛΕΙΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ

6. ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΗ

ΓΗΡΑΙ ΘΑΝΟΥΣΑΝ ΤΑΦΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΗΝ.

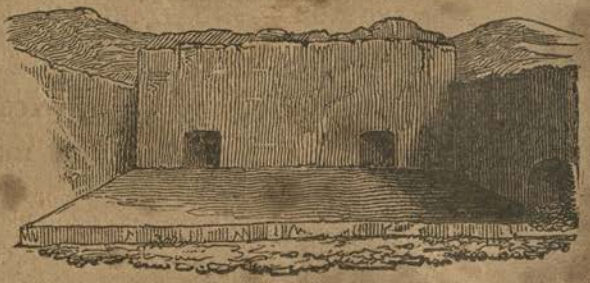
† For a disquisition upon these antique chairs the reader is referred to Mr. Walpole's Memoirs, p. 309. As the right of *first seats* in the theatre was called *πρῶτον ξύλον* so the same in the courts of judicature was *πρῶτη καθέδρα*.—Jul. Pollux. viii. c. 10.

‡ These Hermæ or Mercuries were heads upon square blocks of stone (*τετράγωνοι*) containing moral aphorisms or philosophical sentences, and were placed in all parts of Athens where they might constantly meet the public eye and impress their sententious truths upon the minds of the people.

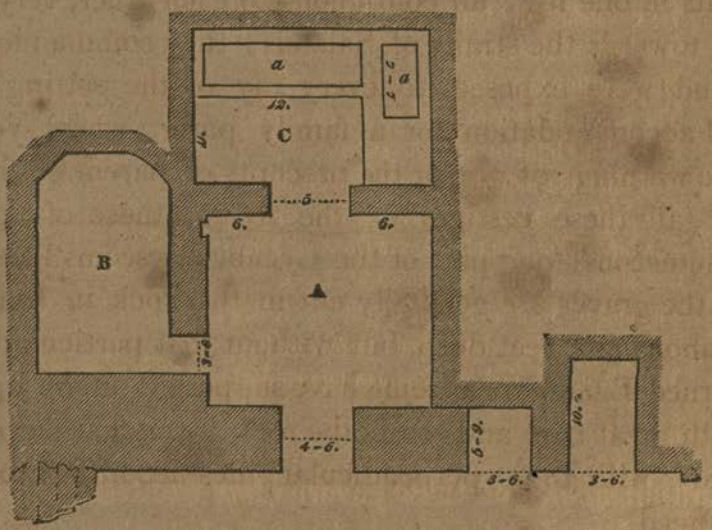
doctrines which were at that time indeed foolishness to the Greeks, but which have since overturned to its very foundation the whole structure of their celebrated philosophy.

Here, as well as on the Lycabettus and the Museum, he may observe innumerable vestiges of ancient habitations indelibly cut in the rock and ground plans of domestic dwellings generally of very moderate dimensions: he will linger with delight amidst aqueducts and cisterns, votive niches, rustic inscriptions, flights of steps, artificial grottos, and elegantly curved seats: these latter he will find scooped out of the rock, where the aged citizens enjoyed the genial warmth of the sun, or watched the white sail glittering on the Ægean waves which wafted a child or relative to the shores of Piræus. Upon the Museum above the platform of a larger mansion I counted seven of these semicircular seats in one row, all contiguous to each other, very neatly cut and turned towards the straits of Salamis; they commanded a superb prospect and were exposed to every ray of the setting sun—what a delightful accommodation for a family party, where youth might listen to the warnings of age or the precepts of parental tenderness!

Amongst all these vestiges of the living, those of the dead are still more numerous: one part of the Lycabettus seems like a spacious cemetery: the graves are generally cut in the rock in form of parallelograms, about four feet deep, but without that particular observance of being turned E. and W. as some have supposed: many have been excavated with great care and cost, the rock being first cut into a small area or court, with three perpendicular sides according to the figures here introduced.



The excavation is made on that side which fronts the approach, in the form of an oblong or square chamber containing niches for the reception of cinerary vases, lamps, &c.; having its sides coated with a fine cement painted generally a bright vermilion: in the little area abovementioned is often seen a seat, a flight of steps, or a cistern: probably libations, offerings, and religious rites were performed here to the manes of the departed: at one end of the Museum turned towards the port Phalerum, is a noble sepulchre, commonly called the Cenotaph of Euripides: the interior is cut into the shape of a temple and lined with a beautiful composition, black and shining as the most polished ebony; out of the principal apartment, which is very large, are entrances to two others. The following is a delineation of its ground plan.



(A.) first large Chamber.—(B.) second ditto.—(C.) third ditto.—(a a.) sarcophagi.

But the most curious of all the excavations which this hill contains, is that of which a representation may be seen in the vignette at the

head of the next chapter. Tradition, or it may be only modern conjecture, has denominated this the prison of the Areopagus, in which Socrates surrounded by his agonized friends drank that cup of hemlock of which he would not have allowed even his accuser to partake*: their appearance and situation on the other side the valley, nearly opposite to the hill of Mars, has in all probability occasioned the present appellation—but even so vague and floating an idea, the very possibility of this having been the scene of that pathetic tragedy†, gives them no small degree of interest, and we feel for the moment a more exalted opinion of human nature, as we stand in imagination on the spot where that wonderful man crowned the most glorious of lives by the most magnanimous of deaths.

How watched thy better sons the farewell ray
That closed their murder'd sage's latest day!
Not yet, not yet. Sol pauses on the hill,
The precious hour of parting lingers still:
But sad his light to agonizing eyes,
And dark the mountain's once delightful dyes:
Gloom o'er the lovely land he seemed to pour,
The land where Phœbus never frowned before:
But ere he sunk below Cithæron's head,
The cup of woe was quaff'd—the spirit fled;
The soul of him who scorned to fear or fly,
Who liv'd and died, as none can live or die!—Corsair, l. 1182.

The topographical site of these caverns has excited much attention and discussion—this must be my apology for introducing a few casual

* "Accusatori nollet dare."—Juv.

† Quid dicam de Socrate? (says Cicero) cujus morti illachrymare soleo Platonem legens.—De nat. Deor. l. viii.

observations upon the subject, which the reader will find in the marginal note subjoined *.

* Their position is at no great distance from the spot where Chandler, in his plan of Athens, as well as many other travellers have placed the Ceramicus, one of the most ornamented and distinguished quarters of ancient Athens, upon the proper determination of whose site depends in great measure the relative topography of this noble city. The supposed site alluded to, is that valley or plain which is extended between the south side of the Acropolis and the north end of the Museum, reaching nearly from the defile between this hill and the Pnyx up to the Ilissus and the magnificent Corinthian columns of Jupiter Olympius. No one has argued so ingeniously and learnedly in the support of this position as Mr. Hawkins (see Mr. Walpole's Memoirs, p. 475.) and as I am convinced that the establishment of truth, and not a theory is the object of that intelligent traveller, I feel no reluctance in advancing the few remarks which have occurred to me on the perusal of his treatise, and which either his learning or that of some other scholar may possibly obviate. Without dwelling upon the assumption of two Agoræ, one within the Ceramicus and the other without it, which I think scarcely proved, and the difficulty respecting the Ceramic gate (pp. 509, 510.) which is hardly got over, there is one passage cited by Mr. H. in proof of his theory which, as it appears to me, tends strongly to contradict it. I allude to the passage of Plutarch (cited p. 484.) respecting the natural sagacity of animals, where it is stated that an old mule unfit for work, was accustomed to meet the animals that were bringing stone for the construction of the Parthenon, going down for that purpose into the Ceramicus, &c. from thence Mr. H. concludes the Ceramicus to have been situated on the south side of the citadel, because the road on the north is more steep and therefore unfit for the heavy carriage of the materials—now if my memory does not greatly deceive me I should say the road on the north side is quite as practicable as that on the south: indeed the ascent to the Propylæa is at this day on the north side, and there is no road up to the citadel on the south at all: supposing that there were two roads in ancient times, still as the marble for the Parthenon was brought from Pentelicus, to have gone round the acropolis to the south side would have lengthened the journey more than half a mile. But further, and what is more to the point—Plutarch who is considered tolerably accurate in his geographical details, states in a passage quoted by Mr. H. (p. 482.) that when the city was sacked by Sylla, "the blood of the slaughtered citizens overflowed the Agora, and covered the Ceramicus as far as Dipylon!" Now we know exactly the site of the gate Dipylon which lay to the N. N. W. of the Acropolis leading towards the academy: as therefore, if this passage were correct, it would be the most arrant hyperbole in the world to place the Ceramicus to the south of the Acropolis, Mr. H. is obliged, without the least authority of MSS. to alter the reading in Plutarch; upon whose *sole* authority, as it is stated (p. 482.) Barthelemy in his plan of Athens places the Ceramicus on the north side. This assertion is unfortunate; for another author, of no inconsiderable credit, establishes the very reading of Plutarch. That author is Lucian. The Athenian Ceramicus as we learn from Pausanias was decorated with beautiful stoæ or porticoes, a common resort for courtesans, like the Piazza in Covent-garden. It was a custom in Athens for jealous or malicious persons wishing to detach two lovers from their union, to write upon these columns some slanderous sentence respecting one of them which might reach the eyes or ears of the other. (This was called καταστιλιτεύειν "to chalk upon a pillar," as we should say: vid. Lucian. Dial. Meretr. iv. p. 287. x. p. 308. Edit. Hemsterh.) In Lucian's fourth Dialogue between Melissa and Bacchis, the former complains bitterly to her friend of the neglect of her lover Charinus, who had treated her contemptuously ever since he had seen her thus placarded in the Ceramicus. She adds also that she had sent her servant Acis to see if the fact were true, who had discovered the following sentences, "Melissa loves Hermotimus" and "Captain Hermotimus loves Melissa," at the very entrance of the Ceramicus, at the GATE DIPYLON, ἑστώτων ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ προς τῷ Διπύλῳ. Vol. iii. p. 287. This passage therefore seems to establish the fact that the gate Dipylon led into the Ceramicus. It is also equally certain that the Piræean Gate led into that quarter*, and some persons have even gone so

* This is shewn very satisfactorily by Mr. H. To his authorities we may add another from Lucian, in his Dialogue called the Scythian: who when Anacharsis is coming up from the Piræus, miserable

far as to say that the Piræean Gate and Dipylon were one and the same *. The fact too deserves some investigation; for it seems to be favoured by a passage in Polybius, where he says that Attalus coming up from the Piræus with a great multitude of attendants, entered the city by the gate Dipylon, (εἰσήει κατὰ τὸ Δ(πυλον). Polyb. lib. xvi. c. 25. I should rather suppose however that the Piræean Gate was near to that of Dipylon, so that the Romans and the Athenian magistrates who accompanied Attalus from Piræus to the Piræean Gate, being close to Dipylon, chose that the pomp should proceed through the largest and most convenient entrance to the city. This very supposition is suggested by one of Mr. Hawkins himself, who, in that passage of Plutarch † where it is said that Sylla threw down and levelled the Athenian wall from the Piræean to the Sacred Gate, imagines that the Sacred Gate is another name for Dipylon: now it will never be supposed that in battering the mighty walls of Athens which at this very place, where I measured them, are thirteen feet in thickness, Sylla would have made such a breach as should have extended from Dipylon to the Museum—an extent of more than a mile, when twenty yards would have been sufficient. The great object therefore in future researches will be to trace more accurately the direction of the long walls, especially the northern one, and by that means to ascertain, if possible, the site of the Piræean Gate: for on this point depends the situation of the Ceramicus and in great measure the topography of Athens. After these few hints I leave the subject to those who are more capable and willing to investigate it, but I cannot do so without professing the most unbounded respect for the learning and talents of that gentleman whose opinions I have thus freely canvassed.

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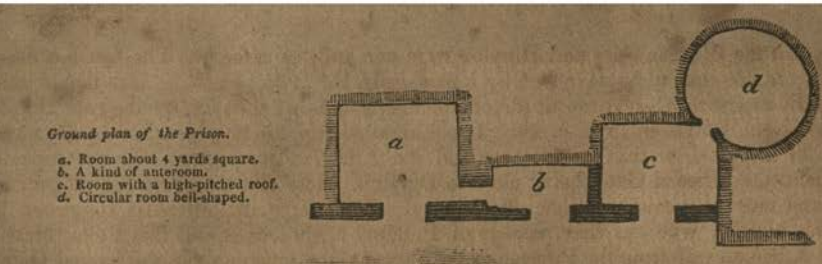
from his ignorance of the people and language, and debating with himself upon the expediency of an immediate return, introduces his countryman Toxaris opportunely meeting him (ἤδη ἐν τῷ κεραμεικῷ) in the (very) Ceramicus, *i. e.* the first place at which he would arrive.

* This Gate Dipylon was called according to Plutarch (in vit. Periclis) "The Thriasian Gate" Πύλαι Θριασίαι.

† Αυτὸς δὲ Σύλλας τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς πειραϊκῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ΚΑΤΑΣΚΑΨΑΣ καὶ ΣΥΝΟΜΑΔΥΝΑΣ, &c.



Ground plan of the Prison.

a. Room about 4 yards square.
b. A kind of anteroom.
c. Room with a high-pitched roof.
d. Circular room bell-shaped.

Excavations in the Rock at Athens, commonly called the Prison of Socrates.

CHAPTER X.

Capture of Baron Stackelberg by Robbers in the Gulf of Volo—Measures taken for his Release and their success—Manners of these Robbers—Extracts from Mr. Cockerell's Account of his Discoveries at Ægina—Excursion to the Piræus, Munichia, and Phalerum—Excursion upon the Borders of the Ilissus—Stadium—Altar of the Fates—Curious Anathema—Excursion to the Site of the Academy—Gardens of the Cephissus—Plato—Colonos—Timon's Tower—Grecian Damsel returning from the Fountain—Mount Anchesmus—Inscriptions decyphered—Statue of Anchesmian Jupiter—Author attends the School of Athens to hear Homer expounded—Greek Composition as now taught—Literary Society established at Athens—Ascent up Mount Hymettus—Excursion to the great fortified Pass between the Thriasian and Acharnensian Plains—Tour through Part of Attica—Arrival of Tatars from Ioannina and Constantinople—Vaivode's Government renewed, &c. —Intended Tour in the Morea prevented—Robbery by our Ser-

vant Giovanni—Method pursued in the Affair and Discovery—Author attacked by an Ague—Arrival of General Davies—Accompany him to see the religious Ceremonies of the Dervishes in the Tower of Andronicus—Monument of Lysicrates—Court of Judicature held by the Archbishop, &c.—Power of the Turkish Officers and Vaivode—Patriarchal Power of the Turks over their own Families—Remarkable Instance of its Exertion—Departure from Athens—Albanian Cottage of Kassià at the Foot of Parnes.

WE had not long been resident in Athens before a most distressing event occurred which created very general sensations of anxiety and sorrow throughout the place. A letter received by Baron Haller from his friend the Baron Stackelberg, an accomplished young nobleman who had rendered himself an universal favourite by his talents and engaging manners, stated that the writer had been taken by pirates as he was crossing the Gulf of Volo on his return from Constantinople after a tour in Asia Minor. He had been cruelly treated by these savages who tore to pieces before his face a number of his most beautiful drawings, plundered him of all his clothes, hurried him along with them in their detestable enterprises, forced him to sleep in the open air, and at last displayed the most horrid instruments of torture for the purpose of terrifying him into the promise of a larger ransom. This they at length set at 60,000 piasters, and for it they dispatched a messenger with the Baron's letter to Athens.

A consultation was immediately held by his friends Baron Haller, Mr. Cockerell, and some others, at the house of the French consul, where various expedients likely to be of service were proposed and taken into consideration. This enormous ransom demanded by the robbers was far too great to be raised, or for an individual to pay, and to be resisted upon every principle of policy towards others as well as the captive himself, as far as it was consistent with his safety. The case therefore required great delicacy of management, and it appeared

to the party met in consultation that there was but one person who possessed all the qualifications requisite to conduct it happily. This was an Armenian merchant settled in Athens, named Acob, a man who had travelled over greatest part of the old world, whose information in the languages, manners, and customs of different nations was unbounded, and whose honesty was unsuspected. Unfortunately this person was now absent upon commercial speculations in Bœotia or Phocis, and was not expected to return in less than a month. This obstacle however did not long remain. After it had been unanimously agreed that 12,000 piasters should be offered to the banditti for the liberation of their prisoner, and this sum was raised, Baron Haller, that most faithful of friends, took charge of it and set out immediately in quest of Acob.

This excellent man rested but little either day or night till he found the Armenian and proceeded with him at once towards the haunts of the banditti. For no reward could they induce any person of the neighbourhood to undertake the office of mediator, such terror had these wretches inspired throughout the country. They determined therefore to venture themselves into the presence of the horde; and having by means of some scouts obtained a knowledge of their present station, they boldly advanced to the interview. The reader may imagine the joy of the poor captive, who was extremely feeble from the effects of bad food, bad air, and a fever brought on by his sufferings, at finding himself in the embrace of his best and most faithful friend. The conference was opened by Acob with singular address; he represented himself as the captain of a privateer in those seas, assured the pirates that they were mistaken in supposing their prisoner was a man of fortune since he was merely an artist labouring for his bread whose prospects they had already seriously injured by the destruction of his drawings; that if they rejected the offers he now made he should depart satisfied with having done his duty, and finally he represented to them that a Turkish man of war was on the coast, as really was the case, to the commander of which, if they continued obstinate, he

should leave their punishment. The robbers were somewhat abashed by the eloquence, the confidence, and tone of authority which he used, but suffered him to depart without coming to any conclusion, as they could not prevail upon themselves to reduce their demand of 60,000 piasters to 10,000, which was all that Acob was determined to pay.

Firmness was now of the utmost necessity; this Acob saw and persevered in spite of the pain which it might give both to the prisoner and to Baron Haller: that generous man however unable to bear the anxiety which he suffered on account of his friend, stept forward and urged the captain of the gang by every entreaty to release the prisoner and accept himself as an hostage in his stead until the other should recover. This noble offer was made in perfect sincerity of heart—the risk was great—the pirates were irritated—in all probability they would torture their prisoner for the purpose of succeeding better in their terms of ransom—and if they should chance to be pursued by the Turkish frigate, they would inevitably put all their captives to death and throw them overboard. This proposal therefore of Baron Haller was a very strong indication of a soul capable of any sacrifice which duty and affection might call upon him to make.

The disappointed negotiators returned to sleep at the nearest village; where about midnight they were awakened by one of the banditti who came to propose 20,000 piasters for the ransom, which he gradually reduced to 15,000 as the ultimatum. Acob however conjecturing that they were in some alarm remained steady to his former determination, which in the course of an hour brought the chief himself to their lodging, where the bargain was at last concluded for 10,000 piasters, with an additional present of one thousand to the captain. A shake by the hand was the seal of this negotiation, as sacred and as valid as the firman of the sultan.

On the following morning Baron Haller proceeded to the place appointed by the robbers, and being seated, like all the rest, cross-legged upon a carpet spread out on the rock, he counted out in their presence

the 10,000 piasters. Baron Stackelberg was then shaved by one of the gang, a ceremony which they never omit on these occasions, and given over to his friends. They were all pressed very much to stay and partake of a roasted lamb and an entertainment about to be prepared, but they were too desirous of quitting such company, to accept their proffered hospitality. The robbers then wished them a good journey and expressed their hopes of capturing them again at some future time and pocketing some more of their cash.

The account which Baron Stackelberg gave of these wretches was curious. They were composed of outlaws and villains from every part of Greece, the very dregs of society in a country where humanity is not a virtue either generally admired or practised. They were mostly Turks but with the most imperfect knowledge of the mussulman faith: in the hour of danger they had recourse to all kinds of superstition, but when secure they indulged in the most horrid blasphemies. In their bark a light was always kept burning before a picture of the virgin, and in storms they vowed the dedication of wax tapers to St. Nicholas, the Neptune of modern Greece, in a church dedicated to that saint upon an island which they sometimes visited; these vows they religiously performed. In the day-time they generally drew their bark ashore covering it with rushes, and at night they made their excursions. With regard to any prize they captured, if it were money, they divided it immediately among the gang, if goods which were portable, they put them up to sale amongst themselves. For this purpose poor Baron Stackelberg saw his trunks rifled and emptied: he was obliged to tell them the prime cost of every article, which was disposed of to the highest bidder. When they came to his firman and other writings, in the Turkish language, which however they could not read, they kissed them and applied them to their foreheads in token of submission to the grand Signor.

So great is the terror caused by these villains that they are seldom resisted: the unfortunate vessels which fall in their way generally submit at once, or run ashore if they happen to be near the land, when

the crew endeavour to effect their escape. An occurrence of this kind took place during Baron Stackelberg's captivity. A vessel, rather than be taken, ran aground and the unfortunate sailors climbed the rocks to avoid their pursuers. An old man less active than the rest being shot at and wounded, was captured and carried back for the purpose of slavery. One of the miscreants who pursued the others, being foiled in his endeavours, as if to cool his thirst for blood, seized a poor goat that was quietly grazing near him, and cutting its throat with his ataghan, threw the bleeding carcass down the rocks.

Whilst the Baron was slowly recovering from the effects of this unpleasant adventure, my friend and myself had very nearly fallen into one of a similar nature. We were anxious to make an excursion to the island of Ægina, so celebrated in the early history of ancient Athens, and so interesting on account of the fine ruins of Jupiter Panhellenius's temple, where Mr. Cockerell and his friends made the first important discovery of statues which had once adorned its pediments. We had seen some beautiful casts from different figures of this sculpture in the studio of Monsieur Fauvel, who considered them as admirable in their execution though possessing an air of antiquity earlier than the school of Phidias. The subject of these statues has been so well illustrated by the discoverer himself in the Journal of the Royal Institution that I shall refer the curious inquirer to that publication for further information: but as I have Mr. Cockerell's permission to extract from one of his letters an account of the original discovery, I think I cannot consult the reader's gratification more than by availing myself of this friendly offer.

"In my last I mentioned my intention of joining Mr. Foster and two German friends in a tour; but we determined first to visit the architectural remains at Ægina, which lies at the distance of three hours' sail from the Piræus. We passed Lord Byron as he was working out of the harbour; we went on board and drank a glass of Port

wine, the first I had tasted for a long time, to his safe voyage, ran through the channel in the night, and the day after, having crossed the island, arrived at the temple. As it was our intention to examine thoroughly this curious edifice, we pitched our tent under a rock and took possession of a cave close by, which made an excellent dwelling for our servants and janizzary. In the execution of our object we set three men to dig and turn over stones or blocks whose measurement might conduce to the purposes of elucidation: on the second morning as we were removing rubbish from the interior of the portico, we turned up two heads of Parian marble, perfectly entire in all their features: after these a beautiful leg and foot appeared, and not to tire you with a circumstantial detail of our progress, we discovered under the two fronts of the temple (which faced E. and W.) sixteen figures and thirteen heads, legs, arms, &c. all in the highest state of preservation. They were not three feet from the surface of the ground and appear evidently to have fallen from the pediments in the convulsion of an earthquake. They are all broken by the fall, but the pieces are found, and now that we have put each in its proper place they make almost as many entire figures. You may easily imagine that during the progress of this extraordinary discovery we were not a little surprised at our good fortune, and that among so many travellers who have visited this famous temple during so many centuries we should be the first with curiosity enough to dig three feet deep.

"In the midst of our progress, the primates of the island, who farm the rights of the Capudan Pasha, came in a body and read a statement made by the islanders, requiring us to desist from our operations, for that heaven only knew what harm we might do to the island in general and to the land immediately surrounding the temple in particular. This miserable pretext we soon found was only meant as an inducement for us to give them some money. Accordingly we sent our dragoman to the village with the deputation to agree about the sum. Suspecting that some impediment might arise we had ordered a boat to be ready for conveying what we had already found to Athens; and

the primates were scarcely out of sight when it arrived at a port near the temple: the marbles were put on board with Mr. Foster and one of our German friends, who undertook their conveyance to Athens; an operation which they very wisely effected by night lest it should make too much noise among the Turks, which we greatly feared. Haller and I remained to carry on the operation of digging, which we prosecuted vigorously, finding legs and arms every minute. On the return of our friends we concluded our bargain with the primates, at 800 piasters for the statues we already found and those which we might afterwards discover.

"Our great work was not finished until the 16th day after our arrival, when, besides having collected sixteen statues, we completed our researches, drawings, and measurements of the temple, which have enabled us to make some very important discoveries in architecture. It was impossible to be engaged in a more interesting undertaking. Every hour produced some new discovery and the whole time was a continued succession of surprises. We slept in the tent, far from the town, purchased meat from the shepherds and by a large fire which we made at night roasted it on a wooden spit. The sixteen days were barely sufficient for us: it was necessary that we should both work ourselves and overlook the rest, lest any thing interesting should escape us: all the heads and limbs we were obliged to take out of the ground with our own hands lest the peasants should demolish them in the attempt. Upon the whole we have been in this respect also very fortunate and very few pieces have been broken through carelessness. I write now on the 3d day after our arrival at Athens and till this time we have been occupied in joining together all the scattered members, for which purpose we have taken a large house. A great portion of them is quite restored and I assure you the effect is magnificent. We have not yet discovered the subjects of the groups *: the figures are from five feet to five feet six inches high, in very powerful action, evidently engaged in

* The subject of one is now very satisfactorily ascertained to be the combat of the Greeks and Trojans over the corpse of Patroclus.

combat, and the costumes are of the most antique kind I ever saw. The helmets are made to cover the face over the nose, there are greaves to protect the legs, and large bucklers. Some appear clad in leathern coats, in a costume resembling that of the Romans; but in general they are free from the incumbrance of drapery and their anatomy and contour are admirable. Two figures are in high preservation, each drawing a bow; their hands which pull the string and the arrows are wonderfully beautiful.

"We conduct all our operations with great secrecy, for we are in great fear lest the Turks should reclaim them or at least throw sad difficulties in our way: the envy and jealousy excited against us on all sides for our good fortune is extreme. Fauvel has been very obliging on the occasion and has given us most excellent advice: knowing that the circumstances of our discovery would try every one's disposition, and fearing lest any thing might operate to the prejudice of our beautiful collection, he proposed our signing a contract of honour, each binding himself not to take any steps for the disposal or division of it without the consent of the other three: and this we put into immediate execution; indeed it never ought to be divided: it would in itself form great part of a museum and is worthy of a monarch. We have all written to our respective ministers upon the subject."

This superb collection was purchased by the Prince of Bavaria. No one lamented more sincerely than Mr. Cockerell that its destination was not for England, and no one ever made more strenuous exertions in a cause, than I know he did upon this occasion to promote so desirable an event for his own country. Nay, to give the strongest proof possible of his disinterested patriotism, when two English gentlemen entered into a negotiation to purchase and present the statues to the British Museum, he, as well as his friend Mr. Foster, generously offered to give up all interest in them gratis, provided their German friends

were paid only for their shares. Such a fact as this deserves generally to be known. I shall now give a short extract from a second excursion which my friend made alone to Ægina, and then close this curious subject for others which I am too conscious will be found far less interesting by the comparison.

"I am just returned from a trip which I made to Ægina, for the double purpose of changing the air and revising my drawings of the temple of Jupiter. I have derived great benefit in both cases: I am now in perfect health, and have made many improvements and additions to our architectural observations. As I took ladders from Athens, I have also succeeded in measuring the columns of a temple supposed to have been that of Venus, and universally admired for their proportions, but hitherto neglected by travellers. I found that they belonged either to the posticum or pronaos of the temple, and on digging at their bases to prove this position, I found a very beautiful foot of Parian marble (size of life), with a sandal precisely of the same style as those of our Panhellenian discovery. You will imagine that I counted on nothing less than finding a collection equally interesting and extensive, since fortune had thrown this hint so unexpectedly in my way."

"With some difficulty I procured authority from the archons of the island and struck a bargain which would give them half the produce of the excavation, which was to be made at my expence, leaving me the option of purchasing their share in preference to any other person. Under these conditions I dug for three successive days, but without finding a single fragment of sculpture, and, what was worse, satisfied myself that the soil had been turned over a hundred times; for the foundations of this temple had long served as stone quarries for the Æginetans: so much did this Parian foot deceive me! However the expence was not very heavy, and I have no right to complain from want of success in excavation. The detention too added to my stock of

health, and enabled me to make a curious and interesting observation upon the foundation of this edifice, which is not less than fifteen feet deep; the first three courses are of well-cut stone, the last are set in mortar upon a wall of small stones cemented with mortar, at the sides of which is a rubble work of larger stones beat down with sea sand and the charcoal and bones of sacrifices: underneath again are other courses of well-cut stone, which form a solid mass under the whole temple. This is curious, since the Greek temples are commonly founded upon rock."

November 8th. This morning I ascended the citadel in company with Baron Haller and Mr. Cockerell, who kindly condescended to explain many of its architectural beauties and impart to me a great deal of interesting information in that art of which they were themselves such illustrious ornaments. Amongst the many observations made by Mr. Cockerell upon the architecture of the Parthenon I remember one which seemed very delicate and curious: it related to the entasis or swelling of its beautiful and finely-proportioned columns. With a great deal of difficulty he measured them, and found by a strait line stretched from the capital to the base that this swell at about one third of the height, equalled one inch. That in the temple of Jupiter at Ægina equalled half an inch, which was in proportion to the other; so that he had no doubt but that there was a general rule on this point with the ancient architects: this protuberance is so delicate that it must be ascertained by measurement: the eye alone cannot perceive it. The fact had escaped Stuart and our other most accurate observers. I was much amused also with the ingenious manner in which these gentlemen had discovered the method of construction in the roof of this magnificent edifice; but as their observations will be laid before the public, it would not become so unscientific a person as myself to enter into a longer detail.

Nov. 9th. This day we rode to the Piræus, accompanied by our friend Lusieri, and pitched our tent upon the high ground of the Mu-

nychian promontory: not a single vessel was now anchored in that spacious port which once displayed so animating a scene. A lonely monastery and a miserable custom-house, have succeeded to that portico which surpassed every stoa both in size and beauty: fragments of ruins alone remain of those temples, agoræ, baths, and statues, with which, under the direction of Themistocles*, Hippodamus strove to render this great emporium equal to the upper city in magnificence as it was superior to it in utility. The entrance and harbour of Piræus lie very nearly due E. and W. its three arsenals, Zea, Cantharus, and Aphrodisium, are still visible, the remains of its walls may be traced round the whole circuit, most particularly those of the great Munychian peninsula, in an extent of about five miles†, where many towers and intervening parts of the wall are standing to the height of ten or twelve feet. The entrance to Piræus is formed by the two promontories Alcimus and Eetionéa, between which are two small rocks from whence the Venetians carried off those marble lions, from which the port in modern times derived its appellation. Close under the Alcimian promontory, to the starboard of a vessel steering into the harbour, is a large quadrangular sub-basement of some considerable edifice, supposed, and not without probability, to have been the sepulchre of Themistocles.

> " That tomb which gleaming o'er the cliff,
> First greets the homeward veering skiff,
> High o'er the land he saved in vain—
> When shall such hero live again?" Giaour, l. 3.

Here the bones of that great general and statesman were deposited by

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* Hujus consilio triplex Piræi portus constitutus est, isque mœnibus circumdatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate æquipararet, utilitate superaret. Corn. Nep. in vit. Themist. Hippodamus was the architect who planned the fortification. Aristot. Pol. l. ii. c. 9. The three ports or arsenals are mentioned by Thucydides, l. i. as τρεῖς λιμένας ἀνοφυεῖς. The Piræus was from ancient times a demos or borough of Attica, as we learn from Pausanias and numerous inscriptions. The remains of the long walls which connected it with the upper city are but partially visible— the northern wall, or that which was turned towards the Eleusinian frontier of Attica, has hitherto baffled all attempts at investigation.

† The circuit of the Piræus, together with the Munychian promontory which Strabo calls Λόφος χερρονήσιζων, equalled about seven miles and a half or 60 stadia. Καὶ τῆ πειραιέως ξὺν Μενυχίᾳ ἑξήκοντα μὲν σαδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος. Thucyd. l. ii.

his ungrateful country, on the spot where he laid the foundation of its power, and in sight of those straits where he preserved it from the overwhelming force of the Persian armament*. How many of her illustrious sons did this ungrateful city persecute during their lives and honour after their deaths!

> Ne fu già sola Roma ingrata al tutto:
> Riguarda Atene dove ingratitudo
> *Pose il suo nido*, piu ch' altrove brutto;
> Miltiade, Aristide, e Phocione,
> Di Themistocle ancor la dura sorte
> Son del viver suo buon testimone.
>
> Machiav. c. d'Ingrat.

Following the circuit of the great Munychian promontory, that sacred retreat of liberty and Thrasybulus who fortified it on his descent from the heights of Phyle, we came to the Munychian port, which forms almost an accurate circle in its curvature, whilst that of Phalerum, at a little distance further, winds round in shape of a most beautiful ellipse. This latter was the most ancient of the Athenian harbours, being that which saw Theseus set sail for Crete and Menestheus depart with his fifty ships for Troy. It seems not to have been out of use even after the great influx of navigation had set towards the

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* I have chosen to consider this basement as the tomb of Themistocles in opposition to the opinion of Mons. Fauvel and many other travellers, who place it at a considerable distance from the entrance of the Piræus near the head of the Alcimian promontory, where there is an excavation in the rock in form of a sepulchre, surrounded with some vestiges of columns and other marks of an ancient edifice. But this is far beyond that angle of the promontory and quite out of that tranquillity of the water, which are both so distinctly noticed by Plutarch, a passage in whose life of Themistocles clearly points out the great quadrangular basement alluded to in the text as the remains of the monument in question. Περὶ τὸν λιμένα τῆ πειραιῶς, ἀπὸ τῆ κατὰ τὸν Αλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίυ, πρόκειτάι τίς ὅιον ἀγκών· καὶ κάμψαντι τῆτον ἐντὸς, ᾗ τὸ ὑπευδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπίς ἐστιν ἐνμεγέθης, καὶ τὸ περὶ ἀυτὴν βωμοειδὲς τάφος τῆ Θεμιστοκλέες· In vit. Them. sub finem. This position is confirmed also by Pausanias, who, in mentioning the three ports or arsenals of Piræus, observes, καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέες. Now the basement alluded to is exactly above the still largest and deepest of these three ports which probably was the one called Aphrodisium, where Themistocles himself built a temple to Aphrodite, or Venus, after the battle of Salamis, in memory of a dove, the bird sacred to that goddess, which settled upon his trireme before the engagement. Vid. Schol. in Hermogenem, l. ii. quoted by Meursius. Piræus, p. 15.

Piræus, for St. Paul landed here when his eye met that altar of the "unknown God*" from which he made so grand and powerful an appeal to his philosophic audience in the Areopagus. It now scarcely affords depth of water for the smallest bark. The situation of its Agora is marked by the bases of some columns which are still seen near the shore. After this interesting ramble with a guide whose information was only equalled by his desire of communicating it, we dined under our tent in view of Salamis, the famous straits, and the mountain where the Persian king seated on his silver throne beheld the overthrow of his mighty armament by the noble efforts of that small band which fought for freedom†. On our return to the city we passed the remains of that theatre where Euripides was accustomed to contend for the prize, and where Socrates listened with delight to the precepts of philosophy harmonized by the Attic muse‡.

Next day we enjoyed another treat in the company of our intelligent friend, and pitched our tent in the great Stadium beyond the Ilissus, whither we retired after having rambled over the district of Agræ, once sacred to Diana, and viewed the fountain of the Ilissiades still called by its ancient name Callirhoe§, with the ruins of a temple

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* Pausanias, in his account of Phalerum, calls it the altar of the unknown gods. *βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ονομαζομένων ἀγνωστῶν, καὶ Ηρώων*, &c. Lucian (in Philopatri) makes use of the expression *Νὴ τὸν Ἄγνωστον ἐν Ἀθήναις*——and again, *Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἄγνωστον εὑρόντες καὶ προσκυνήσαντες χεῖρας εἰς ἐρανὸν ἐκτείναντες, τότῳ ἐυχαριστήσομεν.* But this may only shew that witty but profane author to have read the writings of the great apostle. The reason of this altar being placed at the harbour of Athens will be easily understood, if we recollect the superstitious veneration of the Greeks for even foreign deities, and the opportunity they afforded of propitiating the gods of the strangers who might land there.

† On the 26th of October, 1814, a German traveller, named Lynckh, gave a grand fête to a large party of Athenians, in celebration of the victory, upon the little island of Psytalia where the battle raged most thick: fires were lighted, lambs roasted, punch and wine went round, the Greeks forgot their troubles, and the dance was kept up till a late hour in the evening. Signor Palamas the didascalos carried tools with which he engraved an inscription upon a rock signifying that "A feast had been held in memory of the immortal Salaminian combat," which may become a curious document in after ages. The party were accommodated at night in the monastery of the Piræus.

‡ Œlian. Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 13.

§ A district of Athens opposite to this fountain is called Callirhiotis, and is inhabited by Albanian

of Ceres, the site of the Lycéum, the Cynosarges, and the gardens of Venus below the monastery of Syriani, where an old stunted myrtle exists which is said to have outlived the empire both of men and deities, and serves at this day as an authentic record of the place: in a deep and shaded valley near the monastery, whose banks are fringed with the agnus castus, oleaster and willow*, we found the stream of the Ilissus and a great number of Albanian women on its banks, employed in washing linen—picturesque enough in the mass but possessing few individual charms. The water disappears at about the distance of a mile above Athens, but I always found it by digging to the depth of one or two feet in the sand or gravel with which its bed is choked. The sides of Ilissus are marked by the foundations of buildings which in former times encroached upon its transparent stream, when the spreading plane-trees on its banks afforded a delicious retreat either for the voluptuary or the philosopher. In examining the stadium whose dimensions appear larger than are usually seen, and which was once coated with a superb covering of Pentelic marble by the generosity of Herodes Atticus, we observed a small stone pedestal at the entrance of a passage cut through the hill on one side which leads into the open country beyond: this pedestal is of modern workmanship, and is sometimes used, as our guide informed us, for the purpose of propitiatory sacrifices. The goddesses to whom it is dedicated, strange to say! are the Destinies or Fates: the worshippers are Athenian damsels who have arrived at the age of matrimonial despair, and the hierophant is an old woman: early in the morning the parties

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settlers. Hence at Athens an Albanian and a Callirhiote are sometimes used as synonymous terms. See a note to Childe Harold, vol. i. canto 2, p. 155. Such are now the strange people

> ——— quos Callirihoe novies errantibus undis
> Implicat, et raptæ qui conscius Orythuiæ
> Celavit Geticos ripis Ilissus amores.

* Here are the fields which cool Ilissus laves.

repair hither, and having offered up their petitions to the presiding deities, leave a small frugal repast of eggs, cakes, and honey upon the altar, and then depart. An Athenian friend of mine assured me that he made a very excellent breakfast one morning upon this δεῖπνον Ἑκάτης after having had his appetite well sharpened by a shooting-excursion over the borders of Hymettus: to my inquiries whether these extraordinary rites ever softened the hearts of the inexorable goddesses, he answered, that the priestesses of the altar, anxious for its reputation, always descant with such eloquence upon the charms and good qualities of its votaries amongst their acquaintance of the other sex, that they not unfrequently succeed in removing all cause of complaint*.

I was informed also of another singular custom as existing among the lower classes of the modern Greeks, wherein these Moirai or destinies are concerned. When a man of revengeful disposition has received, or fancies he has received, a serious injury from his neighbour, and is unwilling to seek redress by the ordinary modes, he betakes himself to build up a curse against his adversary in the form of a round barrow or mound of stones, laying some large ones for a foundation and leaving room enough for his relatives or friends, or any passing traveller who may take an interest in his cause, to add a pebble to his anathema. He then solemnly calls upon the Fates to shower down every species of calamity upon the head of the offender, and not unfrequently joins the arch fiend, the author of all evil, in his energetic invocation. Sometimes it happens that an accident from the pistol or ataghan of a Turk, or a malaria fever, takes off the devoted victim, most opportunely for the anathematizer, who is then regarded with a species of reverential awe by the neighbourhood, and

* Very rarely indeed is a marriage in Greece concluded upon terms of mutual affection. The girls are studiously hid from the sight of men after the age of puberty, and matrimonial connexions are formed by the intervention of a third party.

esteemed as a person under the special influence of divine protection.

November 12. This morning I dedicated to a search for the remains of the Academy, that most celebrated of all the ancient schools of philosophy; where Plato in developing the grandeur of moral truth and laying down clear distinctions of good and evil, framed the noblest system of ethics that was ever discovered by unassisted reason. I was accompanied in my walk by a young Greek named Petri Revelachi, my instructor in the Romaic language, one of a set in Athens who affect philosophy and wear the abolla: we started from his habitation, which is built within the peribolus of Ptolemy's gymnasium, the very spot from whence Cicero and his philosophic friends set out upon a similar excursion, of which he has left us so interesting a description*. We advanced to the gate Dipylon, from whence we kept a reckoning of our paces that we might not overstep the distance of the Academy from that spot†: on the road we observed the remains of several ancient monuments, the sepulchres of Pericles and Chabrias, of Phormio and Thrasybulus, with those of many other heroes who were rewarded by a public funeral‡: these memorials were placed near this grand promenade of Athens to exalt the national spirit and to excite the youth to emulation: such ornaments were not mute! they spoke that

* Cum audivissem Antiochum, Brute, ut solebat cum M. Pisone in eo gymnasio quod Ptolemæium vocatur, unaque nobiscum Q. frater et T. Pomponius, et L. Cicero—constituimus inter nos ut ambulationem postmeridianam conficeremus in Academia. Cic. Proem. de Finibus, l. v. At Signore Revelachi's house in this celebrated gymnasium is the public library established by contributions of travellers—an institution of the greatest utility: we deposited there every book we could spare from our collection, and it is to be hoped that all new comers will augment it as far as they are able: any traveller of respectability has a ready access to this invaluable repository, and he is thus enabled to prepare himself most advantageously for the prosecution of his future researches.

† Inde, vario sermone, sex illa a Dipylo stadia confecimus. Cic. Pro. de F. l. v. The road at the spot where the gate Dipylon stood branches off in two directions probably as it did in ancient times, one leading to the Eleusinian gap in the mountain barrier, the other to the Academy.

‡ Pausanias enumerates not only these but an immense number of such like monuments, and remarks the equity of that decree which allowed a public place of interment on this spot even to slaves who had fallen in defence of the country. Attic. c. xxix. This place was named the "Ceramicus without the city," in contradistinction to that within; it is called the most beautiful of the Athenian suburbs by Thucydides (p. 117. 53. ed. Duk.) who says that all who fell in battle were buried here, except the heroes of Marathon, who were interred upon that plain. Aristophanes also alludes to this custom in Avibus, 395.

universal language which reaches almost every heart; and the sentiments they inspired were full as animating and noble as those which resounded in the gymnasium that terminated the walk.

Having arrived at the distance of three quarters of a mile, as near as we could conjecture, from Dipylon, we halted: an old man upon his ass soon came up, from whom I inquired the name of the place where we stood: his immediate reply was Acathemía* (Ακαδημία). When I repeated my question with some degree of doubt as to the accuracy of this intelligence, he spoke the word several times, declaring vehemently with an ancient oath, μὰ τὴν γῆν† (by the earth) it is Acathemía: as the old gentleman seemed rather nettled I endeavoured to appease his choler by the application of some paras: he took them without the least notice of the donor, but spurring on his ass went along repeating to himself the phrase (δοξαζῇ ὁ θεός) "praised be God" till he was out of hearing.

Considering that we were now upon the site of the Academy, we began to look carefully about this ground which Cicero calls "non sine causa nobilitata spatia;" when we soon perceived a massive block of marble, apparently the fragment of some cornice, the sculpture upon which appeared to have been spirited, but was so much effaced that we could not develope its design: the discovery however raised our hopes, which were still further gratified by the appearance of an angular mural foundation at a little distance, whose large blocks plainly indicated the site of a considerable edifice: suspecting strongly that we had found the original gymnasium, I walked about 300 feet from the spot, when I perceived another angular foundation similar to the first, and in a straight line with it, which probably completed the façade of this once noble structure, facing the north-west end of the acropolis: what a glorious prospect from its terraces when Athens was in its

* The δ is pronounced by the modern Greeks in a manner very like θ.
† Another phrase still in common use is μὰ τὸν ἥλιον.

splendour, and when it was surrounded by those fountains, groves, and walks, which it owed to the munificence of Cimon. A diligent and skilful excavator who had time and opportunity, might possibly discover and lay open the whole plan of this gymnasium. In the vicinity are several small Greek chapels, which very likely occupy the sites of some of those numerous edifices that ornamented this beautiful suburb: their walls contain many fragments of fine marble: over the portal of a church we remarked the pedestal of a statue to which the feet are still attached, of such very delicate and elaborate workmanship, that one might easily conceive it to have adorned that Altar of Love erected by Charmus, which Pausanias informs us stood at the entrance of the Academy*.

After searching in vain for the monument of Plato, we arrived at the banks of the Cephissus, the ancient rival of Ilissus, and its superior in point of utility, flowing through the rich and fertile plains which it still adorns with verdure, fruits, and flowers. A scene more delightful can scarcely be conceived than the gardens on its banks which extend from the site of the academy up to the very hills of Colonos. All the images in that exquisite Chorus of Sophocles, where he dilates with so much rapture upon the beauties of his native place, may still be verified†. The crocus, the narcissus, and a thousand flowers still mingle their various dyes and impregnate the atmosphere with odours: the descendants of those ancient olives upon which the eye of Morian Jupiter was fixed in vigilant care‡, still spread their broad arms and form a shade impervious to the sun: in the opening of the year the whole grove is

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* Attic. c. xxx. 1.—See also Clem. Alex. vol. i. p. 38.

† See that sweetest song of the Sophoclean muse in the Œd. Coloneus, beginning—

ἐνίππου ξένε, τᾶσδε χώρας
ἵκου τὰ κράτιστα γᾶς ἔπαυλα
τὸν ἀργῆτα Κολωνόν· l. 607.

‡ Ἀλλ' εἰς Ακαδημίαν κατιών, ὑπὸ ταῖς μορίαις ἀποθρέξεις. Aristoph. Nub. 1001. They were transplanted here from the sacred olive called Ασὴ and Παγκυφος, which grew in the Erectheum. Vid. Hesych. in voc. ἀσὴ and Suid. in voc. μορίαι· See also a quotation in the Schol. upon the Œdip. Col. of Sophocles, l. 730. "Εἶναι δὲ χλάδον τῆς ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ ἐλάιας, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀκροπόλει φυτευθῆναί φασιν."

vocal with the melody of the nightingale, and at its close the purple clusters, the glory of Bacchus, hang around the trellis-work with which the numerous cottages and villas are adorned. Oranges, apricots, peaches, and figs, but especially the latter, are produced here of the most superior flavour; and at the time I wandered through this delightful region, it was glittering with golden quinces weighing the branches down to the ground, and beautifully contrasted with the deep scarlet of the pomegranates which had burst their confining rind: nor can any thing be more charming than the views which continually present themselves to the eye through vistas of dark foliage: on one hand the temple-crowned Acropolis, Hymettes, Anchesmus, and Pentelicus—on the other the fine wavy outlines of Corydalus, Ægaleos, and Parnes:

> Dives et Ægaleos nemorum Parnesque benignus
> Vitibus.

This terrestrial paradise owes its beauty and fertility to the Cephissus, from whose perennial fountains it is irrigated*, and over whose innumerable rills† those soft breezes blow, which, according to the ancient muse, were wafted by the Cytherean queen herself:

> Καλλινάϑ δ' ἐπὶ Κηφισῦ ῥοαῖς
> Τὰν Κύπριν κλητίζουσιν ἀφυ
> -σαμέναν χώραν καταπνεῦσαι
> μετρίας ἀνέμων
> ἡδυπνόους ἄυρας· Eurip. Med. 835.

But let the incautious stranger beware: death hovers in the balmy breeze, and the smiling atmosphere is pregnant with destruction: the malaria, that pest of southern Europe, lurks amidst these delicious retreats; and if one slept but for a night within the precincts of the aca-

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* ἀδ' ἄϋπνοι
Κρῆναι μινύϑουσι
Κηφισοῦ νομάδες ῥεέϑρων· Œd. Col. i. 685.

† The Cephissus is the property of the vaivode, who lets it out to the tenants of the gardens at Colonos and the academy: a certain price is paid according to the breadth and depth of the duct which each proprietor may require for the purposes of irrigation. This river was worshipped at Athens under the form of a man with the horns of a bull upon his head. (Ælian. V. Hist. l. ii. c. 33.)

demy, that sleep might be his last. Thus it was of old: the constitution of Plato suffered severely from the effects of the atmosphere where he had planted his school: to the remonstrances of his physicians and friends the philosopher replied, that the health of his soul would be improved by the mortification of his body: a speech unworthy of his exalted mind, and one which sunk him to the level of a cœnobite or an ascetic.

The course of the Cephissus brought us to some picturesque mills in the vicinity of Colonos, where the ground is extremely rich and fertile, well watered by springs and fountains, according to the description of that poet who not only knew how to touch the chords of sympathy in the human heart, but could transfer into his verses the brilliant scenery of his native country, glowing as under its own resplendent sun.

Χῶρος δ' ὅδ ἱερὸς, ὡς σάφ' εἰκάσαι, βρύων
δάφνης, ἐλαίας, ἀμπέλου· πυκνόπτεροι δ'
ἔσω κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνσομῶσ' ἀηδόνες. Œd. Col. 16.

This spot being on higher ground and drier soil, is much more healthy than the situation of the academy: from a passage in Diogenes Laertius* it would appear that Plato had not so much resolution as a Christian monk, but at length migrated from his gymnasium and taught philosophy in these gardens. Colonos was the scene of that fabulous contest which Neptune and Minerva are said to have held for the dominion of Attica; but it derives its chief interest from being the birthplace of the Attic Bee, and the scene of that most beautiful of his tragedies, where the unfortunate blind Œdipus, guided like miserable Lear by his dutiful child Antigone, seats himself as an humble suppliant of the humane Athenians. Two little rocky eminences in the plain mark the spot, which had frequently attracted our eyes during the walk, as they did formerly those of Quintus Cicero, the brother of the philosopher, in his academic excursion.

* Ἐφιλοσόφει δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ακαδημίᾳ, ειτα ἐν τῷ κήπῳ περὶ τὸν Κολωνόν. Diog. Laert. in Plat. l. iii.

"Tum Quintus, est plane, Piso, ut dicis, inquit. Nam me ipsum hùc modo venientem convertebat ad sese Coloneus ille locus, cujus incola Sophocles ob oculos versabatur: quem scis quàm admirer, quàmque eo delecter. Me quidem ad altiorem memoriam Œdipodis huc venientis, et illo mollissimo carmine quænam essent ipsa hac loca requirentis, species quædam commovit, inanis scilicet, sed commovit tamen!"

Leaving the Cephissus, we turned down the same road as that which brought Antigone and her father to the dreadful "brazen way" near the grove of those avenging deities, whose name the trembling passenger did not dare to utter. Here a descent led to the shades below, and here Œdipus, obedient to the tremendous voice which summoned him in the midst of thunders, proceeded without any guide but the Divine Spirit to the fatal spot and vanished from the eyes of the astonished Theseus*. That scene is worked up by Sophocles in the true spirit of pathos and sublimity—I know of none equal to it in the Greek tragedians: it is worthy of comparison with the finest passages of our immortal Shakespeare.

Arrived on the heights of Colonos, we had probably before our eyes the very prospect that was represented on the Athenian stage when the play was performed in the theatre of Bacchus. We looked, but in vain, for some remaining vestiges of the temples of Hippian Minerva or of Neptune, the Heroa of Theseus and Pirithous, of Œdipus and of Adrastus, the altar of Prometheus, or the sacred enclosure of the Eumenides; a small Greek chapel, and a platform cut in the rock was all we could discover. On our way from hence to Athens, my com-

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* ἐπὲι δ' ἀφῖκτο τὸν καταῤῥάκτην ὁδὸν
χαλκοῖς βάθροισι γῆθεν ἐῤῥιζωμένον,
ἔστη κελεύθων ἐν πολυσχίστων μιᾷ
κόιλῳ πέλας κρατῆρος. Œd. Col. 1590.

It was called the Brazen way, says the Scholiast on Œd. Col. l. 57, on account of the copper mines which were at Colonos. Ancient, like modern antiquaries, are frequently at variance; for Pausanias says that Œdipus was buried on the areopagus at Athens, his bones having been brought there for that purpose from Thebes. Att. c. xxviii.

panion pointed out to my notice the remains of an ancient brick tower situated between Colonos and the academy, which he affirmed to have been the residence of the misanthropic Timon. Certainly Pausanias (in Attic. c. xxx.) places it in this situation; but Lucian, to whom we are indebted for most of our information respecting that eccentric character, fixes his habitation upon the roots of Mount Hymettus *—but antiquaries will differ: it were well if all their discrepances never involved more important facts than this. At this point of the road we overtook a young Athenian damsel accompanied by a train of servants, with two horses, carrying home the clothes of her family, the washing of which she had been superintending at a fountain, like a virgin of the Homeric ages. Very frequently several families join their forces together on these occasions, which are considered in the light of festivals. After the day has been spent in busy toil, the evening commences with scenes of festivity and mirth: music and the song exhilarate the spirits of the company, whilst Grecian nymphs in their picturesque costume, lead the dance under the cloudless canopy of heaven, almost realizing those delightful representations of their ancient poets, which we are apt sometimes to ascribe to the sallies of a brilliant imagination. Yet it is only at Athens and some of the islands that I ever heard of these amusements. Frank travellers are sometimes admitted to them, especially if they have been long resident in the place and have become intimate with the principal families.

As we approached the city we observed Mr. Parker pitching his tent upon a hill, called the little Anchesmus, where there is a fine platform cut in the rock, and a flight of about fifty steps leading to it. The beauty of the prospect here is very attractive, and this probably had induced some ancient Athenian to fix upon the spot for a subur-

* Τὶς ὅτός ἐστιν ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ὁ κεκραγὼς ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς παρὰ τὸν Ὑμεττὸν ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ. Luc. Tim. nor can it be said that Timon might have changed his residence when he became rich, for he expresses his determination of building his tower over the place where he discovered his treasure: αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη πᾶσαν πριάμενος τὴν ἐσχατιὰν πυργίον οἰκοδομησάμενος ὑπὲρ τῦ θησαυρῦ. &c.

ban residence. The perpendicular wall of rock adjoining the platform contains several inscriptions, all extremely difficult to decypher. After many fruitless attempts, we only succeeded in copying the two following:

1. ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ
ΚΑΙΔΟΜΕΤΙΑ
ΝΟCΕΥΧΗC
ΧΑΡΙΝ.

2. ΕΜΝΗ
CΘΗΓΑ
ΘΙCΚΑΙCΚΥ
ΛΑΚΙC.

We decyphered many other letters and words, but none by which any connected sentiments could be traced. In the evening, after we had dined upon some excellent red-legged partridges which Mr. Parker had shot upon the hill, we ascended to the top of Anchesmus itself, which lies to the S. W. of this lesser mount, and affords a splendid panoramic view of Attic scenery: anciently its peaked summit was decorated with a fine statue of the Anchesmian Jupiter: what a noble pedestal! The site is now occupied by a small chapel, dedicated to St. George: but if Spon is to be credited, the statue itself existed when that traveller visited Athens*.

Next day I accompanied Signor Revelachi, and Alecco Logotheti, to the public school of Athens; it is a decent edifice with a good library, and Studies for the upper boys are built round the yard. Signor Palamas, the head master, is considered a man of profound learning and commanding eloquence. Aristotle or Isocrates had not a greater reputation in their times. This was one of his public days when he delivers a lecture upon Homer, which is attended not only by his usual scholars, but by all the men of the city, young or old,

* He observes, "est parva rupes inculta et inhabitabilis in qua nihil hodiè videtur nisi statua Jovis." (De pagis Attic. p. 5.) In the same manner Pentelicus was adorned with a statue of Minerva, as well as Hymettus and Parnes, with those of Jupiter. The custom of thus consecrating the tops of mountains was very ancient, and came from the east. Vid. Lucian. de sacrificiis. Xenophon, speaking of Cyrus, says, Διὶ πατρῷῳ καὶ Ἡλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς πέρσαι θύσσι· L. viii. See also Psalm cxxi. 1, where David says that he looks for help from God, and not from the Hills.

who feel an interest in literary pursuits. Upon entering the room we observed this Archididascalos seated in a large arm-chair, with a mountain of calpac upon his head, surrounded by a very large audience both of priests and laymen. The ordinary business of the school being soon dismissed, the head-boy was ordered to stand up and read a passage of about fifty lines from the father of Grecian poetry: this being done, the expositor himself arose from his seat, and reverently laying aside his calpac*, proceeded to clear his throat and to explain the poet line by line, paraphrasing the ancient in the modern Greek, and involving all the beautiful simplicity of Homer in the cobweb folds of an obscure mystical philosophy. The audience however received it with gaping mouths and open ears, thinking themselves most sublimely edified: for my own part I could scarcely help fancying that if the great bard could have heard this dogmatical harangue delivered in a harsh monotonous whine, and his fine poetry read with the utter exclusion of all metrical rhythm, he must have experienced that state of mental despair which the old epigram supposes David would have suffered could he have heard the country clerk tune his pipe to the edifying version of Sternhold and Hopkins. After three hours of patient endurance we were liberated; but before our departure I gave a small sum of money to be distributed amongst the most deserving scholars: this in a few days produced a plentiful shower of literary acknowledgments, both in prose and verse; one of which I subjoin to gratify the learned reader's curiosity, who may wish to know how the modern Greeks are taught to compose *hexameters*.

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* The Grecian Calpac is a very tall and protuberant cap, stuffed with wool, covered with the finest lamb's fleece, and generally dyed of a brown or black colour: it is sometimes surmounted with a square tablet like the academical cap worn by the students of our Universities: for the classical origin of this covering, I would refer the learned reader to a fragment of Callimachus, quoted by the Scholiast upon Soph. Œd. Col. p. 282.

Εἴδεος· ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέον Αἰμονίηθεν
Μεμβλωκὸς πίλημά τι πέτρῃ ἄλκαρ ἔκειτο.

The words of the Scholiast are—ὅτι δὲ πλατεῖς ἦσαν οἱ Θεσσαλικοὶ πῖλοι, καὶ καλλίμαχος λέγει, &c. The expression πέτρῃ ἄλκαρ is well adapted to the modern calpac.

They are the production of a young man of eighteen, who was considered as a prodigious genius*. I procured a very large number of songs, odes, and dramatic poems, composed by modern Athenians, which consist chiefly in lamentations over the calamitous state of their country, and allusions to the brilliant talents and patriotic valour of free and ancient Greece; nothing however can be more vapid than the generality of these productions, in which attempts at pathos degenerate into affectation, and those at spirit into bombast: yet these very attempts must be hailed as the forerunners of more auspicious times. The events of the last twenty years have strangely agitated the minds of the Greeks, which had become stagnant under a load of despotism; the severities of their masters have certainly relaxed, and with proper assistance we may still hope to see taste and genius again illuminate the city of Minerva.

About this time Mr. Parker and myself became members of a society which had lately been established in Athens, for promoting the general interests of literature and science. Its principal object was the provision of funds for the foundation of a library and museum, for printing translations of the classics and original compositions in Romaic, for enabling the most promising young men to prosecute their studies in foreign universities, and for encouraging emulation among those at home by the distribution of rewards and prizes. The patrons of this institution were the archbishop, the Greek primates, and several others among the principal inhabitants: out of these were appointed four ephori or managers, who, together with a secretary, conducted the affairs of the society, which was styled the association of the ΦΙΛΟΜΟΥΣΟΙ, or "Lovers of the Muses:" the annual subscrip-

* ΟΙΤΗΣΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΛΕΙΜΩΝΩΝ ΤΩΝΑΝΘΕΜΟΕΝΤΩΝ
ΜΟΥΣΑΩΝ Θ ΙΕΡΗΣ ΑΓΓΛΙΗΣ ΟΥΝΕΚΑ ΙΔΕΙΝ
ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΕΦΘΙΚΟΤ ΑΝΘΕΑ ΟΣΦΡΑΝΘΗΝΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ
ΗΥ ΜΕΛΙΤΤΑΓΕ ΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΟΣ. ΔΕΞΑΙ ΔΗ ΦΙΛΟΜΟΥΣΕ
ΚΡΑΠΝΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝΙ ΟΝ ΧΕΙΡ ΤΙΣ ΔΙΑΚΟΜΙΖΕΙ ΣΟΙ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ Ρ' ΑΥΤΟΧΘΟΝΟΣ ΚΥΔΙΜΕ ΑΝΕΡ.

tion was three dollars, a sum more suited to the finances of the poor Athenians than to the great objects which the institution had in view; but a superior class of members being admitted, who by making a donation of forty dollars were named ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙ or Benefactors, and had their names inscribed upon a marble stélé or column, it was hoped that the society's funds would soon assume a flourishing aspect. My friend and myself received a deputation of the whole committee in due form, became their first benefactors, and presented them with a fine copy of Pausanias, happy in being thus able to pay off a small part of that debt of gratitude which we owe to the inimitable ancients, by forwarding the patriotic views of their unfortunate descendants. We have both received, since our return to England, the ring of the society, which is formed after the true Archaic fashion, of massive gold, and stamped with the same devices as those upon the reverse of the Athenian drachma—an owl*, an olive leaf, and the letters ΑΘΕ. This year our association carried its projects no farther than the proposal of prizes to the young scholars in the school of Signore Palamas, amongst whom an inconceivable spirit of emulation was excited, insomuch, that parents almost daily came to the Ephori to complain of their children's loss of sleep, and consequent deterioration of health: this appeared to me a curious and interesting feature of the ancient character preserved in the modern Athenian.

On the 18th of November we pitched our tent, and dined in company with Lusieri upon the heights of Mount Hymettus: it appeared from hence as if all Attica, with more than half the Grecian continent, was extended to our view below: the summit gave us a splendid prospect of the Archipelago and its clustered islands.

* The owl was supposed by the ancients to be an autochthon or indigenous occupier of the Attic soil. Vid. Athenæi, lib. xiv. 655—6. The number of these birds was so great, that by the proverb, "Γλαυκας εἰς Ἀθηνας," (owls to Athens) the Athenians expressed the same sentiment of lost labour which we are accustomed to denote by the adage of "sending coals to Newcastle." (Vid. Lucian, in Nigrino. sub. init.) The species is that small brown owl called the strix passerina: they are still seen in great numbers perched upon the Athenian ruins.

About half way up is a monastery with an extensive apiary attached; the honey is most fragrant and delicious, remarkable for its glutinous consistency: it is chiefly consumed in the seraglio of Constantinople: we observed several ancient marble quarries upon this mountain, which, as well as Pentelicus, contributed to decorate the Attic capital: it seems to abound with vipers, since two of these venemous reptiles glided from beneath my foot, just as I was on the point of crushing them by an incautious tread. During our return at night towards the city we observed a grand display of rockets and other fire-works, in consequence of news having arrived announcing the important event of an heir born to the Ottoman throne: the Turks received this intelligence with every demonstration of joy, for, owing to the effects of an attempt made to poison the reigning Sultan Mahmoud in his youth, it was apprehended that the present dynasty would cease with him. On the day following we made an excursion to the great fortified defile between the Acharnensian and Thriasian plains. It is rather extraordinary, but I believe that no ancient or modern writer has made mention of this important and extensive fortification, which, from its style of architecture, appears at least coeval with the irruptions of the Peloponnesian armies into Attica during the memorable war of Pericles: it is about four miles in extent, running quite across a broad pass between Mount Icarius and the chain of Parnes, where it is terminated by the cliffs on which stood the celebrated fortress of Phyle. It is built of large polyhedric stones, without cement, in that second style of Grecian masonry, which may be termed Pseudo-Cyclopéan; and consists of a number of barriers or breast-works, each, on an average, about one hundred yards in length, ten in height, and eight in breadth, attached to which inclined planes, like buttresses, gave facility of ascent to the defenders: between these barriers an open space generally was left, through which the combatants might either advance or retreat; though in some instances it was closed up by masonry, for the purpose of exposing the assailants in

flank to the weapons of their adversaries; nearly at the middle point of the defile a broad passage was left for the admission of chariots, and this was probably defended by a gate and palisades.

Soon after our visit to this embattled pass we made an excursion through a great part of Attica, very interesting to ourselves, though a detailed account of it may well be spared, since so many and satisfactory descriptions of this country have lately appeared before the public. The chief places of interest we visited were the plain of Marathon, the marble quarries of Pentelicus, the ruins on Cape Sunium, and the silver mines of Mount Laurium, near one of the shafts of which we disturbed an enormous wild boar who had made his den at its mouth. The villages of Attica are peopled, and the ground tilled in general by Albanian settlers, who retain without any intermixture their own language, manners, and dress. The soil is very light, just as Thucydides describes it (λεπτογέως), and the harvest much earlier than in the Morea. The corn is excellent, though the bread is universally bad and gritty for want of good grindstones and care in making it: the mutton, fed upon wild thyme and other fine herbs, is of a delicious flavour, but the common people generally eat goat's flesh: the olives flourish as in ancient times, and are the staple commerce of the country; the figs also and honey still retain their former celebrity: game abounds every where, and we shot plenty of red-legged partridges: many of the low mountains over which we passed were covered with the arbutus or wild strawberry-tree, whose scarlet fruit is beautiful to the eye, and not unpalatable when eat in moderation: several tracts of land were covered with the Valonéan oak, the husk of whose acorn is so valuable in tanning and dyeing, whilst the beds and sides of rivers and dry torrents were lined with the rhododendron, the myrtle, the andrachne, the cistus, and the lentiscus.

On our return from Cape Sunium we found a tatar from Ioannina, the capital of Ali Pasha, sent, at our especial request, to conduct

us through the territories of that celebrated chieftain. The terror and respect which his name every where inspired may be imagined from the manner in which his tatar was treated, who, whenever he attended us to the palace of the vaivode, was requested to take his seat upon the divan, and was presented with a pipe and coffee like ourselves. In a few days afterwards arrived also the messenger from Constantinople, who returned with a confirmation of his power to the vaivode for another year, and the papers of the haratch or capitation-tax. He was met at some distance from the city, and preceded thither by the disdar agà and his guards, by the college of dervishes, bearing their sacred axes and singing most outrageously; whilst an immense crowd of horse and foot followed, firing off rockets, pistols, and muskets, till they came into the court of the vaivode's palace. The tatar rode all this time, though it rained hard, bare-headed, holding his high cap in one hand, and in his other the firman of the Grand Signor; and when he dismounted, he threw several handfuls of paras amongst the populace. As it was known that he had brought political news from the capital, the serai was literally besieged both this and the following day by crowds of Athenians, and expressions similar to the old phrase —λέγεταί τι καινόν—were in the mouths of hundreds: at this time there were two parties at Athens, the English and the French; the first of which was headed by Signore Lusieri, and the second by Mr. Fauvel. This latter gentleman had promised to give a grand dinner upon the acropolis to all the principal Turks of Athens, if Buonaparte should obtain the victory over the Russians, when every toast was to be answered by the cannon of the citadel. The despatches and gazettes which our tatar now brought, sadly disconcerted all hopes of this festive scheme, and gave occasion of much exultation to the opposite party, who set about translating and publishing their manifestos with great spirit and activity. The vaivode's speculation turned out most advantageously to himself but calamitously to the Athenians; for Mr. Cockerell, who resided in Athens during the year 1814, informed me

that the abundant harvests and great profits of this season tempted several Turks to rise very much in their offers to the kislar agà, who has the disposal of the government: one of them proposed even 60,000 piasters beyond the general amount, and was accepted. The Greeks therefore, who could not always expect such crops, especially in olives, their chief produce, were in great consternation: for if the harvest should fail, the vaivode would endeavour to make good his bargain by avanias or forced contributions: thence would ensue cruel punishments, with quarrels between the vaivode and the archons, and great detriment to the public prosperity.

The means of redress which we received from our ambassador, Mr. Liston, were most satisfactory, and proved not only the zeal of that gentleman in supporting his countrymen against foreign insolence and oppression, but also the high consideration which the Porte must have entertained for his character, in granting such complete and immediate satisfaction: we received not only a firman, signed by the Sultan's own hand, with extraordinary powers, enabling us to prosecute our travels through any part of his dominions, but a very severe letter of reprehension to the offending pasha of the Morea written by the caimacam or second minister of state in the Ottoman empire. Thus armed we intended to have returned into the Morea, but our plans were again interrupted by one of those unlucky accidents to which all travellers are exposed: we were robbed of a large sum of money by our servant Giovanni Paximidachi whom we had engaged at Zante. Our suspicions were excited against this man by our excellent friend Alecco Logotheti, who had seen him in Athens before, and who most kindly assisted us in our present investigation; the particulars of which I think it proper to detail for the benefit of any traveller who may be exposed to a similar occurrence. Having procured two men from the baloukbashee's guard, we stationed them at the door of our servants' apartment, into which we entered for the purpose of instituting a search. For form's sake we began with

Antonietti who emptied his trunks with the perfect composure of innocence: but Giovanni, as if indignant at the very idea of suspicion, threw himself into a violent rage and all his effects into the floor, emptying out from a bag 200 dollars, which we had lately paid him for his wages, and desiring us in a most impertinent manner to pick them up and count them. Taking no notice of his expressions for the present we proceeded in our examination, which, though it turned out unsuccessful, was quite sufficient to cause that alarm in the villain's mind which he endeavoured to conceal under the mask of indignation. Having ordered him to replace his effects in his portmanteau, we put a few questions to him relating to some dark hints that he had unwarily given to several persons, relating to his intentions. To one of these addressed by Signore Logotheti he answered with such insolence of language and in such a menacing attitude, that we called in the patrole and committed him to their custody, by whom he was immediately conveyed to prison.

The same evening and on the two following days he was examined before the baloukbashee; but though many suspicious circumstances came out, no positive proof against him could be alleged: we then carried him before the vaivode assisted by the baloukbashee, old Logotheti, Signore Lusieri, and others. Many witnesses were examined and several suspicious characters, chiefly islanders, with whom he had associated in Athens, were brought up by the patrole; but all to no purpose. Both Turks and Greeks then exhorted us to extract a confession from him by torture: it is scarcely necessary to add that we rejected such a method of eliciting truth with firmness and indignation. Remanding him back therefore to prison, we thought it best to continue our inquiries; in the course of which we discovered a Greek woman in the vicinity of our lodging with whom he had cohabited. The application of threats alone soon extorted a very important communication from this lady to whom Giovanni had frequently boasted of his dexterity in gulling English travellers and had declared that ours was the

last service he intended to enter, being determined this time to return home rich or return no more: profiting also by a hint from this modern Lamia, we opened his pillow, which was stuffed nearly as hard as a board, and which, as Antonietti now recollected, was usually kept by Giovanni with the most jealous care: no discovery was made till we arrived at the last corner, from whence we extracted a beautiful diamond ring and a gold watch with all its appurtenances of chain and seals: one of the latter bore the impression of a coat of arms. Being brought again before the vaivode and examined upon the subject of this discovery, he seemed no ways abashed, but declared that the articles were left him by his father who had been a gentleman of Trieste, though at other times he had mentioned Malta and Candia as the places of his birth and parentage.

The methods however by which he attempted to effect his release were curious and ingenious. One of these consisted in a threat of discovering to the vaivode a plot into which he professed we had entered with a young Greek of our acquaintance to seize upon the government of Athens; but he succeeded only in terrifying the poor Athenian nearly out of his senses, whose apprehensions we at length found means to quiet by guaranteeing his safety. After this failure the rogue declared he would turn Turk and throw the perdition of his soul upon our heads: but upon receiving intimation from the vaivode that he would then be irrevocably under his jurisdiction, and that he should be cut alive into small pieces, he thought proper to change his resolution. At length chance had nearly done for him what his own cunning was unable to effect. The vaivode unfortunately cast an eye of desire upon the watch, which by a cunning pretext he had got into his possession, and which he declared he would not surrender till the right owner could be discovered: as for Giovanni he no longer thought him worthy of being detained, but proposed sending him to Candia by a ship bound thither, which he *said* was now lying in the Piræus. To this arrangement however we made a determined resistance; not

only for the sake of justice and of those travellers who might come after us, but on account of our friend Alecco's safety which certainly would have been compromised by the villain's liberation. At this time I was confined to my bed by a tertian ague, but being roused by indignation I got up and forced old Logotheti to demand an audience of our upright judge, and to express our determination of seeking redress at Constantinople unless the watch was restored. This threat had its due weight with the vaivode, who had very lately seen a good example of our ambassador's attention to his countrymen, and produced effects far more advantageous than we had foreseen. He proposed sending the watch to Zante under condition of its being returned to him if no owner could be found. To this we agreed, provided the thief might accompany it; which also being accorded, we drew up our case in detail, accompanying it with depositions under the seal of the British consulate (for there was not a court in Athens which understood the formula or the necessity of an oath) paid Giovanni his wages up to the day of departure, and sent him with the watch and ring, under custody of a tatar, to the Ionian government. After he had been gone about a week, several witnesses, relieved probably from their fears by his absence, gave some very important information: one of these had himself made a close body-girdle of leather for the purpose of holding sequins, and another had changed for him 200 dollars, the exact sum of which we had been robbed, into that very coin: these depositions we forwarded immediately by a courier to Zante. Still nothing could be elicited from Giovanni himself, although to the great disappointment of our honest vaivode, the watch was recognised by Mr. Foresti as the property of his son, the British resident at Ioannina. At length by an ingenious contrivance of General Campbell the whole plot was unravelled. Giovanni was brought up for a last examination, at the conclusion of which he was informed that he might expect his liberation on the following morning: accordingly at that time, when he marched out of prison, decorated in his best apparel, he was again

apprehended, and carried into a room, where every article of his dress was diligently and separately examined. His coolness did not appear to forsake him till they came to his shoes, which he kicked off his feet with an appearance of insulted honesty: these being handled, were found so much heavier and thicker than usual that it was judged expedient to cut them open; when lo! the Venetian sequins were all there neatly arranged between the leather of the soles. As concealment was now more likely to prejudice than to benefit his cause, he confessed the whole of his guilt: the watch he had stolen out of the house of Mr. G. Foresti when he accompanied Dr. Holland in his Albanian tour, and the diamond ring he had purloined from the trunk of that gentleman to whom it had been intrusted for conveyance to a friend by Mr. Pouqueville the French consul. Thus we had the satisfaction of restoring their property to these gentlemen, regaining our own, and frustrating the future machinations of this abandoned miscreant who was sentenced to work for life upon the fortifications of Santa Maura. After the conclusion of this unpleasant business, I was confined by the fever to my bed for several weeks. A little before my convalescence General Davies, quarter-master-general to the Mediterranean forces, whom we had met in Palermo, arrived at Athens, and expressed a wish of accompanying us in our Albanian excursion: Mr. Cockerell also having a strong desire of seeing the capital of Ali Pasha, agreed to join the party, which, with all our attendants, bid fair to compose a very respectable caravan.

During the General's sojourn at Athens we accompanied him to that extraordinary exhibition which is displayed every Friday in the ancient tower of Andronicus, called the Temple of the Winds, and converted now into a college of howling dervishes. The frantic gestures, horrible outcries, and inconceivable exertions of these fanatics, urged on by superstitious enthusiasm and stimulated by emulation, made us absolutely shudder at such a degradation of human nature. A sheik or priest presided over the orgies who stood upon a raised step and

appeared to limit the time of operation by counting the beads of a rosary; but the movements were regulated by the deafening noise of three small kettle-drums which were beat violently with short elastic sticks. A single person first gets up and goes hopping or jumping round the room, throwing his head backwards and forwards or twirling it like a harlequin, uttering every now and then a hideous noise like the loud grunting of a pig. After a little time another starts up and catching him round the waist accompanies him in his revolutions which soon become most vehemently accelerated; then another and another succeeds until the first is quite surrounded and almost suffocated by the throng; in this manner holding each other with a tight grasp they go round and round leaping up and crying out, as if engaged in a trial of lungs, hoo hoo, ullah ullah, hoo ullah. To this they are excited by a beating of the drums more violent than the cymbals of the Corybantes, as well as by the voice of the sheik who at this time runs over his beads with an astonishing rapidity: their exclamations appear as if uttered by persons in the excruciating tortures of the rack, or even bring to imagination the place of accursed souls: in the mean time their looks become wild, the foam starts from their mouths, their turbans fall to the ground, their hair floats about in disorder, their garments collapse, and some of the performers sink down in a state of perfect insensibility: these, after recovering, generally boast that they have been favoured with celestial visions. When the tumult has at length subsided, a different set of devotees commence that curious, beautiful, and mysterious dance which consists in twirling the body round rapidly like a top, or as upon a pivot, whilst they are moving in a circular orbit with their flowing robes distended like a parachute by the velocity of the motion: nothing but long and constant practice could enable them to perform these giddy revolutions: they seem to feel no fatigue, to make no exertions; but with the head inclined towards the shoulder, and the utmost placidity of countenance they float along as if they were in the enjoyment of a delightful trance.

The contrast of this soothing harmony, as it might be called, this graceful ἐμμέλεια, with the horrid uproar of the preceding scene, is extremely pleasing. The mind pictures to itself order and beauty produced out of chaos, or the harmonic revolutions of the planetary system*. At the conclusion of these ceremonies some poor sick children were brought before the sheik who put his hand upon their heads and tied a bit of black silk round their arms, for the purpose of charming away their complaints. He received our donations for the exhibition we had witnessed with great condescension, and politely invited us into his apartments adjoining the temple, where we took coffee and pipes with the actors in this extraordinary pantomime. Another remnant of Athenian splendour is preserved as the oratory of an Italian Friar: I allude to that beautiful chorägic monument of Lysicrates commonly called the lantern of Demosthenes, the summit of which is surmounted by an elegant ornament whose triangular top was evidently designed to support the tripod which had been given as a prize at the musical contests in the theatre. The following fragment of Callimachus† alludes to the constant custom of consecrating these and similar ornaments and placing them upon sacred edifices.

Καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις γὰρ ἐπὶ στέγος ἱερὸν ἧνται
Καλπίδες, ὁ κόσμῳ σύμβολον ἀλλὰ πάλης.

All religious rites are tolerated in Athens, except those of the Jews, against which miserable race the Turks are constantly excited by the intolerance of Greek devotion.

Next day we attended the court of the archbishop, who is chief magistrate of the Greeks, and whose assessors are the four primates with

* This movement agrees very accurately with the Betarmus or sacred dance of the ancient Cretans. Dancing seems in times of the greatest antiquity to have been a sacred rite. Lucian in his treatise περὶ ὀρχήσεως says that the Indians worshipped the rising and the setting sun by dances in imitation of his motion.

† Frag. cxxii. vol. i. p. 366, ed. Spanh.

the Logothetes: to this tribunal the Greeks almost always bring those causes in which they themselves alone are implicated; they may indeed apply in the first instance, or appeal afterwards, to the Turkish governor, but in that case both parties generally suffer alike; besides they have an extreme aversion to the jurisdiction of their barbarous masters, which is made a matter of religious duty and carefully instilled into them by the priesthood as a command of the great apostle*. Yet in this court of the archbishop no witnesses are examined upon oath; for when we were desirous of having the evidence of some persons confirmed by affidavit in the affair of our robbery, it could not be effected, since there was not one of the judges acquainted with the formula. When a Turk and a Greek have a cause in hand, it is decided either by the cadi or the vaivode with his assistance; in such a case it is not difficult to guess on which side of the balance justice leans. In affairs of criminal jurisdiction, the Turks take the law into their own hands, and that law is summary enough: the force of gold alone can arrest its progress. The power of the vaivode is nearly despotic, and he may, if he pleases, cut off the heads of men as he would of poppies; he ought however to be certain that his interest is strong at Constantinople, otherwise the Greeks will be able to remove him from his government, as frequently happens; for a greater deference is paid to the remonstrances of the Athenians than those of any other Greek subjects of the Porte. In their own families the Turks retain a species of patriarchal authority which is still generally acknowledged amongst the orientals: an awful instance of its execution occurred about a month prior to our arrival in Athens. The story was related to me of an aged venerable Turk whom I frequently had remarked on account of his long white beard, sitting at the entrance of the principal bath of which he is the proprietor. The only daughter of this person was a woman of exquisite beauty, but faithless to her marriage vows: the im-

* See St. Paul's 1st. Epist. Cor. c. vi. 1.

propriety of her conduct was frequently represented to her by her friends, but without avail; her incontinence became notorious and a matter of public scandal: once more the dreadful consequences to which such a course of life would inevitably lead were intimated to her; but this warning like the other was ineffectual. Her father then determined upon the last terrible expedient of obliterating so foul a stain from the honour of his family. Accompanied by his own son, he entered the apartment of this unfortunate creature in the dead of night: the light of a solitary lamp shewed them the object of their visit reposing in a calm and tranquil slumber, as beautiful as an angel, and apparently as innocent: the brother started back, and would have retreated, but was recalled by his father's stern command: this incident awoke the unhappy criminal, who immediately foresaw their intent and began to plead for mercy: she clasped the knees of her aged parent, and implored his forgiveness by the memory of her mother his beloved wife, but in vain; the fount of mercy was now closed: not a word either of pity or reproach was returned: she was thrown back upon the divan, and her last prayers for mercy were stifled by her executioners under the cushions of the sofa.

This action was made quite public, but no cognizance taken of it by any authorities: the people were all convinced of its equity, and the murderer of his child seemed to lose the feelings of remorse in the satisfaction made to violated honour.

Before our departure from Athens we were fortunate enough to engage a servant, in the place of Giovanni, who had accompanied Lord Byron and Mr. Hobhouse in their Albanian tour, with whose honesty and good disposition we had every reason to be highly satisfied. He was called Demetrio Zografo (properly Demetrios tou Zografou), from the profession of his father, who, having been a celebrated painter of saints for Greek churches, the Apelles of his day, had bequeathed this honourable and characteristic cognomen to his posterity. The next thing to be done was to procure cash, which is attended with more

difficulty at Athens than at any other city of Greece: at length, after some delay and inconvenience, one Signore Avramioti, a wealthy physician, accepted our bills upon Constantinople for the moderate premium of six per cent. for the time occupied in sending and receiving an answer from the capital. The last and most melancholy duty which remained was that of bidding adieu, probably for ever, to many friends who had interested us by their obliging attentions, as well as by the associations naturally connected with their residence upon this classic spot.

At length all preparations being arranged, the General and myself started as the advanced guard of the caravan on the 29th November in the afternoon: at this time indeed I had scarcely recovered sufficient strength for the fatigues of travelling, but the season being so far advanced* it was necessary to make the experiment. For the first time I felt indebted to that languor which disease spreads over the human frame, for it enabled me to quit with less poignant feelings of regret the interesting scenes of Attic glory. Just before we arrived at the little hills of Colonos I turned my horse that I might catch a parting glance of the

* The weather during our residence had been, as it usually is at this time of the year, extremely mild, and admirably adapted to the purposes of a tour. I made very few meteorological observations myself, but the following is an account of the thermometer kept at Athens with certain intervals from December 12, 1815, to February 10, 1816, by Mr. Jones. The time of observation eight o'clock A. M.

1815.
Dec. 12 — 56 Fahrenheit
13 — 56
14 — 57 heavy rain
15 — 50 do. do.
16 — 46 fine
23 — 48 do.
25 — 48 do.
26 — 52 do.
27 — 58 rain
28 — 55 fine
30 — 50 do.
31 — 50 do.

1816.
Jan. 1 — 49 half fine
2 — 58 rain
4 — 52 fine
6 — 49 rain
12 — 50 fine
13 — 54 do.
Feb. 1 — 40 snow
2 — 41 fine and frosty
3 — 40 do. do.
4 — 49 mountains of the Morea covered with snow
5 — 50
6 — 52
7 — 54
8 — 56 at noon 61
9 — 61
10 — 60

acropolis, but the shades of evening had already cast a dim veil over the outline of this impressive landscape: I galloped through the olive plain after my companion, escaped the dangers of the brazen way and the fury of the Eumenides, passed Colonos, and saw the city of Minerva no more.

We took up our lodging for the night at Kassià, a little village of Albanians, within a rocky recess of Mount Parnes, supposed to occupy the site of an ancient demos or borough called Aphidna, where Theseus, when he was engaged in an Epirotic expedition like ourselves, deposited the fair Helen, whom he had carried off from Lacedæmon: she was discovered to her brothers the Tyndaridæ by the people of Deceléa, whose lofty heights at no great distance from this spot would give them a command over the adjacent territory. At this place I purchased from a peasant a great curiosity in the shape of an Athenian medal, which bears the strongest evidence of its being an ancient forgery. It is a tetradrachm of a most Archaic appearance, extremely well executed, but the metal is a base alloy.

The rain, which had begun during our ride, descended violently before Messrs. Parker and Cockerell arrived: the roof however under which we lodged fortunately kept out its unwelcome intrusion, a good fire that we had prepared soon dried our companions, a cold turkey and a bowl of hot punch put them into spirits, and in spite of the neighing of our cattle who lodged with us at one end of the apartment, and the occasional squalling of Albanian brats at the other, we slept soundly within the precincts of Parnethian Jupiter*.

* All the mountains of Attica seem to have been dedicated to the gods and decorated with their statues and altars. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἀγάλματα ἔχει. Πεντέλῃσι μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν Ὑμεττῷ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐστιν Ὑμεττίου Διός· βωμοὶ δὲ καὶ ομβρίου Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι Προσηΐου· καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνήθιος ΖΕΥΣ χαλκῆς ἐστι.... καὶ Ἀγχεσμὸς ὄρος ἐστὶν ὃ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίου· Pausan. Attic. c. xxxii. 2.

CHAPTER XI.

Passage over the Parnes—Phyle—Approach to Thebes—Its Site—Ismenus—Arx Cadméa—Excursion round the City—Theban Damsel at a Fountain—Sites of various ancient Monuments—Purchase of Antiquities—Author attacked by Ague—Departure from Thebes to Livadia—Expected Attack from Robbers—Arrival at Livadia—Author confined by Ague—Cephalonian Doctor—Plain of Topolias—Inconveniences of travelling in Greece—Departure of General Davies—Author's Recovery—Pays a Visit to the Archon Logotheti—An Albanian Soldier undergoes the Punishment of Bastinado—Account of the Cave of Trophonius—Lake Copais—Excursion to Chæronéa—Reflections on its Plain—Description of its Site and Antiquities—Rustic Inscription near the Theatre—Curious Inscription in a Greek Church—Remarks on the same—Albanian Cottagers—Return to Livadia—Produce of its Soil.

NEXT morning the rain continued, and the heights of Parnes were enveloped in masses of dark clouds which came rolling obliquely down its huge sides, in the manner described by the Attic poet*: we were thus disappointed in viewing the beautiful rural scenery contained in the recesses of this mountain, which afford pasture to numerous flocks of sheep or goats, and the most picturesque sites to several convents of Caloyers: we lost also that superb prospect of Athens and its plain which is displayed from the summit, though the clouds kindly cleared away, as if to afford us one transient view of the

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* Χωρῆσ' ἄνται πάνυ πολλαὶ
διὰ τῶν κόιλων καὶ τῶν δασέων ἄνται πλάγιαι.

Aristoph. Nub. 323.

massive ruins of Phyle, upon whose brow the spirit of Desolation seems now to sit instead of Freedom. Having spent about five hours in passing this northern barrier of Attica, we found ourselves upon the Bœotian plains. The sky resumed its wonted brilliancy as the evening approached, and just before sunset a narrow pass between some low eminences gave us the first view of Thebes, a city, which, though noted for the general stupidity of its inhabitants, produced the most complete hero and the most sublime poet of ancient Greece in an Epaminondas and a Pindar. For beauty of situation it yields to very few cities, standing upon a fine hill, in a rich and fertile plain, watered by an abundance of rivulets and fountains, and surrounded by stately mountains which feed those immense flocks of sheep for which Bœotia is still celebrated. The aspect of the country, the nature of its soil, and the quality of its productions, differ totally from those of Attica, but that distinction which once existed between the genius and character of the nations, exists no more.

We entered the city by a road which passes near a deep transparent fountain, probably the source of Ismenus, which flows directly into a picturesque ravine on the right, and turns a succession of overshot mills. This fountain is near the enclosure of the ancient walls, and in its vicinity the rivals Eteocles and Polynices fell by each other's fratricidal hands in that celebrated battle which the Epic Muse of Statius has so charmingly illustrated.

The unfavourable state of the weather during our journey, having added to the fatigues of it, made me apprehend a renewal of the fever which I had experienced in Athens: I therefore retired soon to rest, and not feeling sufficiently strong to proceed next morning, the party halted for the day. Messrs. Parker and Cockerell made an excursion to the ruins of Platæa, whilst the General and myself procured horses and a suradgee, to survey the environs of Thebes. The modern

* Pausan. Bœot. c. ix. 1.

city scarcely contains a vestige of its pristine state: it occupies only a part of the ancient Cadméan acropolis, as it did even in the time of Pausanias (Bœot. c. vii. 4.). If therefore the Thebans restored a greater part of their city under Cassander, it must have suffered this diminution by the ferocity of its Roman conquerors.

A minute portion of Cyclopéan masonry on the N. side of the citadel, and a few marble fragments in some churches, were the only faint traces we could discover of Theban grandeur: some travellers mention the remains of the famous seven gates as still existing; the locality of these however must be very apocryphal since they are placed in the circuit of the modern town, whilst the ancient boundaries are so utterly destroyed and overgrown, as to throw insuperable difficulties in the way of the topographer.

The gardens around Thebes are very luxuriant and productive, the soil being rich and deep with every facility of irrigation afforded by the abundance of its fountains: in one of these, near the road leading to Livadia, we recognised, or thought we recognised the celebrated Dirce: at almost all of them we observed groups of women and girls, employed as in ancient times, in washing the linen of the family. Amongst them we remarked several examples of Theban beauty which most travellers have noticed. In a party thus occupied at Dodecacrunos, a fountain of twelve pipes by which the stream is conducted into a large stone reservoir on the NW. side of the city, we saw a damsel of extraordinary beauty, who appeared by her dress to be superior in rank to her companions. Her figure and countenance reminded us of the finest specimens of antique sculpture, nor could sculpture portray a form more beautiful: the contour of her face coincided accurately with that peculiarly termed Grecian, and exhibited a much higher degree of expression, than it is usually allowed to possess: the elegance of her person was wonderfully set off by the grace and antique simplicity of her Albanian costume, which

consisted in a flowing vest of white stuff, fringed with a purple border, tied round the waist with a silken sash, and a light open jacket of the same materials adorned with tassels, and embroidered with worsted of various colours: her dark tresses were partly braided over a forehead of polished ivory, and part hung down her back in long plaits. Her person, occupation and attire brought strongly to mind, and illustrated that fine Homeric description of Nausicaa, though some circumstances in her history corresponded better with the Spartan Helen; for our guide informed us that the alliance of this virgin was sought by at least twenty suitors, every one of whom was ready to take her without a portion: the father was in great perplexity, for in making one son-in-law he was about to create an host of enemies, and it was supposed that he would have recourse to some expedient like that of Tyndarus.

The fountain where this fair nymph appeared, seems to flow from that anciently called Œdipodia, at which Œdipus was purified after the murder of his father. It was near the gate called Prœtides, through which a road led towards Chalcis. In its vicinity was the theatre adjoining to the temple of Bacchus, the house of Lycus and the sepulchre of Semele, the temple of Diana surnamed Euclea, with a tumulus which covered the bones of Zethus and Amphion, near a heap of stones which had once been animated by the sound of Amphion's Lyre! Outside this gate was the tomb of Menelippus and of Tydeus; (Τυδέος δ' ἐν Θήβῃσι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει. Il. Ξ. 114.) near also were the sepulchres of Eteocles and Polynices, at which, when the Thebans offered expiatory sacrifices, the flame of the incense was seen to divide itself into two parts, in token of fraternal hatred unappeased by death. Above the fountain itself was the tomb of the Trojan Hector, whose bones were transported hither from Asia at the instigation of an oracle which Pausanias has preserved. The sites of these and many other interesting monuments* may be traced, though not

* Such as the stadium, the gymnasium of Iolaus, and the hippodrome in which was the tomb of Pindar.

identified, amongst the tumuli or knolls which abound in this quarter, and which are either covered with a veil of green turf or subjected to the art of cultivation.

In returning through the Bazar I purchased the finest fleece I ever saw, as a cover to my saddle: the price demanded was a dollar, but a native would have procured it for half that sum. The wool of Bœotia is still amongst its principal articles of exportation. In the evening we purchased several curiosities: one of these was an antique bronze image of Juno, said to have been discovered near Delphi; another was a very extraordinary emblem of virility; and a third represented a bull's head, which had served as the handle of some instrument: we procured also a few silver medals of Thebes, bearing on the obverse a shield, and on the reverse an ivy-leaf, with the effigy of those celebrated Bœotian cups to which Bacchylides so beautifully alludes in his address to the Dioscuri.

Οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι
σώματ', ἔτε χρυσὸς,
ἔτε πορφύρεοι τάπητες·
Ἀλλὰ θυμὸς ἐυμενὴς,
Μῶσά τε γλυκεῖα
Καὶ Βοιωτίοισιν ἐν σκύφοισιν
δινος ἡδὺς. Athenæi, l. xi.

This evening I felt very unwell, and arose next morning with all the tormenting symptoms of a tertian ague: no medical advice could be procured at Thebes, but a physician of great eminence was said to reside at Livadia, which is distant about nine hours. I determined therefore to pursue my journey, and to fortify myself, very imprudently took a strong dose of bark. We had less trouble in procuring horses than we had at Athens; for Mahomet commenced here the exercise of his authority, since the eagle of Epirus has stretched his wings from the mountains of Illyricum to the very confines of Attica. Ali Pasha, the great Albanian chieftain, in quality of Derven-Pasha, commands all the roads and posts and fortresses in the north of

Greece and Thessaly; besides this he possesses the government of many towns and districts which he purchases annually from the Porte: an Albanian tatar therefore is absolute in this part of the country.

We left Thebes by the road which probably once ran through the gate Homoloides, near the temples of Jupiter and Ceres. The morning being uncommonly fine, and the sun glowing brilliantly, I at first felt refreshed and elated in spirits by inhaling the pure atmosphere and surveying the magnificent landscape which charms the eye during the first hour's ride from Thebes. Cithæron, Helicon, and Parnassus form the grand boundary of the horizon. These mighty and majestic features of nature, early impressed upon the soul of man, when Greece was free, became as it were creating powers in the poetic talent which they excited: they themselves in return were celebrated by the genius which they had produced, whilst their groves and fountains were made the abode of those Graces and Muses to which they had given a fanciful existence:

Hence "each old poetic mountain
Inspiration breath'd around;
Every shade and hallow'd fountain
Murmur'd deep a solemn sound."

Their lofty summits were now glittering in the resplendent garb of winter, though summer seemed still to linger on their verdant sides and bases.

In about two hours from Thebes we passed through a defile, in some low hills, which is supposed to have been the station of the Sphinx, where she propounded her ænigmas to the unfortunate traveller: we then entered upon the great plain of Topolias, and came in sight of the distant lake Copais * on our right. Here we saw large flocks of

* It was also called Cephissis, from receiving the waters of the Cephissus, to which it owes its origin; large natural tunnels called καταβόθρα, improved by art, carried off its superfluous waters, under the mountains, into the straight of Euripus. For an excellent account of these see Mr. Walpole's Memoirs, p. 303, &c.

bustards, a bird which amidst all the changes of human affairs seems to have kept undisturbed possession of this country since the days of Pausanias*: they fled from us with great velocity, and though some of the party followed them at full gallop, they were unable to obtain a shot.

Soon afterwards I had a much pleasanter rencounter with an old college friend who was journeying towards Athens: from him we first received correct information of Buonaparte's great reverses, and those hopes of the liberation of Europe burst upon our minds which were soon to be so gloriously realized. Though I was at this time suffering great tortures, the incident relieved me by that powerful action which the mind seems sometimes to possess over the bodily frame: but when this excitement had subsided, my sufferings became so intense that I could with great difficulty sit on horseback: at about mean distance therefore between Thebes and Livadia, Messrs. Parker and Cockerell kindly rode forward with the tatar to prepare a lodging and the immediate attendance of a medical man. When they had left us about an hour, we arrived in sight of a narrow defile, formed by a lofty mountain on the left-hand and some low ridges extending into the plain on the right: as we approached this pass, the shrill signal sound of whistles echoed over the whole mountain and continued, with short intervals, during our progress. The suradgees in evident alarm exclaimed, "that the kleftes, or robbers, were at hand, and that we should all be murdered in the pass." The General, ignorant how these freebooters carry on operations, derided the intelligence and ordered us to prepare our fire-arms; but he replaced his pistols in their holsters when he learned that the banditti always fire from the shelter of the rocks, and that the best chance of safety lies in making the least shew of resistance. Our pulses did not beat slower as we advanced toward the fatal gap. The General confessed that his sensations were

* Αἱ δὲ ὠτίδες καλόμεναι παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν νέμονται μάλιστα ὀρνίθων. L. x. c. 34. 1.

infinitely more unpleasant than when he first entered a field of battle. Antonietti cursed bitterly the villanous Greek of whose character he had imbibed the utmost abhorrence, and bewailed the fate of his wife and family; the suradgees devoutly crossed themselves and vowed waxen tapers to a long list of interposing saints; the orderly sergeant stuck close to his master without uttering a word, whilst I, writhing with pain, was almost careless of the event like a person sea-sick in a storm: at length we arrived at the terrific defile, the sound of signals became shriller and shriller, we entered the narrow passage, put our beasts of burthen on that side whence we expected the volley, marched on in solemn silence, and cleared it without a sound being uttered or a shot discharged. I can only account for this providential escape, from the circumstance of that part of the gang being absent whose station was at the pass.

The agony I now endured became so violent, that but for the indefatigable exertions of the faithful Antonietti I must have lain this night upon the bare ground, to which I fell several times from my horse: yet even in these circumstances it was impossible to hear unmoved the novel and compassionate exhortations of the poor Greek suradgees, bidding me "take heart" (καρδία καρδία, ἀφέντι) in the words of a language that brought the picture of ancient times so strongly to imagination.

Late in the evening we arrived at Livadia, where we found excellent accommodations, and the doctor in attendance. This gentleman, a Cephalonian by birth, was much more intelligent than the ignorant person I had employed at Athens, and to whose injudicious treatment, restricting me to a very low diet after the fever had departed, this present relapse was to be attributed. Livadia, from its situation upon the river Hercyna, is extremely subject to intermittent fevers, and on this account a good physician is a matter of primary importance: the present one is established there at an annual salary of 3000 piasters, or about one hundred and fifty pounds, for which he gives advice gratis to those inhabitants who choose to accept it.

During the time that elapsed in my recovery, Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Parker amused themselves in excursions round this interesting plain, abounding in the remains of ancient cities. These are easily distinguishable by their massive walls, of which vast remains are visible, lying chiefly round the edge of this amphitheatre, which is bounded on every side by the most picturesque mountain scenery. Within so contracted a space full twenty towns might be enumerated, many of which existed in all the mimic state of royalty, whilst others enjoyed the more lasting distinction of celebrity in literature and the arts. Here they used to fight with all the spirit of infuriated rivals, to meet for the celebration of their soul-inspiring games and contests, or the propitiation of their imaginary Deities by the pomp of sacrifice and splendour of procession. The traveller, who has read their annals, and comes to survey their ruins, is astonished to find their scenes of action limited to so diminutive a scale: he begins to wonder how he could have felt such interest in what appear to have been the feuds of petty chieftains and the amusements of insignificant tribes. But he ceases from his astonishment when he reflects for a moment upon the genius which animates these descriptions; when he recalls to memory the sublime effusions in which those mountains, which his eye beholds, have been extolled; when he views a more than human grace and beauty upon the coin which some ignorant peasant puts into his hand for sale. He no longer wonders that Helicon and Parnassus should possess attractions far superior to the Andes or the Alps, or that the plain of Chæronea should excite a greater interest in his mind than that of Austerlitz or Borodino. Such a charm does genius cast over historic records!

Whilst our two friends were thus employed, the General having no taste for antiquities, staid at home. Here he had leisure to revolve in his mind the various indignities to which a British officer of high rank may be subjected in a Grecian tour; for having neglected to provide an English saddle and bridle, he was obliged to make use of those

poor accoutrements which the country afforded; so that hitherto he had performed his journey upon a kind of hard wooden pack-saddle somewhat similar to that over which a baker's panniers in our own country are balanced; his feet were confined in stirrups similar in shape to large fire-shovels, the shortness of whose straps brought his knees nearly into contact with his chin, whilst a common rope-halter tied over the nose of his Rozinante left the choice of road very much to the discretion of the beast: add to this, that he was generally accommodated with the sorriest animal in the set, since he took the very worst possible method of conciliating the tatar by those ebullitions of an Hibernian temper, for which a Turk cannot be expected to make allowance: indeed it is scarcely possible to find a more independent high-minded set of men than these Ottoman couriers: faithful and devoted to their employers, ready to undergo any fatigue or encounter any danger in their service, whilst treated with civility, they are proportionably haughty and resentful if exposed to disdain or disrespect: and as the General was not included in the bouyourdee of the vizir, he was quite at the mercy of our conductor. This soon became manifest when he made known his determination of quitting the party and proceeding alone to the gulf of Salona, where a Zantiot gun-boat was stationed under his orders: not a post-horse or a suradgee could be obtained; nor could any guide be found in Livadia who would venture to incur the displeasure of an Albanian tatar. The General however persisting in his resolution to depart, even though he should march on foot, I was obliged to exert all my influence with Mahomet to allow him an escort, which being at length involuntarily enough conceded, both master and man, though totally unacquainted with the country and ignorant of the language, set out with a determination of proceeding to Epirus and demanding the tatar's head from his master Ali Pasha! The event however would afford a melancholy subject for the moralist:

in three short weeks from this time we heard the cannon of Santa Maura firing over the General's own corpse!

December 10th.—I was now sufficiently recovered to ramble about the town, which contains many good houses and a tolerable bazar, though the streets are extremely dirty, narrow, and inconvenient, being quite impassable to a carriage of any description. Its site is most remarkable and striking, occupying a number of fantastic knolls and crags at the embouchure of a great gorge or defile among some hills that are a continuation of the Heliconian range; down these the river Hercyna rolls an impetuous torrent foaming over the rocky obstacles interposed in its channel: the stream is increased near the bridge by the tributary fountains of Lethe and Mnemosyne, now united into one by the violence of an earthquake. The city was in very ancient times called Mideia, being then built upon those lofty heights which overhang it, and upon which the remnants of a citadel are still visible with additional buildings constructed by the Catalans* when they were in possession of this country. The Athenian Lebadus gave the name of Lebadéa to this city in after ages, when

* As many remains, attributed to this people, are observed in the north of Greece, it may be worth while to give some account of their invasion and settlement in these classic regions. They were sent for out of Spain by the Byzantine emperor Andronicus Palæologus, to assist in expelling the Turks from the Asiatic provinces, and the expectation of great rewards was held out to them; but the perfidious Greeks broke all their promises after the Catalans had fulfilled the terms of their agreement: upon this they immediately turned their arms against those whom they came to defend; and having depopulated a great part of Asia Minor, they repassed the Bosporus, occupied Gallipoli, and sent their leader, whom the emperor had dignified with the title of Cæsar, as far as Orestias, to make a representation of their case to Michael, son of Andronicus and Emperor elect, who resided at that place. By the order of Michael this chieftain was murdered in his palace: irritated by this savage and treacherous act the Catalans declared open war, plundered Thrace, after having conquered Michael in a great battle, invaded Macedonia, and passing the vale of Tempe made an irruption into Thessaly: this province however they spared from devastation upon the receipt of large contributions and the offer of guides through the passes of the country. When they arrived in Bœotia they requested a peaceable passage through the dukedoms of Thebes and Athens, that they might embark for their native land. This equitable demand being refused, they prepared for battle, and so totally routed a large army of their enemies, leagued against them, on the banks of the Cephissus, that the sovereignty of these countries fell into their hands A. D. 1312: vid. Ducange Hist. Constant. lib. vi. c. 8.

he led its citizens into the plain below: from this appellation the modern one of Livadia is a very slight deviation.

The first visit I paid after my convalescence was to the Archon Logotheti, a man of the first consequence in the place, who had been profuse in his civilities during my illness, and by whom my companions had been entertained at a sumptuous feast. His splendid habitation deserves almost the name of a palace, being without exception the best specimen of a modern Greek mansion I ever beheld. We found the owner, who lives here in a kind of feudal dignity, a very sensible shrewd man, well esteemed both by his countrymen and foreigners. He had long been engaged in extensive commercial speculations, and had realized by this means so ample a fortune that he became at one time the greatest landed proprietor in the district of Livadia. His resources, though still large, have suffered a dreadful diminution under the exactions of Ali Pasha, and it is commonly supposed that he will in the end fall a sacrifice to the avarice of that tyrant.

I found the court and anterooms of this mansion nearly filled with a train of dependants, who as they were admitted into the presence-chamber, treated their master with a respect bordering on that due to royalty: both men and women reverently saluted him, some kissing his hand, others raising the hem of his garment to their lips, and many kissing their own fingers after they had been in contact with his*. They approached him bare-footed, having left their shoes in that space which in all Greek and Turkish apartments is sunk below the level of the floor, round which the ivan or sofa is raised. As the archon spoke Italian with great fluency, we entered in conversation respecting the political state of Greece and the British occupation of the Ionian islands. I found that, like many others, he hailed this ap-

* In these ceremonies the reader may recognise the προσκύνησις or adoratio of the ancients: the very form of words now uttered is σᾶς προσκυνῶ, ἀφέντι.

proximation of our free islanders to the shores of enslaved Greece as the morning-star of liberty, and looked forward with exultation to the benefits which might result to his countrymen from the extension of knowledge and good principles amongst them. When I mentioned the plan, which at this time was entertained, of founding an university in Zante, he started from the divan in an ecstacy of enthusiasm, and declared that, old as he was, if such an institution should be established, he would arrange his affairs at Livadia, set out for Zante, and spend a year there in the study of geometry. This conversation was interrupted by the entrance of a tatar who came from the vaivode, to announce the defeat of the rebel Servians under Czerni George, and the capture of Belgrade by the grand vizir. This messenger having lately left the scene of action, portrayed the horrors of the massacre in the most dreadful terms imaginable, assuring us, that, when he left the city, very few of the male inhabitants had survived the slaughter, whilst a woman and child were selling in the slave-market for the price of two dollars and a half—such are the calamities of Turkish warfare! After the departure of this tatar, who had been very respectfully presented with a pipe and coffee, I was introduced to the family of Signore Logotheti, which consisted of a maiden sister and two daughters of exquisite beauty. The eldest of these, who had been married about sixteen months, and was now scarcely eighteen years old, presented me with coffee and sweetmeats in the most graceful and dignified manner possible: my feelings, I will not call them prejudices, were rather shocked at this apparent degradation of the fair sex—but it is the custom of the country, and to remonstrate would be taken for incivility—that attention paid to females by the more polished nations of the west, is in these countries considered an infringement upon the man's natural prerogative.

From the mansion of the archon I proceeded towards the spot where the cavern of Trophonius is supposed to have existed, a curiosity more celebrated in Grecian annals than the valour or virtues of the Leba-

deans. In passing with Antonietti, near the gate of the vaivôde's serai, we observed an Albanian soldier undergoing the punishment of the bastinado: the culprit being thrown flat upon his back in the street, his feet and legs were raised into a perpendicular position by means of a long pole, to the middle of which a cord was attached and tied round his ancles: two men stood at each end of this pole, holding up his feet to receive the punishment, which two others inflicted with sticks of moderate size, beating alternately upon the sole of each foot. As the discipline was not intended to be very severe, his shoes were not taken off, nor were the blows laid on with a heavy hand; notwithstanding this he made the most outrageous cries, articulating the monosyllable boo, boo, boo, with an astonishing rapidity of utterance: this affecting appeal however did not move a muscle in the face of the baloukbashee, who sat upon a large stone inspecting the operation and smoking his pipe with perfect indifference. When the offender had received about 100 strokes, he was released, and seemed to suffer no impediment in his gait from the discipline he had undergone.

Advancing about fifty yards we crossed the Hercyna upon a fine stone bridge of one arch; opposite is a fissure in the rock which many have attempted to identify with the cavern of Trophonius. This fissure is partly natural and partly artificial in the perpendicular side of the precipice: near it are cut several niches apparently for the reception of votive offerings, and the rock in front is levelled into a platform a few yards square. The aperture is scarcely large enough to admit the body of a moderate man, and the interior fissure, which is nearly filled up with rubbish, seems far too small.

The cavern of Trophonius is described by historians as descending at the first perpendicularly into the earth, the orifice being surrounded by a circular basement of marble adorned with brazen obelisks or turrets; the situation of the oracle is fixed upon one of those lofty crags

or cliffs which tower above the city*, at some distance from the dwellings of the inhabitants, higher up the valley beyond the sacred grove dedicated to Trophonius, where Pausanias places the very source of the Hercyna (Bœot. c. xxxix. 2.). How far these circumstantial details agree with the commonly received locality of the adytum, future travellers must judge; the reader would scarcely derive pleasure from a prolonged discussion†. But whoever may visit the spot with time and opportunity, I would strongly recommend him to institute an excavation; if this should not be the direct opening of the shrine, it may have a secret connexion with it, like that outlet through which the corpse of Demetrius's soldier was expelled, who intruded into the oracle for the purpose of discovering its treasures, and was murdered by the priests‡: it would be very easy to obtain permission from Ali Pasha to dig here, or at Delphi, or any other unexplored site, under a compact of dividing with him the treasures that might be discovered. When this nefarious oracle§ was destroyed it is difficult to determine, but it seems to have served as a model for a similar den of corruption at Constantinople under the reign of Michael, son of Theophilus, and his mother Theodora: it was constructed by the prior of a

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* Ὁρᾶται δὲ (τὸ μαντῆιον) ἐκ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, μικρὸν δ' ἄνω τῦ ἱερῦ ἐν ΓΗΛΟΦΩι, συγκλέιεσι δ' ἀντὸ σιδήρεοι ὀβελίσκοι, κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες· Philost. in vit. Apollon. l. viii.

Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μαντεῖον ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος ἐπὶ τῦ ὄρυς· Pausan. Bœot. c. xxxix. 5.

† The proximity of the springs of memory and oblivion on the other side the river is brought forward in favour of the received opinion—but the identity of these is but an assumption; an earthquake has lately united their streams, and they may have been produced by a similar convulsion long after the oracular shrine had ceased to delude its votaries.

‡ Paus. Bœot. c. xxxix. 5.

§ The architects of this shrine were the celebrated Trophonius and Agamedes, the former of whom delivered his oracles under the appellation of Jupiter. This impertinent appropriation of the title of the supreme Deity was not uncommon amongst the Greeks. Vid. Cl. Alex. v. ii. p. 32. Agamemnon assumed it in Sparta according to Lycophron, v. 1123.

Ἐμὸς δ' ἀκόιτης, δμώιδος νύμφης ἄναξ
Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις ἀιμύλοις κληθήσεται·

Nothing could have been better adapted to bring this practice into disrepute than the impudence of Menecrates and the sarcastic reply of Philip.

convent named Jannes, and dedicated to the most licentious impurities, in the gardens of his brother's palace, on the same site where the monastery of St. Phocas was subsequently erected*.

From the bridge we ascended to the high precipice on the left bank of the river which is adorned by the picturesque ruins of a strong fortress: a few broken capitals and pieces of cornice are the only remnants of antiquity, but the reservoirs for water are in a state of great perfection: in the side of the opposite crag, over the Hercyna, we observed an excavation which is sometimes used in celebrating the rites of the Christian church, the worshippers being drawn up to this aerial shrine by an iron chain fastened to a staple in the rock: the figure of a large crucifix is carved over the aperture.

The weather being at this time very mild I felt my health improved by the ramble, and was able at dinner to partake of some fine eels of an extraordinary size, which had been sent us by the Greek primates of the city: they were caught in the Lake Copais, which as in ancient times still supplies the country around with fish and wild-fowl. One of these eels weighed seven pounds, though they are often caught as heavy as twelve and fourteen: they are firm in flesh and of a delicious flavour; great quantities are salted and find a ready sale at Constantinople and other marts of Greece†.

Copais was also equally celebrated for the fine reeds which grew upon its banks, from which the best flutes or pipes were made‡; these are cut in the present day by the pastoral inhabitants of the plains for their monaulos and syrinx, which they use in rustic melody,

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* Ὑπόγαιόν τι κατασκευάσας ἐνδιαίτημα καὶ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ προσόμοιον, &c. Cedreni Hist. Comp. p. 537.

† We find them very celebrated in the catalogues of ancient dainties, and particularly prized at Athens: they are called by Pausanias μεγέθει μέγισται καὶ ἐσθίειν ἥδισται; Bœot. c. xxiv. 2. See also Aristoph. Εἰρην. 1003. Jul. Poll. l. iv. c. 10, &c.

‡ For a full account of these reeds, their nature, uses, growth, and times of cutting, see Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xvi. c. 36. De Orchomenii Lacûs harundinetis accuratius dici cogit admiratio antiqua, &c.

though the Pythian or Charitensian games no longer exist to draw forth their emulative strains.

Λαοσσόων μναςῆρ' ἀγώνων,
Λεπτῶν διανισσόμενον
Χαλκῶν θ' ἅμα καὶ δονάκων
Τοὶ παρὰ καλλιχόρῳ
Νάιοισι πόλει Χαρίτων
Καφισίδος ἐν τεμένει,
Πισὸι χορευτᾶν μάρτυρες· Pind. Py. Od. xii. 42.

Next day I felt strong enough to accompany my friends to the famous plain of Chæronéa, where the free spirit and virtues of ancient Greece expired; where the elastic spring was broken which set in motion all those talents that astonished and improved mankind. Having mounted our horses, we crossed the Hercyna, just below the city amongst the gardens, and took a northerly direction inclining a little to the west. During the ride some reflections naturally occurred upon those republics of ancient Greece which fell prostrate at Chæronéa before the power of Philip. None ever rose more rapidly or fell more suddenly: their origin being public virtue, they quickly attained to eminence in wealth and power and glory; but these very qualities, in their reaction, destroyed the fabric, like a tree whose bark is burst by its superabundant sap: during their progress towards perfection, no states ever exhibited such examples of patriotism and valour, none ever inspired such a spirit of emulation; but when the popular assemblies became corrupt, when the odium of venality became too divided, and its disgrace too general to influence the conduct, the people themselves became the enemies of liberty, and those constitutions in which public opinion had no power of restraint, fell by the first impulse of external force. Thus it ever has been, and, as it would seem, must ever be with a republican form of government—it rises in liberty, it degenerates into democracy, and it ends in despotism!

In two hours we arrived at the fatal plain: it is surrounded by a fine amphitheatre of hills, at one corner of which Parnassus rears aloft his gigantic head, and at another an opening leads towards the great Lake of Topolias. The Chæronéan plain itself lies like a noble arena destined by nature for the exhibition of those sanguinary contests that have so often stained its turf with human gore*. On the south-west side, in a deep recess of its mountain barrier, stands the little village of Caprenà, upon the site of Chæronéa, a city sacred to the scholar as the birth-place of the inimitable Plutarch. The massive walls of its ancient acropolis still crown the heights of Petrachus, a lofty precipice which frowns over the plain below. The summit of this rock was once adorned with a fine statue of Jupiter, which probably was erected in memory of the trick practised here upon Saturn when he determined for reasons of state policy, to eat his own children: the prudent Rhea wrapped up a large stone in swaddling clothes and presented it to her husband, who swallowed it instead of Jupiter: the pill however proved too hard of digestion even for a deity, and poor Saturn ejected it at Delphi, where it received divine honours from the superstitious inhabitants.

Underneath a projecting angle of this acropolis we observed a theatre in high preservation, scooped as usual out of the rock, with the ground-plan of its proscenium also visible. It is of small dimensions, containing only one diazoma or corridor, between which and the upper portico or gallery there were no more than four rows of seats; the Coilon was intersected according to custom by narrow flights of diverging steps. It faces that part of the plain where the famous battle was fought, the locality of which is marked by a tumulus near the right bank of the Cephissus, that polyandrium which covered the

* This plain was signalized not only by the defeat of the Athenians but by that of Onomarchus the Phocian leader in the sacred war, and of Archelaus general of Mithridates, who was vanquished by Sylla: in more modern times the Athenians and Bœotians under Walter de Brienne were again routed by the Catalans, and their territory subjected to these fierce invaders.

remains of those brave Thebans who fell in defence of Grecian liberty. The marble lion, which surmounted it instead of an inscription, and testified with more than laconic brevity the valour of those who slept beneath, is gone—so also is the valour of the Grecians.

Very near the theatre we discovered a projecting rock, the face of which, being cut into a level surface, was adorned by the following rustic inscription cut in neat antique characters, commemorating the laurel-crowned Apollo and his sister the Ilithyian Diana.

ΑΠoΛΛΩΝoΣ
ΔΑΦΝΑΦoΡΙΩ*
ΑΡΤΑΜΙΔoΣ
ΣoΩΔΙΝΑΣ

These deities received particular attention in the cities of Phocis and Bœotia, as may be observed in almost every page of Pausanias's description. In a small Greek chapel also at Caprenà we discovered a votive tablet in honour of this obstetric goddess.

ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΑ ΚΡΙΤΟΛΑΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ
ΚΑΛΛΙΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΠΠΙΔΑΣ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΔΙ ΕΙΛΕΙΘΥΙΑ.

Near to this lay another monument whose inscription testified the gratitude of the Chæronéans towards a priestess of the same deity for her exemplary piety.

In our road from the theatre we followed the course of a transparent stream which falls into a basin or fountain composed of ancient fragments: near the spot lie broken shafts and capitals and other remains, which shew that the city once extended itself over this part of the plain: we copied here two inscriptions, one of which commemorates a Platonic philosopher named Autobulus, the other testifies the gratitude of the senate and people of Chæronéa to the Emperor Macrinus, and

* * The annually elected priest of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, who was always chosen for his youth and beauty and birth, was styled Δαφνηφόρος. Paus. ix. c. 10. 4.

shews that the form at least, if not the spirit of the original constitution, remained entire in the third century. It would be a curious subject of antiquarian research to investigate the immediate causes and precise eras of the destruction of the celebrated Grecian cities, the abolition of their government, and the disappearance of their monuments: the great and final overthrow of Chæronéa happened in the reign of Justinian, when a tremendous earthquake involved it in a common fate with Coronea, Naupactus, Patræ, together with several other cities and innumerable villages; multitudes of men and cattle being destroyed, tracts of land covered by the sea, others deserted by it, and all communication cut off by terrific chasms between places before contiguous.

Returning towards the village we entered the principal Greek church, which, from its containing various remnants of antiquity probably occupies the site of some Pagan temple: we might conjecture this to have been a Serapéon from the circumstance of a large stone tablet inserted in the wall containing eight inscriptions, all of which indicate the dedication of slaves to the service of that great Egyptian deity: but as no author mentions the worship of Serapis as instituted at Chæronéa, and Pausanias testifies that an Hieron was consecrated in his honour at Copæ, a city on the lake Copais to which it gave its appellation, we may with greater probability suppose that it has been transported from this latter place to its present site.

Mr. Cockerell with great pains and trouble transcribed this tablet, which for the sake of greater accuracy he kindly re-copied at my suggestion on his return from Albania. The difficulties attending the operation were more than usually great; the tablet being in a dark corner of the church, he was obliged to work by the aid of a small wax taper; in addition to which the material is a coarse dark-brown stone, turned in the wall so much out of an horizontal position as to give the transcriber an excellent chance of gaining a stiff neck by his exertions.

The great Egyptian deity commemorated in these inscriptions signified the sun, that prototype of nearly all the Pagan gods*. A Serapis was worshipped by the Egyptians in very early ages, and by his influence the Nile was supposed to impart fertility to their plains. Hence the name is derived by Jablonski from Sara-Api, "the column of measure†," that graduated nilometer, which, being placed in a subterranean chamber on a level with the bed of the river, shewed the rate of its increase or diminution: this column being under the superintendence of the priests they soon metamorphosed it into a god, abusing the simplicity of the people to their own gain and the encouragement of idolatry. They erected a temple in honour of the new idol at Memphis‡; and this some authors call the terrestrial Serapis in contradistinction to the celestial deity of the same name whose worship was introduced by the Ptolemies at Alexandria with extraordinary magnificence§, and which in fact represented Pluto or the sun in the winter months: it was by the influence of Ptolemy Soter that the worship of Serapis was introduced into Athens‖ and thence extended over Greece; the united rites of this deity with those of Isis produced so much iniquity at Rome under the name of religion, that in the year of the city 535 a decree of the senate was passed to level all their temples with the ground: on this occasion, when no ordinary workman was found daring enough to commence operations, the

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* Εἴτε Σάραπις ἔφυς Αἰγύπτιος, ἀννέφελος Ζεύς,
Ἐι Χρόνος, ἐι Φαέθων πολυώνυμος, εἴτε συ Μίθρας,
Ηέλιος Βαβυλώνος, ἐν Ελλάδι Δελφος Απολλων. Nonni Dionys. lib. xl.

Clemens Alexandrinus quotes a fine passage of Æschylus relating to the unity of the Supreme Being, which seems never to have been lost sight of by the wisest Heathens in the midst of their absurd and mystical Θεοκρασία·

Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθὴρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός·
Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα, χὥτι τῶνδ' ὑπερτέρον· Vol. ii. p. 718.

† Plutarch gives a different derivation, from the Egyptian word Σάιρει which signifies a festival of joy called in Greek τὰ χαρμόσυνα. (De Isid. & Osir.)

‡ The most splendid temple of Serapis is at Alexandria, the most ancient at Memphis, says Pausanias, Att. c. xviii.

§ Vid. Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 83, 84.

‖ Pausan. Att. c. 18.

Consul Lucius Emilius Paulus, laying aside his prætexta and taking up an axe, first broke down the doors of a desecrated fane. These impious rites were again and again established in the Roman capital and as often proscribed by senatorial and imperial decrees. Caracalla was a great adorer of Serapis and made a pilgrimage to his Alexandrian shrine*: this vast and splendid hieron was not destroyed before the reign of Theodosius. It contained two statues, one of colossal size, formed of various materials, and touching each side of the temple with its extended arms (ἄγαλμα μίγα καὶ φοβερόν); the other of bronze and smaller in dimensions, placed in the adytum, and supported in mid-air by two magnets fixed in the roof and pavement of the edifice†. But it is time to introduce the Chæronéan tablet to the reader's notice, which I do the more willingly because it is accompanied by the illustrations of two highly valued friends, who deservedly rank amongst the most eminent Greek scholars of the present age‡.

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* Vid. Dion. Cass. l. xl.

† Cedreni. Hist. Compend. p. 325.—If there were any doubt as to the sun being worshipped under the title of Serapis it might be removed by many remaining inscriptions, one of which I copied in the court-yard of the British Museum, which begins thus:

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
ΔΙΙ ΗΛΙΩ ΜΕΓΑΛΩ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΙ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΝΑΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ, &c.

See also Macrob. Saturn. c. xx.

‡ The Rev. Dr. Butler, head master of Shrewsbury School (to whom the author can never sufficiently testify his gratitude for the inestimable advantages which he enjoyed under his tuition) and the Rev. C. J. Blomfield, late fellow of Trinity Coll. Camb. The observations suggested by these gentlemen will be found marked by their respective initials.

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΣΩΙΛΟΥΤΟΥΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΥΜΗΝΟΣ. . . . . ΤΩ . . ΙΟΣ . . ΡΑΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΣΙΜΙΟΥΚΑΙ
ΠΑΡΘΕΝΑΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΙΚΟΥΑΦΙΑΣΙΤΗΝΙΔΙΑΝΔΟΥΛΗΝΕΡΜΑΙΑΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΝΙΕΡΑΝΤΩΣΑΡΑΠΙ
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ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥΣΙΜΜΙΟΥΜΗΝΟΣ
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ΜΟΝ.

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΠΑΤΡΩΝΟΣΜΗΝΟΣ · ΙΙΑ
ΘΙΟΥΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗΠΑΡΘΕΝΑΑΘΗΝΟ
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ΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝ.

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥΜΗΝΟΣΑΛΛΑΚΟΜΕΝΗΟΥΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ
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ΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΔΙΑΤΟΥΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥΚΑΤΑΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝ

As the second inscription recorded on this tablet seems best adapted to the purpose of illustration, it will be right to give this at length, as an example of the whole.

Ἀρχοντος Διοκλεος τȣ Σιμμιȣ, Μηνος Ὁμολωιȣπενλε-και-δεκατη, Δεξιππα Ἀθανιȣ, παρονλος αὐτη τȣ ανδρος Σαμιχȣ τȣ Φιλοξενȣ, ἀνατιθησι τας ἰδιας δȣλας Καλλιδα και Πυθιν, και το ἐκ της Καλλιδος παιδαριον, ᾧ ονομα Νικων, ἱερας τῳ Σεραπιδι, παραμεινανλας Δεξιππᾳ Ευβȣλȣ τῃ κατα φυσιν μȣ μαμμῃ παντα τον της ζωης χρονον ἀνεγλητως· τα δε γεννηθεντα ἐξ αὐτων ἐν τῳ της παραμονης χρονῳ ἐσωσαν δȣλα Δεξιππας της Ἀθανιȣ, την ἀναθεσιν ποιȣμενη δια τȣ συνεδριȣ καλα τον νομον.

Translation by Dr. Butler.

In the Archonship of Diocles the son of Simmias, the 15th day of the month Homoloius, Dexippa the daughter of Athenæus, in the presence of her husband Samichus, the son of Philoxenus, dedicates her own slayes Callis and Pythis, and the child of Callis called Nicon, as sacred to Serapis, they having first remained with my own natural grandmother Dexippa, the daughter of Eubulus, unreclaimed the whole term of her life. But their children, born during the time of their residence with her, shall belong to Dexippa the daughter of Athenæus, who makes this dedication by means of the asssembly according to the law.

Remarks by the same.

1. We may observe that these inscriptions do not subjoin the Iota to the dative case.

2. Δεξξιππα, with a double ξ, is an error of the stone cutter.

3. Ἀθανιȣ, in common Greek, would probably be Ἀθηναιȣ· The dedication is made in the presence of the husband, and possibly therefore his consent may have been necessary, but the word ἰδιας would seem to imply that these slaves were the property of the wife apart from the husband.

4. One of the μ's in μαμμη is transposed. This change from the third person to the first is very common in inscriptions, and was probably used to mark the relationship more strongly; it may be observed in the next inscription that occurs on the tablet. The expression—natural grandmother—is probably added to shew that the slaves (which, if she had a private property in them apart from her husband, came probably from her own family) are disposed of in the family from whence they came, to *her own natural grandmother*, not that of her husband.

5. παραμεινασης. The participle of the aorist here used has evidently a future signification, as the potential future of the Latins, which may be called an aoristic future—cum vixerint—'When they shall have lived,' or, 'they having first lived:' that παραμεινασης must be used here in a future sense, is evident, as in the subsequent part of the inscription reference is made to the appropriation of children born during their residence. A question hence arises, why is the dedication made, which is only to take place at some future period? I reply, that various reasons occur for these dedications. A slave thus dedicated, though not alienated from the immediate service of his master during that master's life, might go into the service of the temple at his death, and thus would not be liable to be sold with his effects. This sort of dedication might confer some privileges upon the slave during the very life-time of his master; it might be a sort of half-freedom, as it is evidently a superior kind of servitude, at his death: some services also on certain occasions might have been received by the priests from such slaves, even during the lives of their masters.

6. Ανεγκλητως is generally used to signify *blamelessly*, and if the dedication conferred any privilege, then the slave who was thus conditionally dedicated, had an incitement to good behaviour if the dedication was only to take place in consequence of it. But I doubt whether such be the meaning of the word here. I translate it unreclaimed, by which I understand that the priests of Serapis should have no right to

reclaim the slave till the death of the person specified took place. This sense cannot be justified by any actual use of the word, but I think it may by a consideration of the etymology: ἐγκαλειν in its first signification is—'to summon into court'—hence it signifies to *accuse*; ἀνεγλητος is therefore a person not ἐγλητος—not accused, or blameless; but properly speaking he is one not summoned into court, i. e. one on whom there is no legal claim: but I do not press the point; if the former meaning, which is perhaps the safest, be taken, the inscription will signify that the slaves are dedicated to the God at their mistress's death, if they behave well as long as she lives.

7. τα δε γεννηθεῖλα· Here we see is an exception in favour of the original proprietor. The slaves Callis and Pythis, and Nicon the child of Callis, are dedicated to the God: but the future offspring, though born after dedication, and in the house of Dexippa the elder, are to revert to the original owner: this was therefore a public act on the part of the younger Dexippa: in the inscription a σ too much is inserted in ἐσωσαν.

8. ποιεμενη. We might expect ποιεμενης, but by comparison with the subsequent inscriptions we find that ποιεμενη is the right reading, referred to Dexippa at the beginning of the inscription.

Additional Remarks by Mr. Blomfield.

1. ἀνεγλητως. I do not think this word can signify 'unreclaimed,' or any thing else than 'unblameably.' In case of their misconduct, the deed to be null and void.

2. If the inscription be rightly copied, 'Αθανις is not, I conceive, for 'Αθηναις, but is a distinct name.

Inscription I.—*Remarks by Dr. B.*

1. ἀφιασι. For ἀφιημι see the βας ἀφιτος, and my note on the Prometh. Vinct. v. 667.

2. ἐλευθέραν ἱεραν· The slave here seems manumitted, yet dedicated; but the priests, who were not slaves, were also dedicated to the god: but then the word παραμεινασαν· can this mean that the manumission was not to take place till the death of Parthena, or that the dedication was not to take place till that time?

Additional Remarks by Mr. B.

1. I suspect that Σωιλα is an error for Ζωιλου.

2. ἀφιασι· ἀφιήμι is the peculiar word used in the consecration of persons or animals to the service or use of some deity. Eurip. Ion. 821. ὁ δ' ἐν δόμοισιν ἄφετος· See Spanheim on Callimachus. H. Del. 36. Hesych. v. Ἀφετοβόαι.

Inscription III.—*Remarks by Dr. B.*

1. Μηνος Ἀλαλκομενηι· We may observe that the pronunciation of the η and ι seem to have been very similar as the word is terminated both with ηι and ιι in these inscriptions.

2. Observe these dedications are all made on the 15th or 30th, i. e. at the middle or end of each month, when the council met.

Inscription IV.—*Remarks by Dr. B.*

1. Observe the name of the month Elthius.

2. The names of the son and father are mentioned in this inscription.

3. The name of the slave seems omitted, unless Παραμονον be a proper name, like the Parmeno of Terence.

4. Here is a great difference in the mode of dedication: the slave is given up to the god at once without any intervening service.

5. μη προσηκοντα μηδενι μηδεν· i. e. free from all claims of every kind: by which I understand his absolute and immediate dedication to the God.

Additional Remarks by Mr. B.

Παράμονον· I suspect this to be the slave's name. It is not credible that the name should have been omitted: such an omission would render futile the document. Θρεπτὸς is a slave born and bred in the family, the same as οἰκότριψ. Vid. Plin. Epist. x. 71. "Magna et ad totam provinciam pertinens quæstio est de conditione et alimentis eorum quos vocant θρεπτάς." Ubi vid. Gesn. Hesych. οἰκότριψ· ὁ θρεπτὸς·— ὁ μὲν οἰκότριψ (ἐκ) γονέων δοῦλος· ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης ἐ πάντως· The distinction between the two kinds of slaves ὠνητοὶ and θρεπτοί, is alluded to by Sophocles, Œd. Tyr. 1123. ἦν δοῦλος ἐκ ὠνητὸς ἀλλ' οἴκοι τραφείς· Παράμονος was a good name for a slave—equivalent to *Domisedus*—'Stay-at-home.' Vid. Xenoph. Apol. ii. 10. 3. ὑπηρέτην εἰκόντα τε καὶ εὔνουν καὶ Παράμονον· where however Valckenaer is right in correcting παραμόνιμον, for παράμονος as an adjective, I believe, occurs no where else: an additional proof that in the inscription it is a proper name.

INSCRIPTIONS V. *and* VI.—*Remarks by Dr. B.*

In the 5th there is nothing worthy of observation, except the omission of the form διὰ τὸ Συνέδριον.

1. The name in the 6th is corrupt. Mr. Blomfield also suspects an error in the word ΑΝΤΙΓΩΝΟΣ.

2. ἀντιθέασι· observe here the Ionic form.

3. For προσηκασα read προσηκασας.

4. Παραμηνασας· Observe the usual corruption of η for ε.

5. The Dedication is here qualified and their services are contingent to the Deity.

INSCRIPTIONS VII. *and* VIII.—*Remarks by Dr. B.*

In the 7th there is nothing worthy of observation, except perhaps that Philoxenus may be the father of Samichus, mentioned in the second inscription.

1. Καφισιος in the 8th is a name probably derived from the river Cephisus.

2. Αμινια would perhaps be written more properly Αμεινια.

3. By the expression συναρεσαντων και των υιων, it is probable that their sons were arrived at manhood: we may suppose their consent is here inserted, in order to prevent any claim on their part as heirs after the decease of their parents.

4. In this and the preceding inscription we have the Ionic dative ΣΕΡΑΠΙ, and here also the Ionic form ἀνατιθεασι.

5. The adverb ἀνεγλητως which would be more naturally inserted after παραμεινασαν is here left to the conclusion of the sentence, possibly having been forgotten either by the writer or the stone-cutter in its proper place.

The weather being very damp I left my companions sketching the scenery, and retired into an Albanian cottage, where I procured some black bread and rough wine, very different from that which the celebrated vineyards of Chæronéa* once produced. In my present state of health I would not have objected to try the efficacy of that vegetable panacea for which it was also famous. But the distillery has long stopped; yet it is curious to find in the annals of Chæronéa the manufacture of a quack medicine, and Pausanias puffing it off like any modern advertiser†.

The cottage into which I entered was built, like the generality of Albanian dwellings, of stones and clay, in the form of a parallelogram, and divided into three compartments: the middle occupied by the family, and the exterior ones by their cattle and stores: we found two women (ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένας) weaving in their looms that coarse white cloth

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* Homer calls it Πολυσάφελον Ἄρνην. Il. β. 507.

† The compound was an extract of the lily, the rose, the narcissus, and the iris: ταῦτα αλγηδόνων ἰάματα ἀνθρώποις γίνεται. Bœot. c. 41. in fin.

which forms the apparel of the husbandman in this country; whilst a pair of infants were laid to rest in a kind of trough or square box, swathed round with such a number of bandages that only a very small part of the face was seen, exactly like Egyptian mummies. The people seemed very poor: their entire stock of furniture consisted of a few earthen pitchers and an iron pot; the roof was scarcely weather-proof, and the mud floor, their only place of repose, would, I imagine, during the rainy season, prove an appalling spectacle to the eyes of a Dutchman. What would these poor people endure if the angry elements of our northern climes conspired to persecute them with their human tyrants! but happily for them, during ten months of the year they enjoy the blessings of a serene sky, a pure atmosphere, and a delightful temperature: nature seems to exert all her power to soften the severity of their fate, and the bright luminary of day, as he holds his majestic course through the cloudless sky, invigorates their frames, animates their spirits, and diffuses gladness through their hearts in spite of man.

Being soon joined by my friends, we set out on our return to Livadia. Having arrived at a pass between some hills about two miles distant from the city, we were much struck with its singular appearance, forming the most extraordinary combination of rocks, chasms, precipices, and torrents, intermingled with the habitations of past and present ages, that ever was portrayed. Salvator Rosa would have rejoiced in such a scene.

The gardens in the environs are extremely fertile; but the fences are formed of such high reeds that their beauty is hid from all observation without. The district produces excellent wheat in great abundance, as well as Calamboci and Arabositi*. Much corn is shipped for ex-

* Arabositi is what we call Grano Turco or Turkey wheat, a yellow grain which grows in a large compact head: the Calamboci is a small white seed growing on a tall stalk which branches out into a kind of tuft at top—both these grains are used for bread by the lower classes.

portation at the Scala di Salona on the Crissæan gulf. The most excellent production however is the madder (Αλιζάρι) for the cultivation of which this humid leve soil is peculiarly adapted. Around the low eminences of Helicon and Parnassus and upon many of their heights grows in great abundance the kermes oak, called by naturalists ilex coccigera*, from whose little gall-nut is collected the insect which forms the finest scarlet dye: about 6000 okes of this valuable article are gathered annually, which produce the sum of 30,000 piasters.

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* *Γίνεται δέ τοι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ τῆς κόκκω βραχὺ ζῶον . . . . καὶ ἔστι τοῖς ἐρίοις ἡ βαφὴ τὸ αἷμα τῦ ζώυ.*
Pausan. Phoc. c. 36. 1.

CHAPTER XII.

Departure from Livadia to Delphi—View of Parnassus—Ancient Triodos—Parnassus the Citadel of Phocis—Defile called Schiste—Arrival at Arracova—Description of it, Industry of its Inhabitants, and tyranny of Ali Pasha—Start for Delphi—Memorials of the earliest Ages connected with Parnassus—First View of Delphi—Reflections thereon—Scene for a Painter described—Ruins of ancient Edifices—Tombs—Monastery of the Panagia on the Site of the Gymnasium—Character of the Caloyers—Inscriptions—Castalian Fountain—Arrival at Castri on the Site of Delphi—Engage a Priest as a Cicerone—His Character—Return to the Castalian Fountain—Bath of the Pythia—Double Vertex of Parnassus—Ascent to the Source of the Spring—Ancient Sites and Inscriptions—Stadium—Site of the Pythian Temple—Misery of Castri—Departure to Crisso—Crissæan Plain—Antique Inscription—Crissa and Cirrha.

THE day after this excursion we commenced our journey in the direction of Delphi, over roads, if they can be so called, where our horses floundered up to their bellies in mud. In about three hours we arrived at a spacious plain upon a gradual descent, beyond which the grand outline of Parnassus was distinctly seen, from his base to the very summit, rising before us in unclouded glory *.

> Not in the phrensy of a dreamer's eye,
> Not in the fabled landscape of a lay,
> But soaring snow-clad through his native sky
> In the wild pomp of mountain majesty. Childe Harold, p. 38.

Here we observed vestiges of an ancient road, worn by the feet of pilgrims, whom evil curiosity urged to tear away that veil in which Providence has so kindly enveloped the future. About the middle of the plain, on the left hand side of the road, is a fountain, shaded from the sun's rays by the spreading branches of a plane tree; and at

* Cæli medius Parnassus. Stat. Theb. l. i.

some distance upon a rock on the right appears the picturesque ruin of an ancient tower or fort, probably one of those inconsiderable fortifications of Phocis (ignobilia castella) which capitulated to Flaminius through terror of the Roman arms *.

Having cleared the plain and passed through a very narrow defile, we entered an open space between the mountains, where three roads still meeting in the directions of Daulis, Thebes, and Delphi, evidently point out the triodos, or triple-way, where Œdipus committed that parricide which was the origin of so much tragic interest. The fatal spot seems marked by some huge fragments of stone, which some conjecture to have been the tomb of Laius, though others suppose them to be remains of an ancient fortification that defended this gorge or defile of Parnassus, a mountain which was pre-eminently styled the citadel of Phocis *, impregnable in its site as it was venerable in its sanctity; upon whose inaccessible precipices a few sons of liberty made a stand against myriads of Persian and of Gaulish hosts, though flushed with conquest and stimulated by hopes of the richest spoils the world could boast †. So heroic was their defence, so complete the discomfiture of their assailants, that their historians could ascribe it only to the interposition of the gods and of aerial phantoms clothed in celestial panoply and armed with the lightning and the storm.

In this passage the servants of Laius lost their lives in defence of their master: it would be ungrateful in me not to record an act by which honest Antonietti for my sake lost his provender. Perceiving that I

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* Livy, l. 32. c. 18.

† Γῆν Δελφίδ' ἐλθὼν Φωκέων Ἀκρόπτολιν. Eurip. Orest. v. 1094.

—— "Trifidæque in Phocidis ARCE
Longævum implicui regem, secuique trementis
Ora senis, dum quæro patrem." Stat. Theb. l. i.

By Heliodorus also it is called an "αυτοσχέδιος ἀκρόπολις." Æthiop. l. ii.

Parnassus from its central situation was also called the Omphalos, Umbilicus, or Navel of Greece, and of the whole earth.

Ομφαλὸς ἐριβρόμυ χθονὸς. Pind. Py. Od. vi. 3.
ὀρθοδικαν
Γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν. Od. xi. 11.

See also Pausanias, Phoc. c. xvi. 2.

‡ Herodotus informs us that the treasures of Delphi were better known to Xerxes than those in his own palace. Of course it was the interest of the Grecian exiles to add this excitement to his cupidity.

was very faint and nearly exhausted by the fatigues of the day, he beckoned me to fall back out of the ranks, and straightway produced from one holster of his saddle a superb leg of roast fowl, and from the other a flask of excellent Bœotian wine, which he had carefully provided and snugly deposited to relieve the ennui of his own journey: these he proffered with so much good will that I accepted the gift, eat and drank the viands, and felt so much refreshed that I performed the latter part of my journey much better than the first.

After emerging from the Triodos we began to ascend a steep and rugged road *, on the right, along the precipices of Parnassus, which, together with the opposite heights of Cirphis, form that deep chasm which was called Schiste or "the cut." We observed several caverns in the white limestone cliffs that towered above us in Alpine grandeur fringed with silver firs. The road here is frightfully bad: our tatar's horse fell under him, by which accident his leg was much hurt; but a tatar despises any injury short of a broken limb. Just before sunset we gained the highest point of this mountain road, which displayed to great advantage the grand scenery of Peloponnesus and Etolia, encircling the Corinthian gulf: the deep valley or glen of the Pleistus lay beneath us, at the end of which the fertile plain of Salona expanded to the right and left, exhibiting its groves of ancient olives. In less than one hour from this point we arrived at Arracova, a village beautifully situated on this upper region of Parnassus, and celebrated for the excellence of its vineyards: neither is the industry of its inhabitants less remarkable; patient and laborious they bank up the light soil upon the side of the mountain with stone walls, to prevent its being swept away by the wintry torrents: they even cover with additional mould those parts of the rock which are scantily supplied by nature. Health and content and comparative affluence were for a long time the rewards of this superior diligence, and most travellers have dwelt with

* Thus it was described by Pausanias, ἡ δὲ λεωφόρος ἀντόδῳ ἡ ἐς Δελφοὺς καὶ προσάντης γίνεται μᾶλλον καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἐυζώνῳ χαλεπωτέρα. Phoc. c. v. 3.

complacency upon Arracova and its industrious inhabitants: but owing to the usurpations of Ali Pasha, the scene is changed: his oppressive exactions have wrung from the dejected cottager all that little store which he had earned by the sweat of his brow and deposited as the support and comfort of his declining age.

We were received into the inner room of a dark and smoky hut, from whence a large party of women and children were unceremoniously turned out for our accommodation. We had luckily brought provisions from Livadia, a precaution which we seldom neglected; and Antonietti being a proficient in the culinary art, we very rarely underwent those privations of which many travellers in Greece complain: the ceiling of our cottage furnished us with a dessert of grapes, which had been suspended from the rafters ever since the vintage without entirely losing their flavour, and very good wine was procured in the village. Being fatigued with our journey we retired early to rest, though not immediately to sleep, for the curiosity of these mountaineers being greatly excited by our travelling beds and other apparatus, we were exhibited like a show of wild beasts to a long succession of visitants. Having deprived the poor creatures of their chamber, it would have been cruel to deny them this slight gratification.

When we arose next morning we experienced those enlivening sensations which a clear salubrious frost generally communicates to the human frame. The summits of the mountain were covered with a deep snow, the streets or lanes of Arracova were frozen hard, and long icicles from the cottage roofs hung glittering in the sun—it was the first time we had felt the effects of frost since our departure from England, and this simple association was pleasing to the mind. Before we started for Delphi, the sun had risen above the eastern cliffs of Parnassus, and diffused a genial warmth through the transparent atmosphere, as if he welcomed us to his long deserted shrine: all nature seemed to smile around us and the breath of Heaven to smell more sweet.

Two roads lead from Arracova, the one by a gentle descent towards

Delphi, from which it is about an hour distant, the other to the Corycian cave * and the summits of Parnassus, called, by a corruption of its ancient name, Liakura, where in after ages the flame of sacrifice was lighted, and the frantic shrieks of Thyades, with the clang of cymbals, resounded in the Bacchanalian orgies †. The ancient city of Lycorea was supposed to be the place where the inhabitants of the mountain fled in the deluge of Deucalion, led thither by the howling of wolves, from which animals it derived its name: in after ages they descended again and dwelt around the Castalian fountain. (Strabo, vol. i. p. 606. Ed. Ox.) The mountain itself was at first called Lar-

* Mr. Hamilton and Colonel Leake were, I believe, the first modern travellers who visited the Corycian cave. Mr. Raikes's account of this celebrated cavern inserted in Mr. Walpole's Memoirs, p. 310, is extremely interesting. The situation was quite mistaken by Wheeler, who seems to have misled all his followers, till the sagacity of that enlightened traveller Dr. Clarke pointed out the true site, though like ourselves he was unable to explore it. Parnassus seems to have acquired one of its strongest claims to sanctity in the pristine ages of the world by its caves, which were the earliest scenes of oracular superstition. Ἱεροπρεπὴς δ' ἐστὶ πᾶς ὁ Παρνασσὸς ἔχων ΑΝΤΡΑ τε καὶ ἄλλα χωρία τιμώμενά τε καὶ ἁγιζευόμενα· ὧν ἐστι γνωριμώτατον καὶ κάλλιστον τὸ Κορύκιον νυμφῶν ἄντρον ὁμώμενον τῷ κιλικίῳ. (Strabo, vol. i. p. 604. Ed. Ox.) "Notandum igitur primo (says Van Dale de orac. p. 54.) τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰ πλεῖστα iis in regionibus fuisse adornata quæ montana erant, quæque abundabant speluncis cryptis ac cavernis." Thus Cithæron, like Parnassus, became venerated in early ages because it possessed a cave or oracular nymphæum. (Pausan. l. ix. c. 3.) Temples were afterwards constructed in imitation of these caverns. Pausanias makes mention of such an one upon the Tænarian promontory before which stood a statue of Neptune, (l. iii. c. 24. 4.) and Hesychius thus explains the word Adytum. "Ἄδυτον σπήλαιον ἢ τὸ ἀπόκρυφον τῶ ἱερῶ." The great Mithratic temple was a natural cavern artificially worked, consecrated to the great author of nature, being a symbol of the world, the exterior representing the surface, and the interior the supposed cavity of the globe. Thus also the Grecian caves were consecrated to the first great principle of nature, being generally found inscribed to Pan, the universal deity, though sometimes the nymphs are joined in the dedication as in the instances of the Corycian cave and that of Archidamus in Attica; but generally the single word ΠΑΝΟΣ strikes the eye of the traveller. Caves are even to this day venerated in Greece under the patronage of the Panagia Spiliotissa, or, "our Lady of the Grotto:" and the elegant authoress of Corinne thus mentions the sentiments they inspire among the natives of Dalmatia. "Les cavernes sont sacrées disent les Dalmates: sans doute qu'ils expriment ainsi une terreur vague des secrets de la nature."

† Τὰν βακχευόσαν Διονύσῳ Παρνάσιαν κορυφὰν· Iphig. in Taur. v. 243. I quote the two following passages, descriptive of these scenes, that the classical reader may have an opportunity of comparing the style of two such poets as Euripides and Aristophanes.

Ἵνα δειράδες Παρνασσῦ
Πέτρας ἔχουσι σκόπελον,
Οὐράνιαν θ' ἕδραν·
Ἵνα Βάκχιος ἀμφιπύρους ἀνέχων
Πεύκας, λαιψηρὰ ποδῖ
Νυκτιπόλοις ἅμα συμβάκχαις. Ion. v. 713.

Παρνασίαν θ' ὃς κατέχων
Πέτραν, σὺν πεύκαις σελαγεῖ,
Βάκχαις Δελφίσιν ἐμπρέπων,
Κωμαστὴς Διόνυσος.
Nub. v. 603.

nassus from the Greek word Larnax, signifying an ark or vessel, in which Deucalion and Pyrrha were said to have landed on its summit after their escape from the inundation: the Greeks, according to custom, changed the name to Parnassus, in hònour of some imaginary hero: various circumstances concur in shewing the intimate connexion this oracular hill had with memorials of the deluge and the ark *: such memorials were connected with many other parts of the globe; and in the early ages of mankind it is to be expected that those great events which concerned the whole race, and which occurred on one particular spot, would by means of emigration be referred to different localities: new settlements would be made the scenes of old events; time would cast an obscurity over the traditions of former ages; poetic licence would alter them; and historians would confound them; so that facts really true, would become partially false, and national records be involved in the obscurity of mysticism and fable. The early history of the Delphic oracle is involved in great confusion, its antiquity being so great that Danaus the Argive is said to have plundered the temple more than 1500 years before the Christian era; and he was only the second spoiler after Crius, a king of the Eubœans. Strabo is quite at a loss amidst conflicting opinions, and Pausanias indulges in all the reveries of that Pagan superstition †, which for the gratification of

* It may be sufficient to mention that the city of Delphi, according to tradition, derived its name from Delphus, a son of Neptune by Melantho, daughter of Deucalion, vid. Tzetzes in Lycoph. v. 208.

† The oracle was said by some persons to have belonged originally to the goddess Terra, by others to Terra and Neptune conjointly, but that Neptune ceded his rights to the lady, who in process of time gave up the whole to Themis. Themis made a present of it to her foster son Apollo, whom she had received at his birth, and fed with nectar and ambrosia. (Hom. Hym. ad Apoll.) Neptune upon this transfer reviving his claim, was satisfied with the little island of Calaurea, which Apollo ceded to him. (Pausan. Phoc. c. xi.) Apollodorus however (lib. i. c. 24.) gives an account somewhat different. He says that Apollo having learned the prophetic art from Pan, came to Delphi, where Themis resided, slew the huge serpent Python which guarded the shrine and took possession of it: and Euripides says that Terra, upon this dispossession of Themis by Apollo, confounded the oracles of the latter deity by the generation of nocturnal phantasms, until Jupiter at his son's earnest request caused the false oracles of Terra to cease. The story of Coretas, whose goats are said to have first discovered the prophetic afflatus is well known. The oracular rites and ceremonies, according to traditions preserved in the Hymn to Apollo, which is generally ascribed to Homer, came from Crete; a supposition by no means improbable. See also Pausan. Phoc. c. vi.

curiosity urged men to evoke the demons and institute divine rites in their honour—Tantum religio potuit suadere!

Having no clue to guide us in the obscurities of this labyrinth, I shall rather conduct the reader along the steep Parnassian cliffs till we arrive at a projecting angle in the road, which forms the eastern extremity, or as it might be called the horn of that vast coilon, whose ample circumference contained the august and splendid city of Apollo* with its oracular shrine, upon whose responses hung the fate of kings and empires, and whose credit increased with its increasing votaries.

> "Sive canit fatum, seu quod jubet ille canendo
> Fit fatum."

At this point we stopped our horses in mute surprise, to view at leisure the desolate magnificence of the scene, and to indulge in the extraordinary associations to which it naturally gives rise. The site is compared by Strabo to a vast natural theatre†, and the comparison is just even to the minutest details; for the city was not only built in a fine semicircular sweep of the mountain, but suspended, as it were, upon regular gradations of terraces built in the Cyclopéan style of masonry: these therefore would not unaptly represent the ranges of seats, whilst the Lycoréan crags towering aloft around the coilon, might be likened to the great gallery or portico of the Greek theatre; the deep valley of the Pleistus in front of Delphi gives an adequate space for the proscenium,

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* Ὅιον γὰρ φρούριον ἀτειχνῶς καὶ αὐτοσχέδιος ἀκρόπολις ὁ Παρνασσὸς ἀπαιωρεῖται πρὸ ποδῶν λαγόσι τὴν πόλιν ἐγκολπισάμενος. Heliod. Æthiop. l. ii.

† Τὸ δὲ νότιον ὀι Δελφοὶ, (κατέχυσι) πετρῶδες χωρίον, ΘΕΑΤΡΟΕΙΔΕΣ, κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔχον τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τὴν πόλιν, σταδίων ἑκκαίδεκα κύκλον πληροῦσαν. (Vol. i. p. 606 Ed. Ox.) The description of Justin is still more copious and illustrative. "Templum Apollinis Delphis positum est in monte Parnasso, in rupe undique impendente; ibi civitatem frequentia hominum fecit; qui ad affirmationem majestatis undique concurrentes in eo saxo consedere: atque ita templum et civitatem non muri sed præcipitia, nec manu facta sed naturalia præsidia defendunt; prorsus ut incertum sit utrum munimentum loci an majestas Dei plus hìc admirationis habeat: media saxi rupes in formam THEATRI recessit, &c." Lib. xxiv. c. 6.

and the scene itself is displayed in the opposite heights of Cirphis. Such was this colossal theatre where deities and their satellites composed the drama! How splendid must have been its effect when Art contended with Nature for pre-eminence in its decoration! when with these solemn cliffs and venerable masses of rock, the stately majesty of the Doric temple, and the light elegance of the columnated portico, was beautifully contrasted!—when all these artfully constructed terraces held up to universal admiration masterpieces of ancient sculpture, and the curling incense rose from a thousand altars! It must be confessed that the view corresponded with the sublime ideas of those inspired bards who represented this holy mountain as the resort of celestial beings, where they delighted to celebrate their festivals and lead the heavenly choirs:

> But when the goddess of the chase forsakes
> Her pleasure and unbends her silver bow,
> To Delphi's wealthy shrine her course she takes,
> To guide the sweetest chorus earth can know,
> Muses and Graces mixt*.

How great must have been the astonishment of the ancient pilgrim after he had toiled over many a wearisome stade to view this solemn sanctuary, this common altar of all nations, when the splendid scene burst upon his sight with all the decoration of pomp and sacrifice, whilst the hollow rocks reverberated the clang of trumpets, the neighing of steeds, and the shouts of assembled multitudes†! And what a scene does this spot still present to the painter who could raise his ideas to the sublime associations with which it is connected! For on this very

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* Latona was journeying hither when she was so rudely assailed by Tityon.

Λητὼ γὰρ ἤλκησε Διὸς κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν
Πυθὼδ' ἐρχομένην διὰ καλλιχόρου Πανοπῆος. Od. Λ. 579.

† Media saxi rupes in formam theatri recessit: quamobrem et hominum clamor, et, si quando accessit, tubarum sonus, personantibus et respondentibus inter se rupibus, multiplex audiri ampliorque quam editus resonare solet: quæ res majorem majestatis terrorem ignaris rei et admirationem stupentibus plerumque affert. Justin. l. xxiv. c. 6.

projecting point stood Brennus, the Gallic chief and conqueror of Rome, pointing out to his barbaric legions the noble statues and the quadrigæ of gold which ornamented the avenues leading to the temple of the Pythian god. It would indeed be difficult to portray upon the countenance of the chieftain those mingled sensations of surprise and joy, of hope and fear, that agitated his soul, and kept him in a state of irresolution*, whilst the gloomy tempest lowered over the crags of Parnassus, and gleaming spears and forked lightnings, the dreadful portents of celestial vengeance parted the dark canopy of clouds. Then the doors of the Pythian temple being thrown open, might display the sacred weapons directed by invisible hands: arrayed in front, or hovering in mid-air, might be seen Apollo and Minerva, with the spectres of the ancient heroes Pyrrhus and Phylacus, Hyperochus and Laodocus; whilst from the overhanging precipices, covered with armed men, huge fragments of rock, disjointed by the earthquake, might roll impetuously over the astonished barbarians†. These incidents would give a mysterious terror and sublimity to the scene, whilst at the same time they agreed with the legendary tales of the Greek historians.

Having spent a considerable time in surveying the interesting memorials of past ages, we proceeded on our way: near the road on the right we soon perceived a great number of sarcophagi, as well as several open speluncated sepulchres, all cut in the rock, one of which presents the appearance of a Doric portal surmounted by its pediment: on the left we observed numerous foundations of ancient edifices, probably those contiguous temples and heroa which Pausanias remarks as occurring to the traveller on his approach to Delphi, and which even in his

* Igitur Brennus cum in conspectu haberet templum, diu deliberavit an confestim rem aggrederetur. Justin. l. xxiv. c. 7. This passage also accurately designates the spot on which the Gallic chieftain stood, for he could not see the temple till he came to this projecting point or angle of the road.

† This defeat of the Gauls occurred B. C. 279. Brennus himself having lost the flower of his vast army in the attack of this impregnable post put an end to his own existence in a fit of irritation from the pain of his wounds and the tortures of disappointed ambition.

time were either in ruins or despoiled of their ornaments*. Advancing a little farther and diverging to the left, we entered the court of a monastery dedicated to the Panagia, which in site coincides accurately with the Delphic gymnasium†, built upon the spot where Ulysses, in a wild-boar chase with the sons of Autolycus, received that wound which discovered the hero to his aged nurse Euryclea when she washed him in the palace. This ancient school is now abandoned to a set of the most wretched caloyers in the world, on whose minds, debased by ignorance and abject superstition, the sublime forms of surrounding scenery fail to impress the least portion of their character. The dress of these monks was rough and dirty as that of an Esquimaux; in length of beard they quite rivalled an enormous he-goat that stalked about the court of the convent with all the air of an Hegumenos; their language was so very uncouth, that to us it was perfectly unintelligible, and the tatar himself was obliged to use an interpreter in his communications with them. It is an extraordinary circumstance that literature and science owe little or nothing to the Greek monks, whilst the greatest obligations are due on this score to their brethren of the Latin church; but on the other hand, whilst these latter have filled the world with the most horrid crimes and turned a religion of mercy and peace into a satanic spirit of fury and vengeance, the former have rarely emerged from their abodes of mental darkness to

* The fourth of these in order was dedicated to Minerva Pronoia—"the Provident," (vid. Herod. lib. viii. c. 39), whence some commentators have thought the text corrupt and wished to alter it to ΠΡΟΝΑΙΑ, Protemplaris, as if the temple of Minerva was a species of ante-temple to that of Apollo, from which it was more than half a mile distant. The original reading was confirmed by two passages in Diod. Sic. (vol. i. p. 415, ed. Wessel.) until Wesseling altered them upon the groundless conjecture of Meursius (in Att. Lect. l. ii. c. 17). Pausanias (Phoc. c. viii. 4.) rightly expresses it Pronoia: ὁ τέταρτος δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς καλεῖται Προνοίας· but when he speaks of the statues before the temple of Apollo at Thebes he calls them πρόναοι, protemplares. Minerva was worshipped under the title of Pronoia at Athens as well as Delphi, and Phornutus gives the right reason for this her appellation. Ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐστὶν ἡ τῆ Διὸς Σύνεσις, ἡ ἀντὴ ὅσα τῇ ἐν ἀντῷ προνοίᾳ, καθὸ καὶ Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱδρύονται ΝΑΟΙ.

† This edifice was probably appropriated to the exercise of competitors in the Pythian contests: at least such was the destination of a similar edifice at Olympia, as we learn from Pausanias.

spread flames around the world, and mask persecution under the veil of piety.

Having partly by signs and partly by words made these caloyers understand that we wished to copy inscriptions, they opened the chapel and shewed us a marble pillar on which some travellers had written their names with a pencil; and this had nearly been the result of our researches, but one of the party accidentally cast his eye upon a beautifully ornamented sepulchral stélé, upon which appeared the interesting characters—

ΑΙΑΚΙΔΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ.

"DESCENDANT OF ÆACUS FAREWELL."

Several travellers have copied the inscription, but it seems to have struck no one that this monumental pillar may once have indicated the spot where the murdered corpse of Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, was interred*. He was pre-eminently entitled to the appellation of Æacides, and though various persons and causes are assigned for his death, yet all accounts agree that he was buried at Delphi, where the inhabitants were accustomed to propitiate his manes by expiatory

* Various indeed are the legends respecting Pyrrhus, Andromache, Helenus, Orestes, &c. The chief opinion seems to be that Andromache accompanied Pyrrhus as a captive to Greece, who, having repudiated her, gave her with a considerable dowry of land in Epirus to the Trojan Helenus, having himself become enamoured of Hermione, daughter of Menelaus and Helen, who had been espoused to Orestes. On this account he was slain by Orestes in conjunction with Machæreus the priest of Apollo and some other Delphians at the very altar of the God, just as he had slain Priam at the altar of Jupiter Hercéus; and hence the origin of the proverb Νεοπτολέμειος τίσις·

Ast illum ereptæ magno inflammatus amore
Conjugis, et scelerum furiis agitatus Orestes
Excipit incautum, patriasque obtruncat ad oras. Æn. iii. 330.

Others report that he was slain by the Delphians because he came to plunder the temple, and Euripides because he came insolently to demand justice of Apollo for having slain his father Achilles at Troy.

Θανεῖν γὰρ ἀντῷ μοῖρα Δελφικῷ ξίφει
Δίκας Ἀχιλλέως πατρὸς ἐξαιτοῦντί με· Orest. v. 1656.

He perished in early youth, justifying the saying ascribed to Alexander the Great, himself an Æacides, upon his death-bed: "Quarto die Alexander indubitatam mortem sentiens, agnoscere se fatum domûs majorum suorum: nam plerosque Æacidarum intra trigesimum annum defunctos." Justin. l. xii. c. 15. Homer however makes him return to his own country and marry Hermione. Od. γ. 188. δ. 5.

rites. (Pausan. l. x. c. 24. 5.) The only other inscription that we could discover was the following, which commemorates

CHRESTUS THE SON OF PROTUS,
A THESSALIAN OF LARISSA,
IN PELASGIOTIS,
A HERO,
AGED XVIII YEARS.

ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ
ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑ
ΛΟΣ ΛΑΡΕΙΣΑΙΟΣ
ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΩΤΙΣ
ΕΤΩΝ ΙΗ
ΗΡΩΣ.

Who the youth was who is thus designated an hero at the early age of eighteen years, before he could have claimed the title by his own acts, it is impossible to determine*.

Having viewed a few trifling remains of ancient architecture in the convent, and the Cyclopéan walls of the gymnasium which exist within the olive grounds, we reascended towards the road; and having passed on our right that vast chasm in the rocks Phædriades, down which the Castalian dews descend, we soon arrived at the wretched village of Castri, whose low mud cottages, joint tenements of man and beast, occupy the site of that gorgeous city which concentrated within its precincts the magnificence and treasures of the earth. Our arrival excited a considerable sensation among the poor inhabitants, who flocked around us to gratify their curiosity by the sight of strangers. Amongst them came a reverend personage, with a black beard hanging down his breast a full cloth-yard in length, the sign of his office as protopapas or chief-priest of Delphi. This reverend gentleman, who

* The title is not uncommon upon monumental inscriptions. Mr. Cockerell copied a beautiful bas-relief at Orchomenos representing a young hero armed upon a spirited horse, with the legend ΕΠΙΣΩΤΗΡΙΔΑ ΗΡΩΙ. It seems that those were styled heroes by the Greeks who had for one of their parents a deity. Ἥρως ἐστὶ, ὁ μήτε ἄνθρωπός ἐστι μήτε θεὸς, καὶ συναμφότερός ἐστι. Luc. in dial. 3. mortuor.

acted also as mystagogos or guide to the antiquities, shewed traits of superior ferocity upon his countenance; which accounted for the tatar whispering in my ear, just before we started, a caution against putting too much confidence in our conductor, who was strongly suspected of adding to his other numerous occupations that of kleftes in league with the banditti of the mountain*.

With this engaging character then we retraced our steps to the Castalian fountain, whose associations have so strong and attractive a power. The sacred stream, like all the other sacred streams of Greece, is miserably degraded; for instead of Muses and Graces, we found only a set of coarse-featured Albanian girls, washing dirty linen therein: from out of the stone trough in which this operation takes place, the water flows in its ancient channel by the side of the monastery, where it supplies the lustral vessels of the Caloyers, and from thence descends into the rocky bed of the Pleistus and augments its stream.

Very near the fountain, or stone basin abovementioned, is an excavation like a bath, cut in the rock, where in all probability the priests and ministers of the temple, as well as the Pythia herself, underwent the preparatory rites of ablution and purification, before they entered into the adytum or sacred place †. Many travellers erroneously style it the Castalian fountain, and some of the early ones, with Wheeler at their head! describe it as the celebrated Corycian cave! In the side of the precipice just above this excavation is cut a large niche or receptacle for some votive offering, which has been turned into a Lilliputian chapel dedicated to St. John, and adorned with an altar before

* In most of the crimes committed during my stay at Athens (says Mr. Douglas in his elegant Dissertation upon Ancient and Modern Greece, p. 70), a papas (or priest) was discovered as an accessory, and a gang of robbers or a boat of pirates is seldom without its chaplain.

† Ἀλλ' ὦ φόιβε Δελφὶ θεράπες
Τᾶς Κασταλίας ἀργυροειδεῖς
Βάινετε δίνας· καθαραῖς δὲ δρόσοις
Ἀφυδρανάμενοι, τείχετε ναούς· Eurip. Ion. 93.

which a lamp is constantly kept burning. This may be the site of a Hieron dedicated to the hero Autonous, since it coincides very accurately with the locality ascribed by Herodotus to that edifice, "underneath the Hyampéan vertex of Parnassus and near to the Castalian fountain." (Πέλας τῆς Καϛαλίης ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπείῃ κορυφῇ. L. viii. 39.) The consecration of it to the Christian Evangelist rather strengthens the supposition, since, as I have before remarked, nothing is so common as to see Christian churches and chapels erected on the site of Pagan temples.

In looking upwards we soon perceived the reason why Parnassus was anciently considered as a mountain with a double vertex*: the error was occasioned by that great chasm or hiatus in the rocks down which the Castalian dews descend, and whose lofty precipices towered above the city with impressive grandeur. Being determined to drink of this poetic water in its greatest possible purity, we ascended up the chasm to discover its source; in our progress we scared away a number of eagles from their lofty aeries, that soared for a time screaming over our heads, and then took their majestic flight to the upper regions of the mountain. At a less distance than one hundred yards we found the ori-

* These imaginary peaks, of which that towards Amphissa was called the Lycoréan and that towards Lebadéa the Hyampéan vertex (Strab. vol. i. p. 606. Ed. Ox. Herod. l. viii. c. 39.) were dedicated to Apollo and Bacchus, who were one and the same god, in the mystical θεοκρασία of the orientals, under different names.

Mons Phœbo Bromioque sacer cui numine misto
Delphica Thebanæ referunt trieterica Bacchæ.

"Aristoteles, qui theologumena scripsit, Apollinem et Liberum Patrem unum eundemque Deum esse cum multis argumentis asserit.... Oraculum Delphicum et speluncas Bacchicas uni Deo consecratas colunt (Bœotii); unde et Apollini et Libero Patri in eodem monte res divina celebratur." Macrob. Sat. l. i. c. 18. And in a similar spirit Bacchus is addressed by Sophocles—

Ἰὼ πῦρ πνει-
όντων χοράγ' ἄτρων, νυχίων
φθεγμάτων ἐπίσκοπε·

And also by Virgil.——Vos o clarissima mundi
Lumina, labentem cælo quæ ducitis annum,
Liber et alma Ceres.

A knowledge of these things was probably reserved for those who were initiated at Eleusis; indeed I have no doubt but that the whole secret of those celebrated mysteries consisted in an explanation of traditions which had been preserved from the time of the deluge, respecting the unity of the Deity, enveloped as it had been by all those extravagant superstitions and infamous fictions under which the minds of the common people lay as under a cloud.

gin of the stream in a small fount whose water was clear as crystal, and very excellent to the taste, fully justifying the character given of it by Pausanias. In deference to great authority, which bids us either make copious libations or forbear to drink at the Castalian spring, we toasted its fair possessors nine times in their own inspiring liquor. But either its inspiration has evaporated or men are not made of such materials as they used to be; for we fully agreed with that facetious old traveller Sir G. Wheeler, who remarks "that it is very *good and cool*, fit to quench the thirst of those hot-brained poets who in their bacchanals spare neither God nor man, and to whom nothing is so sacred but they will venture to profane it*." It is a pity in these modern times that we cannot turn the water of Castalia to so good account. Yet it must be confessed that our bacchanalians have increased to such a degree that the sacred source would soon be drained.

At a little distance from the fountain I observed some traces of foundations which probably belonged to the city wall and the gate leading to Bœotia. In returning towards the village, we traversed one of those terraces before-mentioned upon which Delphi seems entirely to have been built. We passed the foundations of a large circular or elliptical building, on which several layers of Cyclopéan masonry still exist. Such buildings were by the ancients called Tholi, being destined for the purposes of pleasure or convenience. In Athens the Prytanes met in the Tholus to offer sacrifice, &c.; and in a similar edifice at Epidaurus the paintings of Pausias were exhibited, and a register kept of the cures performed by Esculapius †. Upon one of the foundation stones Mr. Cockerell discovered part of an inscription which contained the names of

ARISTAGORAS THE ARCHON AND ALEXANDER THE POLEMARCH OF DELPHI.

* Wheeler's Travels, p. 315.

† Pausanias calls it an *οἴκημα περιφερὲς*. L. x. c. 27. 3.

At a short distance from this spot by the road side I copied the following:

ΑΜΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΠΩΤΑ ΑΙΓΙΑΛΕΙΝΟΝ ΤΕ
ΤΕΙΜΗΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ
ΒΟΥΛΗΣ ΤΕΙΜΑΙΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΙΚΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ
ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΙΚΑΙΣ ΑΜΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΕΠΩΣ
ΠΑΤΗΡ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΑΙΓΙΑΛΗ
ΔΕΛΦΗ ΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ

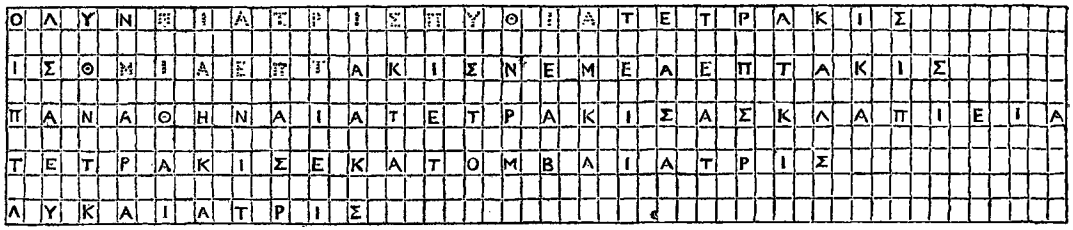
AMARIUS NEPOS ÆGIALINUS, A CORINTHIAN BY BIRTH, A MAN HONOURED BY THE CORINTHIAN SENATE WITH SENATORIAL AND FORENSIC HONOURS, IS DEDICATED TO APOLLO AT DELPHI BY HIS PARENTS AMARIUS NEPOS OF CORINTH AND JULIA ÆGIALE OF DELPHI*.

In a different part of the ancient city Mr. Cockerell discovered an inscription, not only curious for the extraordinary facts it commemorates, but for the very beautiful manner in which it is cut, and the great facility thence afforded for emendation. The block to all appearance formed part of a pedestal, which supported the statue of some champion, whose incomparable merits justly entitled him to a conspicuous situation in this common city of the whole earth, as it might be called, where eminence of every kind, natural or acquired, corporeal or intellectual, was held up to universal admiration. If the Lacunæ that were effaced, be rightly restored, the recorded feats of this hero were as follow:

The crown of victory thrice carried off at Olympia: four times at the Pythian, seven at the Isthmian and seven at the Nemean games. These were the great games of Greece: though scarcely inferior to

* It is difficult to say what these senatorial and forensic honours were: possibly they may have been the privilege of sitting or speaking first in the senate and the honour of a statue in the agora or forum. The form of the letters on the inscription is not very Archaic, and the word ΔΕΛΦΗ if it be used instead of ΔΕΛΦΟΙ shews the early coalescence of sound which pervaded the vowels and diphthongs of the Greek alphabet, and which still involves η, ι, υ, ει, οι, in an undistinguishable pronunciation: if it be used for ΔΕΛΦΙΣ, a Dephian woman, which is the most probable supposition, still it shews a depravation of the language.

them were the Panathenæan games at Athens, the Esculapian at Epidaurus, the Hecatombæan at Argos, and the Lycæan in Arcadia; in the first and second of which he received the prize four times, and thrice in each of the latter. One feels a species of regret that the envy of time has not spared the name of this hero whose exploits might be compared even with those of Hercules himself.



Proceeding to the highest ground of the city at its N.W. extremity, (ἐπ' Ὀφρυῖ Παρνασσίᾳ)* we found the best authenticated monument of ancient Delphi, the Stadium. Its form, that of an oblong rounded off at one end, is distinctly visible, and the lowest tier of seats constructed of hewn stone cut in the quarries of Parnassus still remains, though every trace is gone of that rich marble coating with which it was covered by the magnificence of Herodes Atticus. In the present state it is impossible to decide upon the exact length of its arena; we all measured it, and all differed in our computation, but taking the average of our accounts, it extended about 640 feet. It might have been less than this, because it is possible that another row of seats may have existed which would still farther compress it; but I think it could not have been greater, and therefore I cannot see how Censorinus can be right, who makes the Pythian stadium one thousand feet in length, unless a difference was made between the stadium as a measure of length, and as a place of exercise†. It is said that some traces of the

* Pind. Ol. Od. 12.

† De Die Natali. c. xiii. The common measure of the stadium was 600 Grecian or 625 Roman

Hippodrome may be seen in a beautiful valley which lies between Crissa and Mount Cirphis, at the foot of the Parnassian range, and through which the shortest road leads from Amphissa (now Salona) to Livadia. There it was that competitors at the Pythian games gained immortal honour in the chariot-race.

Εὔδοξον ἅρματι νίκαν
Κρισάιαισιν ἐν πτυχαῖς· Py. Od. vi. 17.

We put many anxious inquiries to our clerical conductor concerning the oracular aperture and the site of Apollo's temple, that

πάνδοκον Ναὸν ευκλέα
Πυθῶνος ἐν γυάλοις. Py. Od. viii. 87.

But he knew just as much about Apollo as the Grand Lama of Thibet: after a long parley however and a most minute examination, he stroked his long beard, and assuming an air of importance, professed that he had heard of an ancient king of the country so named, for whom the genii had built a palace, the remains of which had been shewn to him by a foreign gentleman, and that the walls were covered with charms or talismans. This intelligence, especially that of the charms, which we easily conjectured to be inscriptions, raised our expectations greatly, and we followed our sage guide to a low shed in the village, which, in situation, certainly coincides with that ascribed by Pausanias and other authors to the Pythian shrine. It is either on,

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feet. This was the length of the stadium at Olympia. That at Athens appeared to me much larger: I took the measurement but have lost it. Indeed it seemed large enough to have admitted horse and chariot races, and to have served as an Hippodrome, with which species of edifice the stadium is sometimes erroneously confounded by authors. Vid. Acad. des Inscript. vol. iii. p. 280, &c. whereas in most great cities we find them separately mentioned, as at Delphi, Olympia, Thebes, Mantinea, &c. Vid. Pausan. l. x. c. 37. vi. c. 20. ix. c. 23. viii. c. 10. Still in some cases this custom may have been departed from, and the exercises of the Hippodrome performed in the stadium, inasmuch as Jul. Pollux reckons the ἵππιος δρόμος amongst the gymnastic exercises of the stadium, l. iii. c. 30. The line of Simonides gives us the general nature of these exercises. Ἅλμα ποδωκείην δίσκον ἄκοντα πάλην: to which we may add the pancratium.

or at least near, the upper terrace*, at no great distance from the stadium, between which and it was the sepulchre of Neoptolemus; in the vicinity also, a little higher up the mountain, are two fountains, one of which in all probability is the prophetic Cassotis, the rival of Castalia, which, according to the account of Pausanias, would be seen by a person coming out of the temple and ascending the hill †.

Near this spot once lay poor Saturn's anti-stomachic pill; we were unable to discover the relic, but in its stead we found the torso of a fine marble statue, considerably mutilated, which I understand has since been conveyed by some traveller to England. In this part of the city also stood the Lesche or Conversazione of the ancient Delphians, in which they preserved the masterpieces of Polygnotus's pencil. Pausanias has given a copious and interesting catalogue of these incomparable productions: the Cassandra seems to have attracted the great attention of ancient connoisseurs ‡.

We waited a considerable time at the door of king Apollo's palace, but the porter was not to be found; it was therefore determined to explore its recesses on the morrow. We inquired respecting the practicability of an ascent to the Corycian Cave, but were answered that the robbers and the snow made it quite impossible. For my own part, had I been in strong health I should have treated these obstacles with great contempt, but an ague very much diminishes the enthusiasm of a traveller.

Poor Castri is unable to supply a stranger either with food or lodging, unless he be content to sleep with cattle in a place worse than a pig-

* Ἀνωτάτω τῆς πόλεως· by which expression Pausanias does not mean that no buildings were above it, but that the city was below it; for in c. 32. he makes mention of a statue of Bacchus, dedicated by the Cnidians, which would occur in the path of a person ascending a little from the temple, ἐπαναβάντι ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου, and beyond even the fountain Cassotis, which was *above* the temple, he places the Lesche. Phoc. c. 25. 1.

† The expression of Pausanias is τραπέντι ἐς ἀριστερά, which I translate "ascending the hill," taking it for granted that the temple faced E. and W. a circumstance however which rests upon more than mere conjecture, as will be shewn hereafter.

‡ Lucian. Imag. 27.

sty, and eat bread, in comparison with which that of Sparta would have been a dainty. Those times are gone by when the pampered herald called the assembled multitudes of Delphi to superstition's feast*. Having therefore ordered out our horses, the officious papas held our stirrups as we mounted, and obsequiously kissed our hands in return for the remuneration which he received! How is the character of a people to be raised whilst such are their pastors!

The road by which we departed towards Crissa leads round the western point or horn of the great Parnassian coilon, close to the spot where Eumenes King of Pergamus was attacked by the banditti of Perseus; the locality is precisely marked by the nature of the ground and adjoining rocks, which served as a place of concealment to the assassins†. From thence we began to descend over a steep and rugged road into the spacious plain that extends from the Crissæan bay up to the celebrated city of Amphissa, which is still important enough to give its modern name of Salona to the gulf, and is the residence of a vaivode. This plain once lay under an Amphictyonic curse, which prohibited the plantation of a tree upon it: now it is covered with the finest olive trees I ever beheld, and which seem to have stood for centuries. In rather less than two hours we arrived at Crissa, which has altered its ancient name only in its termination, being now called Crisso. Here we found Antonietti and our baggage which we had sent by a shorter cut from Arracova, down the valley of the Pleistus. Crisso is a respectable village containing a population of about eight hundred souls, and is the residence of a bishop. It is well watered with rivulets and fountains, but contains very few vestiges of antiquity: the absence of these may perhaps be referred to the total destruction of this city by the Amphictyons, and its dedica-

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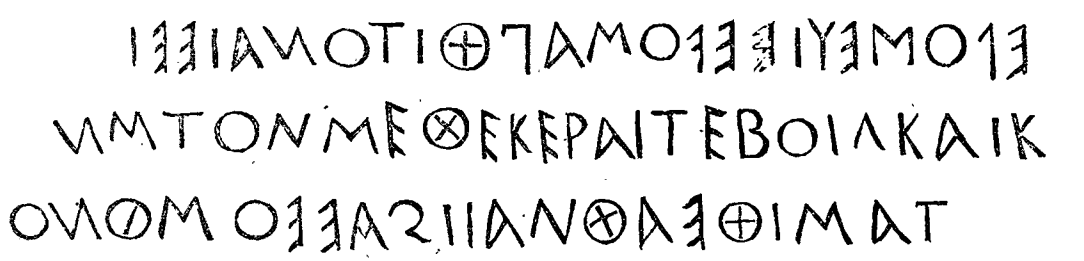
* Ἐν δ' ἄκροισι βὰς ποσὶ
Κήρυξ ἀνεῖπε τὸν Δέλοντ' ἐγχωρίων
Ἐς δᾶιτα χωρεῖν· Ion. 1166.

† Liv. l. xlii. c. 15.

tion to Apollo. I made inquiries for a very curious inscription which Mr. Gropius had copied here, and of which he had given me a facsimile at Athens, but in vain; the ignorance of the Greeks upon these points is excessive, and the traveller must rarely indeed expect from them the least elucidation of his doubts or assistance in his researches. The inscription itself is so curious from its extreme antiquity as to warrant my insertion of it in this place: it has occupied the attention of many learned men in this country, but no one has succeeded in developing the slightest part of its signification. The Boustrophedon mode of writing, and the Digamma, which it appears to contain, are additional proofs of its high antiquity*.



Much has been said concerning the locality of Crissa and of its rival Cirrha; nay, even the existence of one of these cities has been confidently called in question, and it has been supposed that they were in fact the same town under different names. This decision rests chiefly upon the authority of Pausanias†, in whose time they were so totally destroyed‡ that probably one of them escaped his observation,

* This inscription is alluded to by the learned Bishop of Llandaff in his admirable work, entitled, Horæ Pelasgicæ, p. 74.

† Phoc. c. xxxvii. 4.

‡ So they were even in the days of Strabo: ἡ δὲ Κίρρα καὶ ἡ Κρίσσα κατεσπάσθησαν. (Vol. i. p. 667. ed. Ox.) Cirrha was razed by the Crissæans, and Crissa by Eurylochus the Thessalian, during the Crissæan war: for when the Crissæans had risen to opulence and power by their city becoming a great commercial emporium on the destruction of its rival, they levied such high duties upon all imports, and such exactions upon those who came to visit the Oracle, in spite of the Amphictyonic command, as to bring down upon themselves the wrath of that great confederacy. Even to very late times

whereas it is in direct opposition to Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny, and to the observations of modern travellers who have discovered the ruins of a city, nearer the sea than Crissa, which very accurately coincides in site with that laid down by the ancient geographers for Cirrha. These ruins are at a place called Xeropegano under Mount Cirphis, near the embouchure of the river Pleistus, about three hours from Delphi*.

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the name of Cirrha seems to have been retained for the port of Crissa, though the latter gave its name to the gulf. Τῷ Κρισαίῳ κόλπῳ διὰ τε τῆ Κίρρᾳ προσορμισθεὶς ἐκ νεὼς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέθεον. Heliod. Œthiop. l. ii.

* Ὑποπέπτωκε δὲ τῇ Κίρφει πόλις ἀρχαία Κίρρα ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἱδρυμένη· ἀφ' ἧς ἀνάβασις εἰς Δελφοὺς ἑγδοήκοντά πῃ σταδίων· ἵδρυται δ' ἀπαντικρὺ Σικυῶνος· Πρόκειται δὲ τῆς Κίρρας τὸ Κρισσᾶιον πεδίον εὔδαιμον· Πάλιν δ' ἐφεξῆς ἐστιν ἄλλη πόλις ΚΡΙΣΣΑ ἀφ' ἧς ὁ Κόλπος Κρισσᾶιος.—Strab. vol. i. 606. ed. Ox.

I think no one can doubt but that the village now called Crisso, and which contains the foundations of ancient walls and aqueducts, &c. is on the site of this last mentioned city.

Sepulchre at Delphi on the road to Crissa.

CHAPTER XIII.

Reascend the Heights of Parnassus—Church of St. Elias—View from thence—Fine semicircular Seat—Reflections on the Ruins of Delphi—Ancient Sepulchre—Shed supposed to be a remnant of the Pythian Temple—One of its Walls covered with Inscriptions—Copy of one in which mention is made of the Pythian Apollo—Historical Account of the successive Pythian Temples—Description of the last which remained entire in the Days of Pausanias—Contractors and Architect—Materials of the Building—Form and Species—Sculpture on the Pediments—Statuaries—Armour suspended on the Architrave—Sculpture of the Metopes and of the Frieze—Inscription over the Pronaos—Ornaments of it—Cella, with its Ornaments—Adytum—Statue of the God—Its Deportation to Byzantium—Oracular Chasm—Tripod—Priestess—Tapestry, Subjects of its Embroidery, and Uses—Œdituus or Superintendant—Temenos—Delphic Treasuries—Plunderers of Delphi—Sacred Feasts—Decline and Extinction of the Oracle—Delphic Laurel—Departure to Salona—Albanian Vaivode—Description of Salona—Acropolis of Amphissa—Inhabitants—Set sail on the Gulf of Crissa—Dangerous Voyage—Land at Galaxithi—Its Navy and increasing Commerce—Reflections thereon—Policy of Ali Pasha—

Sailors—Description of the Town, ancient Site, Walls, Inscriptions, &c.—Religious Rites of the Greeks—Set Sail—Unable to land at Patras—Greek Music—Storm—Shelter behind Curzolari Islands—Achelous—Fisheries—Set Sail—Strike on a Rock—Anchor in the Dioryctos, opposite Santa Maura—Description of the Island—New Works at the Port—Lover's Leap—Horrid Stories of Ali Pasha—Set Sail—Beautiful Prospect, and Arrival at Prevesa.

NEXT morning we started at an early hour to reascend the heights of Parnassus, having sent forward our baggage with Demetrio to Salona. We had now an opportunity of viewing that gigantic mountain under a different aspect. The frost, which in this climate is very variable, had disappeared, and was succeeded by deep grey mists, which spread an almost impenetrable veil over its heights: as we advanced, the gloomy appearance of the day increased, and heavy clouds settling upon the summit seemed, as it were, to connect this ancient abode of deities with the celestial regions. Having toiled with difficulty up the rugged paths, we dismounted, and sent forward our horses to the village: we then proceeded towards the western point of the great semicircular coilon, to examine a small Greek chapel, which is dedicated to St. Elias, and stands within the peribolus of an ancient temple. The walls of this enclosure are of the Pseudo-Cyclopéan kind, but we could discover nothing which might lead us to a conjecture concerning the temple itself. Wheeler made an egregious blunder in mistaking it for that of the Pythian Apollo, in defiance of all historical induction*. Whichever may have been its presiding deity, the coup d'œil, from its portico, must have been one of the finest in the world, when it commanded all the splendid edifices and magnificence of Delphi. Mr. Cockerell, whose mind is ever alive to

* See Dr. Butler's Dissertation in the Appendix.

what may be termed the poetry of art, was so impressed with the idea of this imaginary grandeur, that he remained upon the spot, in spite of the unpromising appearance of the sky, to attempt with his pencil a restoration of the oracular city. The practicability of such a design struck forcibly the mind of that most interesting of modern travellers Dr. Clarke, when he stood in the vicinity of this spot, and expressed his sentiments in language, the glowing style of which defies every attempt at competition. "There is enough," says he, "remaining to enable a skilful architect to form an accurate plan of *Delphi*: but it should be fitted to a model of *Parnassus*; for in the harmonious adjustment which was here conspicuous, of the works of God and man, every stately edifice and majestic pile constructed by human labour, were made to form a part of the awful features of the mountain; and from whatever quarter Delphi was approached, a certain solemn impression of supernatural agency must have been excited, diffusing its influence over every object; so that the sanctity of the whole district became a saying throughout Greece, and 'ALL PARNASSUS WAS ACCOUNTED HOLY'."

Leaving our friend to the prosecution of this interesting task, Mr. Parker and myself proceeded towards the village. The first object that occurred to our notice was a fine semi-circular seat cut in the rock by the road side, where the ancient Delphians might enjoy the superb spectacle presented to their eyes, either at morning sacrifice, when

> "down the eastern cliffs afar
> Hyperion's march they spied and glittering shafts of war,"

or indulge in pleasing meditation over the scene, softened by the shadows of evening, when the Delphian god came, after his diurnal race of splendour, to repose in his own laurel-groves of Parnassus.

> Ἀέλιος δ' Ὑπεριονίδας δέπας ἐσκατέβαινε
> Χρύσεον, ὄφρα δὶ ὠκεανοῖο περάσας

Ἀφίκηϑ' ἱερᾶς ποτὶ βένϑεα νυκτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς,
Ποτι ματέρα κυριδίαν τ' ἄλοχον,
Παῖδας τε φίλους· ὁ δ' ἐς ἄλσος ἔβα
Δάφναισι κατάσκιον
Ποσσὶ πᾶις Διός.

Frag. Stesich. ap. Athen. l. xi.

Here also the modern pilgrim as he sits to view the desolation of this once noble city, may people the awful solitude with the illusions of imagination, and as he reflects upon the past and conjectures the future, may console himself for his own misfortunes, by considering the transient splendour of all human grandeur.

Muojono le città, muojono i regni,
Copre i fasti e le pompe arena ed erba;
E l' uom d' esser mortal par che si sdegni.
O nostra mente cupida e superba!

From this seat we diverged a little to the left, amongst the rocks, and entered a fine sepulchral cavern, very neatly excavated, and commonly, though erroneously called the sepulchre of Pyrrhus *. The dimensions of this crypt are very considerable; its roof is cut into the form of an alcove, as also are the three deep sarcophagi which it contains: over that facing the entrance, are two niches for cinerary urns, between which appears the head of an ox carved in high relief, and similar to that which adorns the ancient medals of Phocis †. These tombs are very common by the road side near the ancient cities of Greece; in this manner the tomb of Alcestis is described by Euripides:

Ὀρϑὴν παρ' οἰμὸν ἡ 'πὶ Λάρισσαν φέρει
Τύμβον κατόψει ξεσὸν ἐκ προασίου. Alcest. 837.

They now afford refuge to mountaineers and shepherds, and some-

* This was close to the Pythian temple. Strabo even places it within the sacred enclosure—δείκνυται δ' ἐν τῷ τεμένει τάφος Νεοπτολέμου· vol. i. p. 610.

† See the Vignette to this chapter.

times to banditti: out of similar receptacles the dæmoniacs in Scripture are represented as emerging.

From hence we passed through the wretched lanes of Castri to the palace of Apollo. Having gained admittance into the shed, we found it so dark and filthy, so full of a corrupted atmosphere from old olive husks and the lees of wine, that we made a hasty retreat until a light could be procured and the place ventilated by admission of the external air: after a considerable lapse of time our messenger returned with a small wax taper, which he had probably abstracted from some picture of the Panagia, for the only lights burned by the poor inhabitants are the dades*, or slips of dry wood from the fir called pinus picea. By the faint glimmering of this taper we began to explore the recesses of a building which appears actually to have been part of the great Pythian temple, though it be now degraded to so mean an appropriation†. The wall which forms the northern side of the present shed, composed of large blocks of hewn stone, is nearly covered with antique inscriptions, those charms which our clerical guide attributed to the work of Genii. These, from the porous nature of the stone, the corrosion of time, and accidental defacement, appear to defy the ingenuity of man to decypher: at least he who attempts the work ought to have a better day, better health, and longer time than fell to my lot at this period. After much consideration I at length fixed upon one block which seemed to offer the best chance of success, after which I was obliged to sit upon a heap of filth in a very painful posture to copy it, whilst Mr. Parker with great good-nature and patience held the wax taper close to the stone. The characters were so uncouth, so many were effaced, and the stone

* They pronounce the word Thathes, the δ being in Romaic very much assimilated in sound to θ: the word is only a slight alteration of the Hellenic δαΐδες.

† See the drawing in Dr. Butler's dissertation: its site very accurately corresponds with that attributed there to the Pythian shrine.

so much decayed, that the document did not prove so satisfactory as I could have wished: but I was unable either to re-copy it or to attempt another, since the operation had cost me already near three hours of painful labour: still it was a pleasure to discover in it the name of the Pythian Apollo, which certainly tends to strengthen the conjecture, that the wall on which it is inscribed formed one side of the Pythian cella. Mutilated as it is I submit it to the attention of the classical reader, to whom every thing connected, or even supposed to be connected, with this site cannot but prove interesting*.

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΠΟΚΙΟΥ Ω - - Σ - Μ - ΣΣ - - - - ΕΝΔΕΛ - Ο -
Σ - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ΝΟΣ - - - ΡΙ - Α - ΜΗΝΟΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΥ ΑΠΕΔΟΤΟ ΔΙΚΑΙΑ ΣΥΝΕΥΔΟΚΕΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΤΩΝ ΥΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΑΣ ΔΟΡΟΘΕΟΥ Κ - - ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ ΤΩ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΤΩ ΠΥ - ΙΩ ΣΩΜΑΕΥ
- - - ΩΝΑΙΟΝΟΜΑ ΑΡ - - Ω - ΤΟΓΕΝΟΣ ΟΙΚΟ - - ΝΕΣΤΙ - - ΜΑΣ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ ΜΝ - Ν ΤΡΙΩΝΙ-
ΔΑΡ - - ΩΝΚΛΟ - - Σ - - ΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΕΑΡΧΩΤΙΘΕ - ΠΑΝ
ΤΩΝΑΝΕΨ - - - - ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΝΕ - - ΑΕ - - ΜΕΝΚΑΙΑΝΕΙΑΗΠΤΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΠΑ - - - - - - - - -
ΤΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ - - - ΝΙΕΡΑΙΩΤΗ - ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ - - ΑΙΚ - - ΑΤΑΤΟΣ ΥΜΒΟ - -
ΟΝ ΑΜΙΝ ΑΣΤ - - ΓΕΟΣ ΑΜΦΙΣΕΥΣ ΜΑΡΤ - Ρ - ΝΑΥΞΕΙΝΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΔΕΞΙΘΕΟΣ
ΔΑΜΟΣΕΝΟΣ ΑΜΦΙΣΣΕΙΣ
- - - - - - - - - - - ΔΡΩΠΙΔΑΣΨ - - ΚΑΙΟΣ

It would be imprudent to attempt a literal translation of this inscription: the lacunæ are too numerous, and the inaccuracies too great; yet when I consider the nature of the inscribed tablet, and all the inconveniences attending the operation of transcribing it, I am rather surprised that so much sense can be elicited.

In the first line the month Pokius is mentioned, and the archonship of Strategus.

In the second we find the month Heracleius, when a lady named Dicæa, with the consent of her two sons Dorotheus and Aris-

* Upon a reference to the fourth volume of Stuart's Antiquities lately published, I find that this place was considered by that traveller as part of the identical temple of Apollo. Journal, p. vii.

tomachus sold to the temple of the Pythian Apollo (what from the letters of certain disjointed words appear to be one or more slaves) for the sum of three minæ of silver, and that the bargain was made according to law: in witness whereof the names of Nauxeinus, Callistratus, Dexitheus, and Damosenus, citizens of Amphissa, are subscribed.

If the reader be satisfied with me that we have here discovered the site of this most celebrated of all the pagan temples which antiquity can boast, it may not be displeasing to him if we enter into its history as concisely as the subject will permit.

The most ancient Delphic temple, according to Pausanias, was formed in the shape of a rustic cot, or cabin, with twisted laurel-branches brought from the vale of Tempé.

The second was reported by the Delphians to have been constructed by bees, of the wax and wings of these little insects*. (ἀπὸ τῆς κηρῆς τῶν Μελισσῶν καὶ ἐκ πτερῶν) This strange account, as might be expected, puzzled every body; and Pausanias tells us that some tried to reconcile it with probability, by supposing that the name of the architect was Pteras, and others that the material of which it was constructed was a species of grass growing upon the mountain called Pteris: for my own part I cannot help suspecting that these bees (Melissæ) were people who introduced certain foreign rites, and that the word Μέλισσα, having two significations, one of which is that of a bee, gave rise to this curious error †.

* This temple is called Πτέρινον by Strabo, but the account is considered by him fabulous as it deserves. Vol. i. p. 610.

† Such in all probability were the Μέλισσαι, or bees which are said to have nourished Jupiter in the Idæan cavern: and such the Melissæ or priestesses of Ceres: vid. Ezek. Spanh. Observ. in Callim. v. ii. p. 116. I am confirmed in this opinion by the words of Pausanias, who says that Apollo sent off this temple to his friends the Hyperboreans: this looks like an extension of certain rites and ceremonies of religion. The old story of the two doves, which, being sent out by Jupiter, settled at Dodona and the temple of Hammon in Lybia, is accounted for in a similar manner, the word πελειὰς signifying not only a dove, but an old woman—the priestess or prophetess of the shrine. It appears moreover curiously enough from Pindar, that the Pythian priestess herself was called Melissa (Μέλισσα). Vid. Pyth. Od. iv. v. 106.

The third temple was said to have been of brass, the workmanship of Vulcan. This in all probability was an edifice similar to those which are called the treasuries of Atreus at Mycenæ, the chamber of Danae, or the temple of Minerva Chalciœcos at Lacedæmon, which Pausanias himself hints, whilst he rejects the story of Vulcan and the female statues which sang melodiously upon the roof. The mode of its destruction was uncertain, being according to some accounts engulfed in an hiatus of the earth, according to others consumed by fire!

Large blocks of hewn stone, disposed in the Cyclopéan style of architecture, formed materials for the fourth temple, which was built under the superintendence of the great Trophonius and Agamedes, men, as Pausanias reports, well skilled in raising temples for gods and palaces for kings *. This is the temple sung by Homer and celebrated for its wealth even in those early times :

ἐδ' ὅσα λάϊνος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἔέργει †.

It was destroyed by fire in the first year of the 58th Olympiad ‡.

The last and most splendid edifice, that celebrated Pythian temple which remained entire in the days of Pausanias, was built by contract for the sum of 300 talents, under a decree of the Amphictyonic council about 513 years B. C. A fourth part of this sum was imposed upon the Delphians; upon which occasion they sent emissaries through the various nations of the world to beg contributions, just as some monasteries do in the present day for the support of their establish-

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* Bœot. c. 37.

† This, according to Homer, if the Hymn to Apollo be an Homeric composition, was the first Temple built at Delphi.

Ὣς εἰπὼν διέθηκε θεμείλια Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
Εὐρέα καὶ μάλα μακρὰ διαμπερές· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
Λάϊνον οὐδὸν ἔθηκε Τροφώνιος ἠδ' Ἀγαμήδης,
Υἱέες Ἐργίνου, φίλοι ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι· l. 294.

‡ Αὐτομάτως κατεκάη. Herod. l. ii. c. 180.

ments. The most magnificent donation which they received was from the Egyptian king Amasis. The contractors for this building were the Alcmæonidæ, a very celebrated and noble family of Athens who had fled from their native city to avoid the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ: the architect employed was a Corinthian named Spintharus. Being possessed of great wealth, they did not confine themselves to the bare terms of the contract, but lavished large sums in the decoration of the edifice, constructing its front of Parian marble instead of that Porine stone or tuffa, which was employed in the remainder *. Hence it is that Pindar takes occasion to praise the generosity of the Athenian people.

Πάσαισι γὰρ πολίεσι λόγος ὁμιλεῖ
Ερεχθέος ἀεσῶν, Απόλλων, ὁὶ τεόν γε δομον Πυθῶνι δίᾳ
Θαητὸν ἔτευξαν. Py. Od. vii.

This generosity however was by no means so disinterested as it may appear at first, the venal oracle now spoke as they directed, and every Spartan who came to consult it, was enjoined, as by the voice of Heaven, to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens.

The description of this celebrated temple in Pausanias is very scanty, nor is the deficiency supplied by any other historians: we are left to draw our conclusions from incidental remarks scattered through their writings.

Its form was a rectangular parallelogram, of the Doric order of architecture, surrounded with a peristyle, hypæthral like the Parthenon and other Grecian temples of great magnitude and splendour. We are accidentally made acquainted with this latter fact by Justin, who,

* This Porine stone or tuffa seems to have been much used in Greece. The temple of Jupiter at Olympia and the foundations of the treasuries there, were built of it according to Pausanias, l. v. c. 10. vi. c. 19. It was cut in the neighbourhood, for that author applies the epithet ἐπιχώριος to it. Pliny thus describes it: "Pario similis candore et duritia, minus tamen ponderosus qui Porus vocatur." N. H. lib. xxxvii. c. 17.

in describing the assault of Delphi by the Gauls, introduces the priests declaring that they saw Apollo himself descend into his shrine through the hypæthral, or open part of the roof (per culminis aperta fastigia*). That it was turned east and west we may safely infer from the mere circumstance of its being a temple dedicated to Apollo, which of course would face the rising and the setting sun: but such an inference is more than strengthened by the sculpture that adorned its pediments; one of which contained the statues of Diana, Latona, Apollo and the Muses, the other the *setting sun* with Bacchus and his Thyades †: this will be decisive with all those who have studied Grecian architecture, who know that propriety was its very soul, and that such a deviation from this rule would never have been tolerated, as that of placing the setting sun in any position but a western pediment. The statuary was Praxias an Athenian, and pupil of Calamis, who dying before they were completed, Androsthenes, an Athenian also, the pupil of Eucadmus, brought the work to a conclusion. Upon the architrave (ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστυλίων) was suspended golden armour; Persian shields, trophies of the Marathonian field by the Athenians, and the arms of conquered Gauls by the people of Ætolia ‡.

The metopes seem to have been adorned with very beautiful sculpture representing the labours of Hercules and the adventures of Bellerophon: some of these spirited compositions are pointed out by Ion to the admiring chorus; the Theban hero, for instance, slaying the Lernæan hydra with a golden harpè §, assisted by Iolaus the com-

* L. xxiv. c. 8.

† Pausan. Phoc. c. 19. 3.

‡ Pausan. Phoc. c. xix. 3.—This passage of Pausanias tends very much to strengthen the conjecture of those who attribute to a similar cause the numerous holes which appear in the architrave of the Parthenon.

§ An instrument to which the modern ataghan of the Turks bears some resemblance; it is a short sword with a falcated point turned inwards; this of Hercules was probably a double one, that is, having two curved points, one turning in and the other out; from the expression "χρυσέαις ἅρπαις." Ion. 192.

panion of his labours*, and Bellerophon upon his winged Pegasus in the act of destroying the fire-breathing Chimæra. From these subjects he turns their attention to the gigantomachia, or battle of the giants, "upon the walls" (ἐν τείχεσι λαΐνοισι). No doubt therefore this was a frieze which encircled the exterior of the cella, just as that of the Parthenon was decorated by the Panathenaic procession. The spirited manner of its execution is plainly deducible from the animated description of Ion, as well as from the frequent expressions of surprise, and particularly from the recognition of characters by the chorus. The subjects peculiarly noted are—Enceladus subdued by the invincible spear of Minerva, Jupiter hurling his red-hot thunderbolt against the gigantic Mimas, and Bacchus with his ivy-bound thyrsus destroying another of the Titanic monsters†. Over the entrance of the pronaos, which was closed by ponderous and magnificent doors‡, that mysterious and perplexing monosyllable EI (IF) appeared, upon which Plutarch has left us a long and ingenious treatise.

The pronaos, or vestibule of the cella, was inscribed with those well-known aphorisms of the seven wise men of Greece; each of whom came in person to dedicate this concentrated essence of his moral investigations to the Pythian god. It contained a statue of Homer in bronze, and at one corner stood a very fine silver vase capable of containing 600 amphoræ, the work of the Samian Theodorus, one of the early offerings of Crœsus, in which the Delphians mixed their wine at the festival called Theophaniæ §. The cella itself contained

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* ——————— ὃς
Κοινὰς ἀιρόμενος πόνους
Δίος παιδὶ συναντλεῖ. Ion. 198.

† If this temple was adorned, as it would appear from Pliny, by the pencil of Polygnotus, it must have been the most superb spectacle in the world. Vid. Nat. H. l. xxxv. c. 9. "Hic Delphis Ædem pinxit." It is possible that Pliny may have mistaken the temple for the Lesche which was full of his paintings. Pausan. x. c. 25.

‡ Ion. 79. From the expression in the same play, l. 515, "τῶνδ' ἀκόμεν πυλῶν ΔΟΥΠΟΝ" we may conjecture that they were made of bronze.

§ Herod. l. i. c. 51.

an altar of Neptune, the original possessor of the oracle, and another at which Neoptolemus the son of Achilles was slain: this part of the temple was adorned with the statues of Two Fates, the place of the third being occupied by those of Jupiter and Apollo, each surnamed Mœragetes, or "Leader of the Fates:" here also stood the iron chair of Pindar, from whence the poet used to deliver his sublime odes in honour of Apollo, at the Pythian games, together with another monument of extreme interest, a record of the immortal victory gained by the united states of Greece over the Persians at Platæa: it was a brazen pillar formed by the interlacing folds of three serpents, whose projecting heads supported a golden tripod. This latter ornament was converted into plunder by the Phocians in the sacred war: the supporting pillar is to be seen at this very day in the hippodrome, or atmeidan, of Constantinople, where it was conveyed, together with numberless specimens of the fine arts, by that great spoiler of Grecian cities Constantine, to adorn his new capital. The common people regard it as the work of an enchanter, who placed it there, like the brazen serpent of Moses, to secure the citizens from the bite of those reptiles *.

The adytum of the cella, or the most sacred place, was impervious to vulgar eyes †, being entered only by the Pythia and the priests of the temple. In this solemn sanctuary stood a beautiful statue of the

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* I believe the first modern traveller who gives an account of this monument is Thomas Smith, fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, in a small Latin tract, styled Constantinopoleos brevis Notitia, edited at Oxford in the year 1674. His words are as follow: "In eodem circo prope extat Columna serpentina ex ære concavo et tortili facta: ad extremum autem illius scapi tria colla capitaque paribus intervallis inter se dissociata quasi exsiliunt inque modum trianguli emicant. Hanc olim ab aliquo mago (forte Apollonio Tyanensi, quem Byzantii aliquantillum mansisse constat) sub peculiari siderum aspectu, quo melius a serpentum noxis infestationibusque hâc cognatâ imagine urbs muniretur, prout sentiebat credula nimis antiquitas, elaboratam fuisse a verisimili parum abludit," p. 119.

† A troop of sacred women called *πρόσπολοι γυναῖκες* (Eurip. Ion. 518) seem to have been arranged round the temple to keep off the profane. Alexander the Great was permitted to enter the adytum, but only alone without his attendants, who listened in the outer apartment. He, like Philomelus, forced the Pythia to ascend the tripod, and converted her remonstrance against his violence into an oracular response. Ἐς δὲ τῷ ναῷ τὸ ἐσωτάτο, *παρίασί* τε ἐς ἀυτὸ ολίγον, (lege *ὀλίγοι*) *κὰι χρυσῆν Ἀπόλλωνος ἕτερον ἄγαλμα ἀνάκειται* Phoc. c. xxiv. 4.

Pythian Apollo; Pausanias says it was of gold, though if the lines of Callimachus allude, as his commentators suppose, to this statue, its robes and ornaments alone were of that metal; but even this would justify the expression of Pausanias. It is thus described by the Alexandrian poet.

> Χρύσεα τῷ 'πόλλωνι, τό τ' ενδυτὸν ἥτ' ἐπιπορπὶς,
> Ἥ τε λύρη, τὸ τ' ἄεμμα τὸ Λύκτιον, ἥ τε φαρέτρη·
> Χρύσεα κὰι τὰ πέδιλα. Πολύχρυσος γὰρ Ἀπόλλων,
> Κὰι τε πολυκτέανος· Πυθῶνί τε τεκμήραιο· Hym. Apoll. 33.

Whether the Apollo Belvidere be a copy from this statue or not it is difficult to determine; but the first authorities of this kingdom, and of all Europe, have decided that it is *a copy**. Although mutilated, the attitude has always been supposed by the best judges to be that which we should expect from the deity of the Pythian shrine, just after he has discharged his fatal arrow at the serpent Python; a conjecture strengthened by that dignified vengeance which animates the countenance without distorting it. We learn from Sozomen that the original statue was carried from its shrine by Constantine the Great to his new city, where it probably shared the same fate as the other beautiful monuments of ancient art, when Constantinople was sacked by the barbarians of the West.

The adytum contained that deep oracular chasm whence the mephitic afflatus issued†; it was surrounded by a railing (θριγκὸς, Ion.

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* Mr. Flaxman is of opinion that the Apollo Belvidere is a copy from the bronze statue of Apollo Alexicacos at Athens, the work of the celebrated Calamis (see Report on the Elgin Marbles, p. 73). Even this might have been a representation of the Pythian deity, whom the Athenians reckoned among their Dii Patrii, by whom they swore under the title of πατρῶος (Jul. Poll. l. viii. c. 10.) and whose sacrifices at Delphi Demosthenes calls τὰς πατρῴας θυσίας ἐν Δελφοῖς.

† Ὄντος χάσματος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ καθ' ὃν ἐστι νῦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ καλούμενον Ἄδυτον· Diod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 26. It would seem that the ancient adytum remained in the new temple from the following passage of Steph. Byzant. (in voce Δελφοὶ) Τὸ ἄδυτον ἐκ πέντε κατεσκεύασθαι λίθων, ἔργον Ἀγαμήδους κὰι Τροφωνίου· The opinion of the philosophic Pliny concerning this and similar exhalations is most curious and ludicrous. "Quibus in rebus quid possit aliud causæ afferre mortalium quispiam, quam diffusæ per omne naturæ subinde aliter atque aliter NUMEN ERUMPENS?" N. Hist. l. ii. c. 93. What a different story now can the commonest chymist tell!

1321) and its narrow orifice covered by a lofty tripod, on which the miserable Pythia was seated, and often forcibly held down by the chief priests *, until she uttered, amidst horrible ravings, some discordant sounds (ἔμμετρα καὶ ἄμετρα) which the poets of the temple, kept for that especial purpose, arranged in hexameters and delivered to their deluded votaries. The furious transport excited in the priestess by the mephitic gas is thus forcibly portrayed by Lucan:

——— Bacchatur demens aliena per antrum
Colla ferens, vittasque Dei, Phœbeaque serta
Erectis discussa comis per inania templi
Ancipiti cervice rotat, spargitque vaganti

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* These priests seem to have been selected by lot from the first families of Delphi, and to have sat round the enclosure of the chasm, crowned with laurel.

— πλησίον θάσσουσι τρίποδος ᾧ ξένε
Δελφῶν ἀριστεῖς ὃς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλος· Ion. 415.

They were called προφῆται (or prophets); they received the questions of applicants, and returned the answers when arranged: they were assisted by five of an inferior order called ὅσιοι (or the sanctified) who immolated the victims after a careful inspection; at the installation of each a sacrifice called ὁσιωτὴρ was offered. (Vid. Plutarch. in Quæst. Græc.) In this adytum a sacred fire was constantly kept burning and guarded with uncommon vigilance, like that of Minerva at Athens and Vesta at Rome: Plutarch in his treatise de EI mentions it as matter of curious Inquiry why this fire should be supplied with no other materials except the pinus picea (ἐλάτη) thinking that some obscure mystery was concealed under this practice as well as that of exhibiting the statues of only two Fates, of using the laurel alone for fumigation, of admitting no woman to approach the tripod, and of using the tripod itself. If the sacred fire was by chance extinguished, it could only be rekindled from the sun. The adytum seems to have been sometimes called the omphalos (or μεσόμφαλος ἑστία), as Delphi itself is frequently styled the omphalos or navel of the earth. The reason of this seems impossible to be determined. When its origin was forgotten, the story feigned for the purpose made Jupiter send out two eagles, one from the east and the other from the west, to determine the middle of the earth; the birds met at Delphi, in memory of which a sculptured marble in shape of a navel called ὄμφαλος was fixed up in the temple, upon which, according to Strabo (l. ix.) two figures of eagles were seen perched. (See also Pausan. x. c. 16.) But the Greek historians did not consider that this same appellation was given to numerous other spots in the world; as for instance to Calypso's Isle, (Od. A. 50.) to Paphos, (Hesych. in voce) to a place in Peloponnesus, (Pausan. ii. c. 13. 7.) and to another in Crete (Diod. Sic. v. i. p. 386). I suspect therefore that it has some connexion with the ancient rites of oriental superstition. A Laurel seems to have grown near the orifice of the chasm like the sacred olive called Παγκυφος in the temple of Minerva Polias at Athens, and to have shaded the tripod; the violent concussion of its branches was thought to denote the presence of the Deity.

Οιον ὁ τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐσείσατο δάφνικος ὄρπηξ. Call. Hy. Apoll. i.

Laurel branches were also entwined round the tripod and the sacred enclosure, whence Euripides calls the adytum δαφνώδη γύαλα and Æschylus πολυτεφῆ μυχὸν. See also Schol. in Aristoph. Plut. 39.

Obstantes tripodas, magnoque exæstuat igne
Iratum te Phœbe ferens. — — —
— — — — — — — — —
Spumea tunc primum rabies vesana per ora
Effluit, et gemitus et anhelo clara meatu
Murmura: tunc mæstus vastis ululatus in antris,
Extremæque sonant domita iam virgine voces. L. v. 169.

Before she ascended the tripod she bathed in the water of Castalia, crowned herself with laurel, chewed its leaves to increase the inspiration*, and drank the prophetic water of Cassotis, which seems to have been brought from the fountain by a subterranean duct into the penetralia of the cella †. A large quantity of fine embroidered tapestry was kept in this temple, pieces of which, called pepli, were used probably to separate the pronaos from the cell, and the cell from the adytum, to cover the statues and altars, and serve perhaps for an awning over the hypæthral part of the edifice. Euripides gives a fine description of this tapestry: (Ion. 1141, &c.) some of it was said to have been presented to the temple by Hercules from the spoils of the Amazons, and represented a splendid view of the celestial hemisphere: upon the rest appeared, amongst other subjects, naval combats between the Greeks and barbarians, battles of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, chases of the stag and the lion, and Cecrops, half-man and half-serpent, together with his daughters ‡.

These treasures, as well as the temple itself, were under the superintendence of an œdituus or officer (called χρυσοφύλαξ, ναοφύλάξ or νεωκόρος) who was bound by a vow of continence, lived and slept in the temple, sweeping it every morning at sun-rise with laurel boughs, and

* Δαφνηφάγων φοίβαζεν ἐκ λαιμῶν ὄπα· Lycoph. See also Lucian in bis Accusat. ἡ πρόμαντις πιοῦσα τὸ ἱερὸ νάματος, καὶ μασαμένη τῆς Δάφνης καὶ τὸν τρίποδα σεισαμένη, &c.

† Paus. x. c. 24, 5.

‡ Some of this tapestry was the work of Helicon, a very celebrated artificer, and was inscribed with the following epigram:

Τεῦξ' Ἑλικὼν Ἀκεσᾶ Σαλαμίνιος, ᾧ ἐνὶ χερσὶ
πότνια θεσπεσίην Παλλὰς ἔτευξε χάριν. Athenæi. lib. ii. c. 9.

washing it with Castalian water, adorning the vestibule with garlands, filling the lustral vessels (περιῤῥαντήρια) and driving away with his bow and arrows the birds that came to settle on the sacred edifice*.

The whole temple with its sacred ground (or τέμενος) was surrounded by a large peribolus or enclosure, from which many avenues led to different parts of the city†. Adjoining it was that splendid theatre in which the celebrated musical contests of the Pythian games were held‡. It is much to be regretted that no traces of this edifice remain. Within the court of the peribolus were the habitations of the priests and guardians of the shrine, the lustral vessels from whence holy water was sprinkled upon the suppliants by means of laurel boughs, and those celebrated thesauri, cells, or treasuries belonging to the different states of Greece, which were filled with the most costly and exquisite works of art, highly curious for the light they throw upon the early annals of Greece. These treasuries were not subterranean, as some have supposed, like the treasuries of Atreus, but rather like those of Olympia, which were raised upon a basement of stone, according to the express account of Pausanias§. The offerings which they contained were dedicated to the Pythian god and the glory of the nation which sent them, being distinctly marked and kept, for the most part, each in its own national thesaurus‖. In very early ages these consisted of ornamental vases and tripods of brass; Gyges, King of Lydia, set the example of dedicating rich vessels of gold and silver. The great wealth of the Delphic temple, which consisted chiefly in these offerings, and is noted even by Homer (Il. i. 404.)

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* Ion. 315. 112, 146. 106, &c.

† Pausan. x. c. 8. and c. 32.

‡ Περιβόλῳ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ θέατρον ἔχεται θέας ἄξιον· Paus. x. c. 32.

§ Ἐπὶ τούτης δὴ κρηπῖδος εἰσιν οἱ θησαυροὶ, καθὰ δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἐποιήσαντο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι θησαυρός· L. vi. c. 19. 1.

‖ I am rather surprised that Mr. Mitford, in his admirable History of Greece, should consider these thesauri as banks for the preservation of national property. I have consulted many authors, but have looked in vain for a confirmation of such an opinion. The treasures contained in these cells are every where

excited the cupidity of lawless plunderers both public and private, national and foreign, in defiance of the sanctity of the place and the presence of the God. Its pillage by the Phocians in the sacred war, dispersed the precious metals over Greece, which before that time had been extremely rare; but the abundance of gold and silver did not become excessive till the conquests of Alexander and the importation of Asiatic plunder.

Within this peribolus of the temple it seems probable that those sacred feasts were held, to which all the Delphian citizens were invited by proclamation, and in which the chief expence of consulting the oracle consisted. A tabernacle or large tent was erected for this purpose, covered with that splendid tapestry which has been described*.

The Pythian oracle fell into disrepute and neglect about the time when the light of christianity, like the day-spring from on high, beamed forth to chase away the darkness of superstition†. Against this its

considered in the light of offerings sent either for the purpose of propitiation or in token of gratitude. Herodotus, in speaking of them, always uses the word *ἀνατίθημι*, and he mentions Crœsus, the greatest contributor, as sending them purposely to propitiate the God. (L. i. cc. 50. 51.) There is no account of any nation ever reclaiming these treasures, and we know that they remained entire till the sacred war, when the Phocians used them for military expenses. Pausanias always calls them *ἀναθήματα*, and Strabo still more strongly designates them as gifts (*δῶρα*, lib. ix.) observing, that for them the thesauri were built. He mentions the difficulty of preserving wealth from plunderers, even though it be *sacred*, and says that in his days the temple was very poor, many of the *ἀναθήματα* or offerings being carried off, *χρημάτων χάριν*. Diodorus, speaking of the plunderers of the temple in the Phocian war, calls the riches *ἀναθήματα*, and the plunder *ἱεροσυλία*. L. xvi. c. 61. In addition to these remarks let the classical reader advert to the concluding expression in the preceding note, which fully shews the purpose for which these treasuries were erected.

* *Ἱεραῖσιν ἐν σκηναῖσι*. (Ion. 982.) The temporary apartment thus formed for the grand feast given in honour of Ion's discovery, was a plethron in length. (Ion. 1137.) That it was within the peribolus of the temple I conclude, from the circumstance of one of the sacred pigeons, kept in the temple, (Diod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 27.) drinking of the poisoned wine which Ion had thrown upon the ground, and discovering the treachery of Creusa, whose crime is said to be augmented by her endeavours to perpetrate it even within the sacred precincts.

Τὸν ἱερὸν ὡς κτείνωσαν, ἐν τ' ἀνακτόροις
φόνον τιθεῖσαν. V. 1124.

† The following is said to have been the response made to Augustus when he went to consult the oracle concerning his successor on the throne, notifying a departure of Apollo from his shrine:

Ἑβραῖος κέλεταί με πᾶις μακάρεσσιν ἀνάσσων
Τόνδε δόμον προλιπεῖν καὶ (τὴν) ὁδὸν ἄυθις ἱκέσθαι·
Ἄπιθι λοιπὸν ἐκ δόμων ἡμετέρων·

fabled deity could not so easily preserve it as against the hosts of Xerxes and of Brennus. The fiction recorded by Eusebius respecting the silence of this and other pagan oracles at the birth of the Saviour of mankind, is successfully exploded by Van Dale, who shews in his learned dissertation* that the oracle of Delphi continued to be consulted, at times, until the age of Arcadius and Honorius, or Theodosius the Great. The Emperor Julian restored the temple, which he had learned was in a miserable plight from Oribasius, a physician of quæstorial rank, whom that monarch sent to consult it: the following was its state, as represented to this imperatorial messenger by the voice from its shrine.

Εἰπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ (βασιλῆι) χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά·
Οὐκέτι φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, ὁ μάντιδα δάφνην,
Οὐ παγὰν λαλέουσαν· ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὕδωρ.†

It never however recovered one hundredth part of its pristine magnificence and celebrity, but languished till it received its death-blow by Constantine the Great, who tore away the doors and roof, and carried away the few treasures that remained to Constantinople‡.

In this description of Delphi I feel conscious that I have trespassed upon those bounds which a traveller ought to observe in disquisitions of this nature; but the subject offered so much untrodden ground to be illustrated and investigated, that I could not resist the temptation.

I had scarcely finished the inscription in the shed, before Mr. Cockerell joined us, having been prevented from executing his noble

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It bears the marks of forgery on its front most evidently: but the truth of the Christian religion is not affected by the rejection or confirmation of such stories as these.

* De Orac. Ethnic. origine duratione et interitu.

† Cedreni Hist. Compend. p. 304.

‡ At the same time that religious plunderer and consummate hypocrite carried away the statues of the Muses from the Heliconian grove, and the famous Pan, which was dedicated by Pausanias and the Grecian states after the conclusion of the Persian war. These and many others, says Sozomen, ἐισετι νῦν δημοσίᾳ ἵδρυνται κατὰ τὰς ἀγυιὰς καὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον καὶ τὰ βασίλεια· Eccl. Hist. l. ii. c. v.

design by the very unfavourable state of the weather. We soon left the penthouse to enjoy a freer respiration and to seek the tatar, whom we found in company with our old cicerone the protopapas, who had brought with him some coins for sale: out of these we selected three small ones of silver, the reverses of which present the figure of a goat's head between two dolphins, and the obverse that of a ram, in a very spirited style of execution. I have no doubt but that these coins belong originally to Delphi: the ram was a very common emblem of the sun, whilst the goat, in memory of its having discovered the oracle, was chiefly used in the Delphian sacrifices*.

Before we left Parnassus I was anxious to discover if the ancient laurel had entirely failed within its precincts: whilst our attendants therefore were saddling the horses, I offered the reward of a dollar to the Delphian who should bring a branch of this sacred plant from the immortal gardens:

ὑπὸ ναοῖς
Κήπων ἐξ ἀθανάτων· Ion. 115.

A very fine bough being soon procured, a party of children ran off shouting with the reward, and all the poor people gaped with utter astonishment at this extraordinary freak of the English milordi: from their significant nods and whispers whilst we were cutting up the trophy and plucking off the leaves, I verily believe they thought that we possessed an art of turning it into gold†.

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* Ὀυ χάριν, says Diodorus, ἄιξι μάλιστα χρηστηριάζεσι μέχρι τῦ νῦν οἱ Δελφοί· This conjecture I consider as quite confirmed by Colonel De Bosset, in his ingenious little Treatise on the Medals of Cephalonia and Ithaca, to which he has subjoined an account of four coins which he procured at Delphi, two of which are quite similar to our own, and the other have the same reverse, but the head of an African upon the obverse. Vide "Essai sur les Med. antiq. de Cephalonie, &c." p. 30, and plate 5.

† I have compared these leaves and the wood with those of the common bay-tree in England, and find no difference between them, except that the odour of the Parnassian shrub is the strongest. When rubbed or cut it still emits this scent very strongly, even after so great a length of time. Pliny says that this prophetic shrub was peculiarly beautiful on Parnassus, and on that account so grateful to Apollo. He mentions three species; the Delphic, the Cyprian, and the selvatic or wild bay: his account of the

Having thus acquired poetic laurels at an easy rate, we bid a final adieu to this interesting spot, around which Apollo and the Muses seem to have diffused a charm that all the ages of barbarism have not been able to dispel.

Being unencumbered with luggage we advanced at a quick pace round the western point of the great coilon, and taking a northerly direction, descended into the Crissæan plain, where we set off at full gallop, the tatar, according to custom, hallooing, flourishing his whip, and lashing on all the horses of the party with the frantic gestures and boisterous vivacity of a maniac: I am confident that nothing but the necessity of adhering to the baggage-horses saves the necks of half the travellers in Turkey. A tatar has no consideration for the condition or strength of his animal, for the nature of the roads, or the inconvenience of accoutrements: once seated in his saddle, he is greater than a lord, or seems like a centaur to consider himself a part of the beast which he bestrides.

As the evening cleared up we had a fine view in our approach to Salona, the ancient Amphissa and capital of the Ozolian Locri: the city lies under the picturesque rocks of its now ruinated acropolis, at the foot of those lofty mountains which close up the great Crissæan plain*, through which a defile leads towards the fertile plains of the Cephissus and straits of Thermopylæ. We procured an excellent lodging in the suburbs, at the house of a most obliging Greek merchant. Next morning we paid a visit of ceremony to the governor, an

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first is as follows—"Delphicam æquali colore, viridiorem, maximis baccis atque è viridi rubentibus: hac victores coronari et triumphantes Romæ." He derives its name (Δάφνη) from δὰ φωνῆ, a crepitu, as Ovid has it,

Et non exiguo laurus adusta sono.

Others derive it from the nymph Daphne, said to have been changed into this plant when pursued by Apollo.

* Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀκροῖς τῆ κρισσαίᾳ πεδίῳ· Strabo. Harpocration, with much probability, derives the name Amphissa διὰ τὸ περιέχεσθαι τὸν τόπον ὄρεσι· Pausanias from the nymph Amphissa, who was beloved by Apollo.

old Albanian captain, a faithful companion in arms of his friend and sovereign Ali Pasha. We found him smoking his long pipe in rather a mean apartment, with his secretary and two or three bare-legged ragged attendants about him, a shaggy brown cloak thrown over his shoulders, and the common red skull-cap upon his shorn head. His old age appeared green and vigorous, his limbs muscular, and his countenance expressive, bearing the stamp of sincerity with the sagacity of experience: there was nothing about him indicating that supineness which is the effect of sensuality, or that pride which is produced by ignorance, the common characteristics of the Osmanli. His attendants brought us coffee and pipes, advancing with that peculiar Albanian strut which is perceived, though in a less degree, amongst our own Highland countrymen, giving to the carriage a lively species of hauteur and an apparent pretension to superiority.

We were received by the vaivode with great cordiality, as friends of a master whom he loved and revered. Upon requesting his advice concerning our future progress towards Ioannina, he strongly urged the impracticability of a journey by land. We had the choice of only two roads, and that was a choice of difficulties and dangers. The country around Zeitun and the south of Thessaly was at this time depopulated by the plague, many of the towns deserted, and a rigid quarantine instituted at the foot of Pindus by order of Ali; to corroborate which statement he called a tatar into the room who had lately passed through the infected district. The route through Etolia and Acarnania was equally impracticable, on account of the banditti who infested it to such a degree that he declared all the soldiers of his guard would not form a sufficient escort. The ferocious half-savage people of those districts were represented to us as robbers by profession, just as Thucydides describes them in the very early ages of Greece, considering their craft as an honourable employment*, espe-

* Ὀυκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύνην τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον· L. i. p. 3. ed. Duk.

cially if it be carried on upon a large scale; if caravans be slaughtered, villages plundered, contributions intercepted, or the cattle of a district driven off: when pursued they retreat into their impenetrable forests and morasses, or escape to the islands, where they prepare themselves for future depredations: their total destruction however was augured at no very distant period of time, when the vizir Ali Pasha should be able to consolidate this part of his dominions with the general mass.

These considerations determined us to follow the advice of the governor, and proceed by sea to Prevesa on the gulf of Actium, from whence a journey of two or three days would bring us to the capital of Epirus. One voice alone was dissentient from the plan—poor Mahomet the tatar by this unfortunate manœuvre saw the whole of his authority for a time annihilated, himself and his horse separated, his skill of no avail, with the prospect of a sea-voyage, in preference to which he would willingly have encountered all the plagues of Egypt and the banditti of the Arabian desert. After many fruitless entreaties and remonstrances, he submitted patiently, saying we were his master's friends, and therefore entitled to his obedience.

From the serai of the vaivode we proceeded to view the town, passing through the bazar, which is neat and spacious and contains several respectable shops*. From thence we ascended the steep rock upon which the ruins of its ancient citadel form so fine a feature in the prospect from the plain below. The plan of this fortress is quite entire, and is, I believe, the only monument of ancient Amphissa: its walls, which are of that style of building called Isodomon†, remain entire to a considerable height, having furnished foundations for a superstructure to the Catalans, or some other Frank power which obtained possession of different parts of this unfortunate country between the

* The chief exports of Salona are oil and cotton.
† See page 87.

capture of Byzantium by the crusaders and the establishment of the Ottoman empire. This acropolis once contained two temples, one dedicated to Minerva, in which a brazen statue of that goddess brought by Thoas from Troy was said to have been preserved*; the other consecrated to the worship of the Anactes, concerning whose identity neither ancient nor modern philosophers have agreed†. No traces of any ancient edifice are apparent now within its walls.

The inhabitants of Salona are reported to be very rude and uncivil towards strangers. We saw nothing of this character except in the children who ran after us crying out "Capello Franco," "Capello Franco‡," and one black woman, who railed at us in the most obscene and virulent language from the door of her hut; her concluding sentence, according to Demetrio's interpretation, was a pious wish "that her master Ali Pasha might roast the Ghiaours alive for their white skins,"—so true it is that the devil is white or black, according to the colour which has the ascendency.

Next morning we learned that a small vessel was just ready to sail for Patras from the Scala of Salona: we therefore packed up our baggage in great haste, and took leave of our worthy host, who in defiance of the customs of the country, pertinaciously refused to accept the least remuneration for his hospitality. Our ride lay through the vast and venerable olive-groves of the plain, and we arrived on the shore of the Crissæan gulf just in time to descry the vessel before she doubled a promontory which would have intercepted her from

* Pausanias gives a very fair reason for rejecting this story, viz. that statues were not cast in bronze so early as the event alluded to. Phoc. c. xxxviii. 3.

† Some call them the Curetes, others the Cabiri, others again the Dioscuri. These latter had a temple in Athens called Ἀνάκειον, and games called Ἀνάκεια were instituted in their honour. Jul. Poll. l. i. c. 1. From their worship the Acarnanian city of Anactorium took its name, though from this circumstance we should suppose the Anactes to have been the Curetes, who were the original founders of this city.

‡ Literally 'Frank-hat.' The hat is the chief mark of distinction between the people of the East and West.

our view. She observed our signals and sent off two boats, in which after a considerable delay for the arrival of the baggage-horses, we at length embarked.

This turned out the most dangerous voyage we ever made, and in all our travels we were perhaps never so near to destruction. The party being large, and the luggage heavy, we completely overloaded the boats; a strong wind arose, darkness came on, and the breakers sounded fearfully as they dashed against a precipitous lee-shore on our right, where if we had drifted, not a soul could have been saved. In this state, expecting every moment to sink or upset, we were obliged to take in tow the boat which contained our servants and luggage, and which would otherwise have been lost. Our pilot fortunately turned out a steady skilful navigator: he commanded the strictest silence, gave his orders calmly, and as the wind luckily did not rise higher, he steered us safe about midnight into the harbour of Galaxithi.

Here we landed and took up our quarters in a wretched shed, which served as a wine shop for seafaring men by day, and a roosting place for poultry by night. We tried to compose ourselves to rest after the fatigues and dangers of the sea—but sleep was out of the question; we were invaded by a whole army of fleas, and our feathered companions in the roof sung out the hours as regularly as a town-clock.

With the dawn of day we left this wretched lodging to all the animals who had a right of pre-occupation, and took a walk round the interesting town of Galaxithi; I call it interesting, because it is a rising town, and exhibits almost a solitary feature of prosperity amidst a frightful and universal picture of decay: this simple sight of a people comparatively happy, will refresh the soul of the sympathizing traveller with whom sensations of pity and regret may have sometimes dimmed the beauties of an Attic sky and cast a shade over the brilliant scenery of

Greece. Commerce had for some time past opened her stores to this enterprising little state whose buildings and population were rapidly on the increase: comforts and even luxuries were here enjoyed that are unknown in the rest of Greece, and the stamp of servility was less visible upon the brow of the people. The ardent imagination and busy disposition of the Greeks find a great congeniality in the speculations of commerce, and they flock naturally to any spot where these speculations are encouraged and the fruits of industry protected. The encouragement and protection which Galaxithi at this time enjoyed was chiefly owing to Ali Pasha's desire of creating a maritime power; who, though he has neither liberality nor policy enough to keep his rapacious talons entirely from the produce of their toil, yet sets such bounds to his tyranny as not to destroy the elastic spring of industry; besides, to his credit be it spoken, he never suffers inferior authorities to imitate his example; so that in the dominions of the Epirot those concatenated links of tyranny are broken, which in the rest of Greece fetter the whole body of liberty and destroy all its energies.

The late war, which diverted the stream of commerce out of old into new channels, tended very much to augment the prosperity of Galaxithi. It partook largely of the carrying trade, that most profitable of all adventures, in which an almost certain gain is ensured without the possibility of loss. Near 200 ships at this time belonged to the port, which is most advantageously situated for the trade both of Peloponnesus and the north of Greece: its sailors are reckoned the best which the country produces; like the mariners of Hydra, Spezie, and Poros, each individual of the crew possesses a share in the vessel or the cargo, and this interest is found to promote not only alacrity and enterprise, but also the most rigid frugality and economy: hard baked bread and olives, a little salt fish and the common wine of the country, is the fare of their sailors, nor have I ever seen a people more patient under toil and deprivation in the pursuit of their advantage.

A certain generosity of spirit is said to be promoted by success in

mercantile pursuits: the truth of this maxim was certainly apparent in the appearance of Galaxithi. They lavish a great deal of money even at present in the gaudy decorations of their churches; taste and elegance would soon follow if liberty were secured. I think it may safely be predicted, that if learning and science ever again revive upon their native land, that the maritime towns of Greece will lead the way in the march of intellect.

The town of Galaxithi (whose etymology signifies sour-milk) stands in a recess on the western side of the Crissæan gulf, partially protected from the swell of the sea by three small islands, but containing several inlets or creeks in its rocky shore that afford security to its shipping; if its trade should continue to flourish, I have no doubt but that a mole will be thrown out into the bay. It is not quite certain what ancient city occupied this site, but Œanthe or Œanthéa offers the best claim: its walls remain in many places to a considerable height, which from their neat and compact mode of construction may have well entitled it to the Homeric epithet of ἐυκτιμένη: the style is that called Isodomon in its greatest perfection. The situation assigned by Polybius to Œanthéa opposite Ægira, which is on the Peloponnesian coast between Sicyon and Ægium, and having the splendid scenery of Parnassus in view, agrees accurately with that of Galaxithi. Pausanias describes Œanthéa as lying upon the sea shore and conterminous with Naupactus: if therefore any considerable ruins shall ever be discovered between that city and Galaxithi, this latter will possibly be considered as the successor of Tolophon *. After the most diligent search in the town we found no ancient monuments likely to throw any light upon its history. All we discovered was a bas-relief in the wall of a church, representing an embossed Argolic shield, and two monumental inscriptions; the first, one of those simple unaffected epitaphs so common in

* Pausan. x. c. 38.

Gerece, ΠΟΛΥΞΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ, "POLYXA FAREWELL;" the second an interesting memorial of ancient hospitality.

ΚΛΕΟΔΑΜΟΣ
ΞΕΝΩ
ΑΜΟΤΙΜΑ,
"CLEODAMUS DEDICATES THIS TO HIS HOST AMOTIMAS*."

This day happened to be the festival of St. Nicolo, a crafty elf who, as I have before remarked, has taken the Greek sailors under his holy protection, and usurped every thing but the title of old Neptune: during our walk we heard a gun discharged from every ship which carried one, as in duty bound, and when we arrived at the house of our old pilot to breakfast, we observed all the flags in port flying at the mast head. During our meal, one of the Greek priests, for all this fraternity were in motion, came to administer the sacrament to the family: a particular kind of loaf marked with sacred letters was produced for the purpose, which the priest cut with peculiar ceremonies and forms of prayer; but nothing could be more careless and indecorous than the whole manner in which this solemn rite was performed: its whole efficacy was evidently considered to lie in the burning a wax taper, in the grimaces and crossings of the priest, and the prayers which he gabbled over, like a parrot, whilst the communicants talked and laughed with each other as if they had been merely witnessing the tricks of a juggler. The priest having received a piaster for his trouble, hurried out of the house to repeat the ceremony to as many as could afford to pay him the same sum.

This night we slept on board the little bark in which we were to perform our voyage, and the wind changing to a favourable point before morning, we found ourselves when we emerged upon deck, in the

* The word ξένος having a double signification, it is possible that Cleodamus himself may be the host in this instance, and Amotimas the guest.

Corinthian gulf, just opposite the city of Lepanto*, with the castles of Rhium and Anti-Rhium in sight: soon afterwards we cast anchor in the roads of Patras, but were unable to land on account of the quarantine laws which had lately been established. We had the pleasure of seeing our old friend Mr. Strani, who came down and conversed with us from the shore, and sent us some excellent wine on board. As the master of our bark was disappointed, as well as his passengers, in a disembarkation being prohibited at Patras, we easily persuaded him to carry us on to Santa Maura; and in a few hours we were in full sail upon the Ionian waves. The day was brilliant and the sun, which shone upon the magnificent snowy mountains of Etolia and the clustering islands rising from the bosom of the deep, was quite enlivening. The songs of the Greek sailors, who thus cheer their labours, had the effect of rousing poor Mahomet the tatar from the stowage below, where he had early retreated, to chew the secret cud of disappointment. But now he came briskly upon deck followed by a companion, who though an interloper in the company, had scarcely been noticed before. This interesting personage was no less than a genuine Greek fiddler, picked up on the very roots of Parnassus, to make sweet melody and chase away blue demons from the brow of Mahomet during the tedious hours of his sea-voyage. Both of them being seated on deck in a recumbent posture, they struck up one of those wild national airs, which, in spite of the most tremendous nasal sounds, and tortured catgut, accord wonderfully with the scenery of Greece and the manners of its inhabitants, arresting the attention and pleasing the imagination of the stranger. These songs turn generally upon the exploits and adventures of Ali Pasha or some other modern hero, and in sound-

* The pasha of this place was a strong instance of that sudden elevation of fortune from the lowest to the highest ranks of society which occurs so constantly in Turkey. A few years ago he had been a menial servant in the house of Mr. Pouqueville, French consul at Ioannina, from whom I had the anecdote.

ing the praises of his illustrious chieftain the tatar seemed to feel no fatigue by his exertions: nay, his countenance began even to assume in some degree its former state of complacency, when alas! the instability of human happiness! the sky became overcast, the breeze freshened, and as if the elements themselves had been put into disorder by the discordant sounds of our musicians, it blew a violent gale; this soon put an end to the concert, and drove our little vessel for shelter under the lee of a small island in the cluster called by the moderns Curzolari, and by the ancients Echinades, near to which the famous battle of Lepanto was fought under the patronage of St. Andrew, and where the Achelous still pours its muddy waters into the sea. This river no longer mourns his horn broken off in the Herculean contest—having regained its ancient ascendancy * over the land, it now empties itself by two channels, each at a considerable distance from the other; its inundations higher up the country are frequently extensive and alarming.

Under shelter of this island we lay snug for the space of three days whilst the storm raged without, but at length we began to be incommoded by the swell of the sea; the danger of famine, to which we were exposed, was averted by a supply of most delicious fish, which abound in these shallows and seem to thrive upon the mud with which the sea is discoloured to a great extent by the Achelous; they had very much the appearance and flavour of a perch.

Our old pilot did not bear this delay with his usual equanimity: before his departure from Galaxithi he had dedicated a large wax taper to the Neptunian Nicolo, and the saint had broken his contract in two instances, first in permitting a quarantine, and next in sending

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* It has acquired this ascendancy since the days of Statius.

Herculea turpatus gymnade vultus
Amnis adhuc imis vix truncam attollere frontem
Ausus aquis, glaucoque caput summersus in antro
Mæret, anhelantes ægrescunt pulvere ripæ.

a storm: in a whisper however to Antonietti, he acquitted his holiness of all blame in this business, who was never known to deceive a sailor; but he accused bitterly the priest of converting the taper to his own private advantage. On the fourth day the storm and rain abated, and about noon we again set sail upon the Ionian gulf, coasting along the high shores of Acarnania, amidst innumerable little islands which stud the surface of this beautiful sea: among these we recognised with no common interest the small rock of Ulysses, with its deep bay in the centre, cutting the island as it were into two peninsulas: we were unable to reach it as the wind lay directly in our teeth. The gale increasing, we again ran for shelter under a barren isle, nearly opposite the town of Dragomesti, from whence we sailed during the night. The Greek sailors never steer by chart, and our pilot being rather inexperienced in this part of the coast, ran foul of a rock near the mouth of the channel of Sta. Maura: the shock started us from our cabins, but we got off without injury. The wind fortunately was moderate, or we should certainly have finished our travels in sight of the Leucadian promontory without the opportunity of gaining celebrity by a leap from its precipice. In a few hours more we cast anchor in the narrowest part of the Dioryctos just opposite the capital of the island.

This town, situated upon a low sandy promontory, presents nothing striking in its external appearance: its interior we never beheld, but from all accounts we experienced no loss: it is backed by extensive olive plantations which reach to the foot of a chain of mountains. The salt works in the environs render it very unhealthy, and fevers are more common and more fatal here than at any other of the Ionian islands. A long narrow causeway, supported on low arches, crosses the salt marshes and connects the city with the castle, a strong fortress, which enabled the French garrison to hold out for several months against our arms in 1810, and which has since been considerably strengthened by the local government. Ali Pasha however, the crafty ruler of Albania, took advantage of the English simplicity or ignorance to build a fort

on the Acarnanian side of the channel, which completely commands it; he also built another at the opposite end of the Dioryctos, so that he commands now both entrances into the channel. Under the politic government of the Venetians both he and every Ottoman power were prohibited from erecting a fortress within one mile of the coast.

Santa Maura, under its ancient name of Leucadia, was a Corinthian colony, and if we except one epoch when, under the protection of the mother country it established a powerful marine, and another under Nero, who accorded to the island the right of governing itself by its own laws, it is noted in history only for misfortunes political and physical. In all ages it has been greatly subject to the destructive fury of earthquakes, which still at times shake it to its very foundations*. To this cause some persons refer the great rarity of antique monuments, very few having been discovered to attract the attention of the curious. Historic annals leave no description of any splendid edifices, except the temple of Apollo, the protector of the island; nor is it probable that architecture would flourish when exposed to a continual war of the elements. The general forerunner of such convulsions is a fearful stillness in the air, whilst a thick mass of clouds rests upon the highest mountain peaks and summits of the interior: the ancients, ignorant of natural causes and effects, thought they beheld Jupiter himself descending at these times in dark and gloomy majesty, whilst earth trembled under the footstep of that deity who shook Olympus under his feet.

Αὐτὸς δὲ χρύσειον ἐπὶ θρόνον ἐυρύοπα Ζεὺς
Ἕζετο· τῷδ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγας πελεμίζετ' ὄλυμπος. Il. Θ. 442.

* Pliny even hints that the Dioryctos or channel which insulates Leucadia by separating it from Acarnania, owed its origin to this cause (Nat. Hist. l. ii. c. 90.); though in a subsequent part of his work he says it was cut by the labour of the inhabitants, l. iv. c. 1. In the time of the Peloponnesian war Leucadia was again become a peninsula, and possessed some territory on the Acarnanian coast; for Thucydides speaks of its possessions being devastated both without the Isthmus and within it, which latter part he observes contained the city of Leucas and the temple of Apollo, l. iii. c. 94. He also notices the transportation of ships across the Isthmus, l. iv. c. 8. In the time of Strabo the island was joined by a bridge to the continent: νῦν δὲ πορθμὸς γεφύρᾳ ζεύκτὸς, l. x. p. 311.

"He, whose all-conscious eyes the world behold,
Th' eternal thunderer sate thron'd in gold.
High heaven the footstool of his feet he makes,
And wide beneath him all Olympus shakes*.

Pliny makes mention of only one city in this island, called Leucas, and more anciently Neriton, as the island itself was named Neritis†. Thucydides speaks of a place called Ellomenos‡, but is the only author: Homer makes mention of Neritus§, and is also thought by many of his commentators to allude to two cities of Leucadia called Crocyléa and Ægilips, in the 140th line of his catalogue. From the following inscription which was copied for me by a Greek gentleman, from a monument found near the capital, one might suppose that another city called Apollonia, once existed on the island:

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΙ
ΩΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΑΝ ||.

The medals or coins which are found here belong generally to other cities of ancient Greece: the sepulchres which have been opened are remarkable for their plainness and simplicity, also the sepulchral lamps and vases discovered are of terra cotta, coarse and devoid of ornament, nor have any remnants of sculpture been hitherto brought to light. I believe the annals of ancient history are totally silent respecting any Leucadian who arrived at eminence in literature, science, or the fine arts¶: yet in the present generation it is said that the youth of Santa

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* Thus also the poet writes of Neptune, the monarch of the ocean.

Αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὄρεος κατεβήσατο παιπαλόεντος
Κραιπνὰ ποσὶ προβιβάς· Τρέμε δ' ὄρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλη
Ποσσὶν ἐπ' ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος· Il. ν. 17.

† Nat. Hist. l. iv. c. 1.

‡ L. iii. c. 94.

§ Od. Ω. 376.

|| I saw another inscription which appeared to be written in hexameter verse, found at Sfachiotes, a village of the interior; but so badly copied that I found it impossible to decypher.

¶ In common with the rest of Acarnania indeed, it may lay claim to Lysimachus, the preceptor of Alexander the Great, and Philip the physician, who cured him of a dangerous malady in Asia. (Plut. in Vit. Alex.)

Maura are apt at learning, and that a serious pensive character joined to great organic sensibility, fits them to shine in the abstruse sciences as well as in the works of imagination.

The commerce of Santa Maura is trifling, if we except the article salt, of which it exports annually a very large quantity, and from this, its fishery, and its oil, arise the principal items in its revenue. It exports also wine, oranges, and lemons. Its imports are principally cattle and grain from the opposite continent, manufactured articles and colonial produce from Trieste and Malta. Its general commerce will probably increase on the completion of the excellent quay which was at this time projected under the auspices of Colonel M'Combe, the capo di governo. It can never become an emporium, because the channel of Dioryctos scarcely affords draught of water for the smallest craft: our little bark was unable to approach within half a mile of the town; and what is worst of all, the water annually gets shallower by the vast quantity of sand and stones washed down from the adjacent mountains by the wintry torrents; so that future generations may perhaps see Leucadia again a promontory of Acarnania: ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο*.

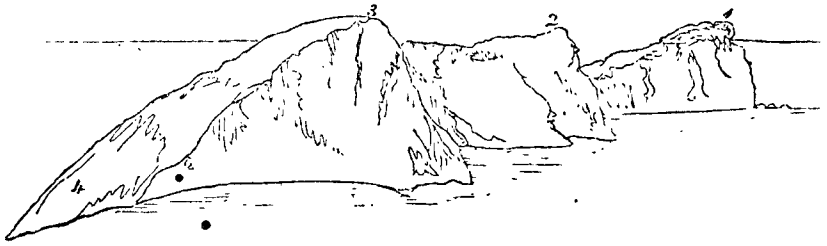
Santa Maura has gained a great accession of importance since the occupation of Prevesa and the other ex-Venetian towns upon the Albanian coast by Ali Pasha: it contains at present about 12,000 inhabitants, but is supposed capable, with good management, of supporting double that number: half of these are supposed to reside in the capital and half in the country. The peasants not having sufficient employment on their own sterile soil, travel like our Irish labourers, on the neighbouring continent, through Acarnania and Etolia, to gather in the harvest of their neighbours, which is always later than their own.

The quarantine laws, which now extended through the Ionian republic, prevented our making any excursions in this island; the first of which would of course have led us to the site of Apollo's temple, and

* Od. Ω. 377.

the "Leucatæ nimbosa cacumina montis," that "last sad refuge of despairing love." We understood that considerable ruins are to be seen upon the cliffs and that near the portentous leap a monastery is built in honour of St. Nicolo, to which, on his Neptunian festival, vast multitudes of the islanders with their continental neighbours annually repair*. Saving this disappointment the hospitality of Colonel M'Combe left us nothing else to regret: we were accommodated in a good house near the quay, in a part separated from the family, and received visits from the governor, Major De Bosset, and many of the principal inhabitants. We learned with regret that our old companion General Davies, who had arrived thus far on his journey to Epirus for the tatar's head, lay dangerously ill in the castle. It being known that our intention was to visit Ali Pasha at Ioannina, so many horrible and atrocious acts were told us of this Epirotian Echetus, whose name,

* That the reader may not suffer a similar disappointment, I have extracted for his information my friend Mr. Fiott Lee's account of this celebrated spot.



1. First hill nearest the point, on which appears a level spot about fifty yards long and twenty wide, covered with square and oblong stones, the foundation probably of Apollo's temple, from whence Sappho and other fashionables made their faux pas. Near it lie eight or ten large stones, probably a tomb or monument in honour of Sappho or somebody else.

2. The second hill where are many large square cut stones, and part of the foundation of some building still in place. Near this foundation many bones are discovered: probably there are tombs, and excavations might be made with success. We observed also the remains of a Venetian round tower.

3. The third hill, at the top of which are masses of rock, but no appearance of buildings: beyond this is a very narrow isthmus with the ground sloping gradually to the sea on the south side. The north side of the land presents a perpendicular surface. An inscription is said to be cut on the cliff under No. 2, and to be visible to a person in a boat below.

4. A narrow isthmus.

If the spot No. 2 was to be cleared of bushes and soil, probably the whole site of the temple might be ascertained. Lodgings for the night may be procured at the convent.

like that of his predecessor, is used as a bug-bear to frighten children*, that stouter hearts than ours might have been alarmed, had we not known the propensity of the Greeks to exaggerate stories of this kind, as well as their ingenuity and talent at invention. Some of these accounts however were confirmed to us upon the authority of English officers, and one which occurred only a few months before our arrival was fresh in the mouths of all. A continental Greek who had escaped from the vengeance of this despot was shot by two of his emissaries in open day in the public square of Sta. Maura: being arrested by the British sentinels they made no secret of their employer, and seemed quite unconscious of having committed a crime. They were tried before a military tribunal and condemned, the one to captivity for ten years, and the immediate assassin for life. As soon as Ali heard of this sentence he had the effrontery to send and demand their release: the answer returned was ingeniously calculated to place him in a dilemma. "They had not only been condemned for a crime which was in itself unpardonable, but had even had the audacity to calumniate the character of his highness himself, by declaring that he was their instigator and adviser." After this rebuke he left the felons to their fate, and no Albanian or Greek foreigner is now allowed to enter the island armed. Soon after our occupation of Santa Maura Ali Pasha disappointed at being unable to gain possession of it himself, and irritated by the refuge which it afforded to the victims of his tyranny, captured the crews of three boats from Ithaca and Cephalonia and hung them all, under pretence that they were robbers, on the Acarnanian coast, exactly opposite the city.

December 27. About noon, having taken leave of our kind friends

* The character of this monster of cruelty in the heroic ages is thus portrayed by the Homeric pencil. In the subsequent history the reader will see how far it agrees with that of his Albanian successor:

Πέμψω σ' Ἠπειρόνδε βαλὼν ἐν νηΐ μελαίνῃ
Εἰς EXETON βασιλῆα, βροτῶν δηλήμονα πάντων,
Ὅς κ' ἀπὸ ῥῖνα τάμῃσι καὶ ὦατα νηλέι χαλκῷ
Μήδεά τ' ἐξερύσας δώῃ κυσὶν ὠμὰ δάσασθαι· Od. Σ. 8.

Colonel M'Combe and Major De Bosset, we set sail in a small boat: we had failed in our attempt the day before, when, the wind being fresh, our bark grounded in the channel, where we must have remained but for the efforts of a Greek sailor, who, by dint of main strength heaved us off the shallows: the brawny shoulders and muscular power of this man reminded us of an ancient Athleta. Having passed the castle and a small island nearly opposite its north extremity, where we were challenged by an English sentinel, the towers and forts of Prevesa were dimly seen peering above the distant waves:

—— "and with them stern Albania's hills,
Dark Suli's rocks, and Pindus' inland peak,
Robed half in mist, bedewed with snowy rills,
Arrayed in many a dun and purple streak,
Arise; and as the clouds along them break,
Disclose the dwelling of the mountaineer:
Here roams the wolf, the eagle whets his beak,
Birds, beasts of prey, and wilder men appear,
And gathering storms around convulse the closing year."

Childe Har. Cant. ii. St. 51.

The sun was bright, the sea calm, and the water quite transparent*: its depth varying from about three to four fathoms we could see the bottom all the way covered with innumerable marine plants, like a thick copse of brushwood: from contemplating this novel and beautiful scene as we glided over the placid surface, we were aroused by the melancholy sound of the castle guns at Santa Maura discharging the last honours over the corpse of our late companion.

At length a prospect truly oriental rose to view. This was Prevesa, with its gorgeously painted seraglio, forts, and minarets, surrounding that fine inlet of the Ambracian gulf where a cold-blooded tyrant and

* Its complete tranquillity was preserved by a long ridge of rocks which project for several miles into the sea from the northern point of Sta. Maura.

a hot-brained debauchee contended for the empire of the world. Well might the indignant bard exclaim,

"God! was thy globe ordain'd for such to win and lose?"

The miserable huts of the town itself are concealed by these edifices, which at some distance seem floating on the waves, whilst the dark mountains of Suli and the snow-capt summits of the more distant Pindus form one of the most magnificent back-grounds the imagination can picture to itself.

About sunset we entered the bay, in which we observed a brig and a schooner riding at anchor surrounded by a considerable flotilla; a part of the shore was lined with fishing-boats, but few merchant vessels were to be seen. At landing we were met by the English vice-consul Signor Valentini, with Signor Giannivella the Greek codgiàbashee*, who conducted us to the house of a respectable old gentleman who had been a merchant of good repute under the Venetian government, though now reduced to a state bordering upon poverty. We had no reason however to complain of our accommodations.

* The principal duties of this officer are to keep the accounts of the Greek population—to collect the haratch and other taxes, to distribute the burdens of payment equally among his townsmen—to provide necessaries, &c. for those who carry the pasha's bouyourdee. In the villages he acts as a kind of governor.

Plan of Nicopolis.

1. Sepulchres.—2. A small Lake.—3. Greek Church of the Lower Empire.—4. Small Theatre.—5. Gymnasium.—6. Stadium.—7. Large Theatre.—8. Small Serai of Ali Pasha.—a. a. a. Remains of Aqueduct.

CHAPTER XIV.

Contrast between the once flourishing, and the present wretched State of Prevesa—Conquest by the Venetians—Ruin by Ali Pasha—Miseries of the Inhabitants, &c.—Visit to the Vaivode—Inscription in the Wall of a Gateway—Turkish Mosque—Codgiâ-Bashee—Regulation of Police—Excursion to the Ruins of Nicopolis—Site, Origin, and Privileges of that City—Examination of its Antiquities—Tombs—Aqueduct—Citadel—Gateway and Walls—Inscription, &c.—Small Theatre—Bath—Great Suburb—Gymnasium—Stadium—Large Theatre—Actian Games—Description of Theatre—Anecdote of Augustus and his Dedication of Statues—Historical Remarks upon Nicopolis—Its Decline, partial Recovery, and Fall—Return to Prevesa—Survey of its Fortifications—Grand Seraglio—Cruel Extortion—Second Visit to Nicopolis—Purchase of Antiquities—Embark on the Ambracian Gulf—Actium—Dogana of Salagora—Serai—Construction of a new Road to Arta—Wild Fowl and Swans upon the Gulf.

NEXT morning we extended our walks over this once-flourishing city, and had an opportunity of seeing into what a state of perdition

it has fallen. Formerly it exhibited a curious intermixture of Greek and Italian architecture in its handsome churches, convents, streets, and squares, with a population of 16,000 souls. Blessed with a delicious climate and an incomparable fertility of soil, it possessed also the finest fisheries in the Ionian sea*, olive-grounds and vineyards which were the envy of its neighbours, harbours sheltered from every blast, and woods spreading round the Ambracian gulf capable of supplying timber for all the navy of Greece; in short, it combined every advantage both of agriculture and commerce, where, if any where, the visions of the golden age might be realized. The Venetians, deeply impressed with a sense of its importance, especially regarding its connexion with the Ionian isles, made great efforts to obtain possession of it, which they accomplished under their great commander Morosini in the year 1684, immediately after their conquest of Santa Maura. When the lines round the place were completed, they sent in a messenger to summon its surrender, who was barbarously shot by the Turks: but the garrison soon afterwards capitulated on the following terms; that thirty of their chiefs should march out of the town with arms and baggage, the rest unarmed and with as many moveables as each could carry, all the slaves being set at liberty. Since that time it remained under Christian government and attached to the Ionian state, until Ali Pasha taking advantage of the late struggles which convulsed the whole of Europe, contrived its overthrow, having defeated the French garrison under General Salsette upon the plains of Nicopolis. Since that time what a change has been effected in its condition! Its inhabitants are now reduced to about 3000, and these for the most part worn down by famine and disease, stalk like spectres about the deserted streets over which the

* The Ambracian gulf was anciently celebrated for its fish. It supplied the table of the epicure with two species particularly renowned, the κάπρος and the λάβραξ; this last was even dignified with the splendid title of θεοπαῖς. Athenæi. Deipn. l. vii. 305 & 311.

gloom of departed prosperity is spread. Most of the houses, and all the churches, except one, have been levelled to the ground; greatest part of the present inhabitants dwell in the suburbs, under sheds literally constructed of hurdles, open to the sight of every passer-by, and exposed to all the winds of heaven. Here and there indeed appear the handsome new-built edifices of their Turkish despoilers, and with the melancholy dejection of the fallen Greek is contrasted the stately dignity of the turbaned Osmanlee or the haughty strut of the Albanian mountaineer with his flowing hair and white capote thrown loosely over his shoulders.

A few of the old inhabitants still retain a part of their former possessions: but the number of these decreases daily. The tears trickled down the cheeks of our venerable host whilst he recounted to us the series of his misfortunes. A little before our arrival 300 fine trees, the last remnant of his olive-grounds, had been taken from him and given to an Albanian officer in the pasha's service. He had been obliged to pay annually a contribution of 3000 piasters, nor did he expect that a single para of this exaction would be remitted, though the means of furnishing it were thus taken away. A lingering death by famine in the streets, as hundreds of his fellow-citizens had perished, seemed to await the poor old gentleman and his aged wife. To our inquiries why he did not sell the little of his property that was left and emigrate, he answered, that by having remained in Prevesa since its occupation by the pasha, seduced by his deceitful promises, he had made himself his subject, and that such an one cannot leave the country without permission and giving sureties for his return: that no person can purchase his property, and the very proposal would be attended with confiscation and perpetual imprisonment. Notwithstanding his systematic oppression and continual demolition of Prevesa, it is a very favourite residence of the pasha, his great naval depôt, fortified by the strongest works and adorned by the finest palace in his dominions. Neither the casual observer nor the unfortu-

nate victims of his despotism, can reconcile this apparent contradiction, or develop the motives of what seems to be such tyrannical caprice: to estimate these it is necessary to be acquainted with the history of this extraordinary man.

No post being established here, the Turkish vaivode sent to offer his own horses and attendants, if we contemplated a visit to the ruins of Nicopolis; we accordingly waited upon him to acknowledge so polite a mark of attention, and agreed to avail ourselves of it next morning. His residence was in the old seraglio, the court of which we entered by a massive gateway, in which ancient marbles were mixed up with the modern brick-work: on one of these I copied the following inscription:

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΙΚΑΙΣΑ
ΡΙΘΕΟΥΥΙΩΙΣΕΒΑ
ΣΤΩΙΜΑΛΛΩΤΑΙ

TO THE EMPEROUR CÆSAR AUGUSTUS SON OF THE DEIFIED JULIUS THE PEOPLE OF MALLUS.

This dedication was made probably after the battle of Actium, but conjecture itself is at a loss where to place the people*. I observed several other inscriptions which had been sawed asunder by the workmen, concerning which no other remark is necessary, than one of indignation, that this interesting and unfortunate country should be subject to such barbarous powers.

We found the vaivode, like the generality of Albanian governors, smoking his pipe and surrounded with his picturesque and ragged

* The city of Mallus in Cilicia, where was the celebrated oracle of Amphilochus, is mentioned by many geographers and historians, but I cannot find one who even hints at a city of this name in Europe. Yet there seems to be such a connexion with this said Amphilochus, who gave his name to the Amphilochian Argos in the vicinity of the Ambracian gulf, and who, according to Origen (cont. Celsum, p. 131, 2.) was worshipped in Acarnania, as might lead us to imagine that a city of this name did exist somewhere hereabouts. Concerning the people, Steph. Byzant. in voce Μαλλὸς writes, ὁ πολίτης, Μαλλώτης, καὶ θηλυκὸν, Μαλλῶτις. Vid. etiam Strabon. lib. xiv. p. 675. Τὸν γὰρ Μόψον φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀμφίλοχον ἐκ Τροίας ἐλθόντας κτίσαι Μαλλόν· ἔφ' Ἀμφίλοχον εἰς Ἄργος ἐλθεῖν·

satellites. He received us with such cordial civility that I have no doubt but that great expectations had been excited in the country respecting our arrival, ever since the departure of Mahomet the tatar to Athens; an opinion which was confirmed at every subsequent step we took throughout Albania. Having partaken of pipes and coffee, we returned to our lodging, observing on our way, near the great gate of the Serai, a very fine new mosque which had been erected by Ali, contrary to the solemn faith of treaties, for the service of those who were now fattening on the spoils of unfortunate Prevesa. This building had been constructed with some degree of elegance; upon one of its pillars the figures of eagles are carved in high relief, instead of volutes, with basket-work between them and leafy ornaments below; it is supplied by an aqueduct with water, an article so necessary for the ablution of the faithful mussulman.

We spent a few hours in the evening with Signore Gianivella, the codgià-bashee of Prevesa, who possesses a very fine collection of cameos and intaglios with a few beautiful medals. Amongst his intaglios, one representing the head of Arsinoe covered with a mantle, is of the first style of excellence: for this gem he had refused the sum of one hundred dollars. When we departed, a servant carried a lantern before us to our lodging, without which appendage we might have been subjected to serious insult from the patrole. This is a police regulation throughout Turkey, but it is more strictly enjoined in the states of Ali Pasha than in any other; and for the annoyance of the poor Prevesans, the lantern hour is fixed here much earlier than elsewhere, so that they may be said literally to light the sun to bed all the year round.

December 28. This morning the vaivode sent six horses richly caparisoned, together with two guards, to attend us to Nicopolis. We carried our guns with us, being assured that game of all sorts abounded in the district. After one hour's ride through fertile olive grounds we descried the extensive remains of this great City of Victory, which was

founded by Augustus in memory of a battle that made him master of the world. Its magnificence seems to have corresponded with the grandeur of its origin and the glory of its founder. A fine isthmus, rather more than one mile broad in its narrowest part, formed by the Bay of Comarus on the west, and by a sweeping curve of the Ambracian gulf on the eastern side, sheltered from the north by a beautiful ridge of vine-clad hills, and open to the southern breeze where a gentle slope gives a full view of the Ionian sea and its clustering islands, formed the superb site of this monument of Roman power *; a city which rose not, like many, from an humble origin to a splendid destiny, but which, as soon as it began to exist, started at once into magnificence.

The precise spot on which the city was built corresponded with that on which the army of Augustus was encamped: it was peopled with inhabitants, and adorned with monuments of art, from various towns in Epirus and Greece, particularly those on the borders of the Ambracian gulf and others of Acarnania and Etolia †. The persons thus invested with rights of citizenship at Nicopolis had no reason to repent the change, when the desolate state of their own countries at that period is taken into consideration, especially as they received great immunities and privileges from the liberality of its founder, amongst which we find the presidency of the Actian Games, (removed to this new arena from their ancient promontory), the envied right of sending members to the Amphictyonic council, and the honour of being entitled a free city ‡.

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*. See the plan of Nicopolis at the head of this chapter.

† Πόλιν τὲ τινα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τόπῳ, τὰς μὲν συναγείρας τὰς δ' ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιοχώρων, συνῴκισε. Dion Cass. lib. li. sub. init. Pausanias specifies Ambracia, Anactorium, and Calydon by name. L. v. c. 23. vii. c. 18. Strabo says Ἡ μὲν δὴ Νικόπολις ἐυανδρεῖ καὶ λαμβάνει καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπίδοσιν, χώραν τε ἔχουσα πολλὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων κόσμον· &c.

‡ Plin. N. Hist. l. iv. c. 1. Pausan. l. x. c. 8. Servius (in Æneid. III. 500) makes the following remark. "Cum in Epiro Nicopolim conderet (Augustus) cavit in fœdere civitatis ipsius ut Cognati

The first view of the isthmus, covered with immense remains of ancient edifices, is particularly curious and striking. The most prominent object is the ruin of a large theatre, cresting the top of a rising eminence, and presenting at a distance the exact appearance of a castellated baronial fortress: near the entrance of the city we saw and examined a number of fine sepulchral columbaria both within and without the walls, not excavated in the Greek manner, but built of Roman brick. The interior was generally of a square form, fitted up with alcoves, some greater and others less in magnitude, underneath which the terra-cotta vases containing the ashes of the defunct were deposited like beautiful toys in a shop: a vast number of similar and interesting relics may be seen to great advantage in the British Museum. Amidst the remnants of edifices both public and private the most remarkable was a long line of broken arches and buttresses belonging to an aqueduct, which brought a copious supply of water from the astonishing distance of at least thirty miles. We subsequently visited its source at the little village of San Giorgio, near the springs of the river of Luro. Its channel is chiefly cut in a winding level along the sides of mountains till within a few miles of Nicopolis, where the arcade commences.

Soon after entering within the precincts of the city, we passed near a Greek church on the edge of the Ambracian gulf, in a wall of which appeared two ancient tablets of stone, sculptured in high relief and representing chaplets of flowers, but of inferior execution; from hence we directed our steps towards a large enclosure of wall, which

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observarentur a Romanis." To this alliance or relationship Virgil alludes when he puts these lines into the mouth of Æneas.

Cognatas urbes olim, populosque propinquos
Epiro, Hesperiâ, (quibus idem Dardanus auctor
Atque idem casus), unam faciemus utramque
Trojam animis: maneat nostros ea cura nepotes.

Soon after the foundation of Nicopolis many Romans and Italians settled upon the western coasts of Epirus for speculations of commerce, and Buthrotum was made a Roman colony.

ppears to have been the acropolis or citadel, built probably round the identical spot which the emperor's camp occupied on the night before the battle of Actium*, and which, as Suetonius informs us, he adorned with the spoils of his naval victory †. We learn from Dion Cassius that this space was afterwards so enclosed, and that outworks were carried from it as far as the Gulf of Comarus, the remains of which still attest their existence in nearly the whole of their extent, especially that which ran from the north-west angle of the citadel to the sea ‡. The reader will observe this distinctly marked in the plan of Nicopolis prefixed to the chapter. The S. and W. wall of this citadel remain in a very high state of perfection, especially the latter, which is flanked externally with strong square towers, occurring at regular intervals of about one hundred yards, opposite to which internally are projections, each supported by three circular arches with two flights of steps for combatants to ascend the battlements. Near the middle of this wall, but nearer to the south-west angle, is a very fine gateway flanked on the outside by two massive round towers, and still retaining the deep grooves by which its heavy portcullis was elevated or depressed. The appearance both of the gateway and the walls testifies the hurried manner of their construction: rows of large stones are alternately mixed with layers of brick-work, whilst marble fragments and even sepulchral monuments are observed in the mass, as was the case in the long walls of Athens described by Thucydides: from one of these marble blocks I copied the following portion of an inscription; the rest was hid or effaced.

ΓΑΥΚΥΤΑΤΗΙ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΑΙΓΙΑΕ
ΙΤΗ ΓΑΥΚΥΤΑΤΗΙ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΚΑ.

* The place of the emperor's tent was upon one of the heights to the north of Nicopolis behind the great theatre, where I understand that ruins have been discovered, which may have been a part of the enclosure alluded to by Dion Cassius. Τὸ τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοις ἀλῶσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἔδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὑπαίθριον ἱδρυσάμενος· L. li. sub. init.

† "Ampliato vetere Appollinis templo, locum castrorum quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit." Vit. Aug. c. 18.

‡ Καὶ αὐτό τε ἐκρατύνατο καὶ τείχη ἀπ' αὐτῆ ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἔξω τὸν κόμαρον κάθηκε. L. l. c. 12.

It is dedicated to "The sweetest of Mothers and the sweetest of Daughters." The names are undistinguishable: but it is worthy of remark how fond the ancient Greeks were of commemorating the mild and quiet virtues of the feminine character. The interior of this acropolis contains many ruins of temples, baths, and other edifices, to which it would be hazardous to affix a name or offer an explanation: the chief material of which they are constructed is the large Roman brick and an ever-durable cement, whilst many chambers or vaults are found covered with a beautiful stucco. There is one spot, where the agents of the pasha had been making excavations, upon which some superb temple must once have stood: the numerous marble shafts and pieces of entablature that are discovered, are all carried off to be worked up in his forts and serai at Prevesa—thus perish even the ruins of Nicopolis; and the monuments of Augustus's glory serve to decorate the dwelling of an Albanian robber. Since our departure from Epirus I understand that his excavators have discovered a very fine bust of Trajan which now decorates one of the principal rooms in the Prevesan seraglio.

Passing through the great gateway, we entered immediately upon the site of the city. The first object of interest which occurred in our path was a beautiful little theatre, very perfect in all its parts, except the upper gallery or portico. As it is entirely built upon a level surface, the cavea or pit is supported upon arched corridors, into which vomitories lead, as in the plan of an amphitheatre. These corridors are lighted from without, by many oblong apertures, which increase in breadth through the thickness of the wall, like the windows in our Saxon or Norman architecture. The proscenium of this theatre is very perfect, as also is the fine flight of steps leading to the upper gallery: the ruins of buildings are very numerous in this neighbourhood, but very difficult of description. Proceeding in a direction S.W. about half way between the theatre and Gulf of Comarus, we arrived at a spacious edifice, commonly called the temple of Ceres:

but the very singular and intricate plan of its numerous apartments, the great quantity of niches for the display of statues, the deep circular channels in the marble blocks that composed the pavement, and its contiguity to, or rather junction with the great aqueduct, evidently point it out as one of those superb public baths which the Romans above all nations delighted to erect. After examining many remains in this quarter and taking the dimensions of some houses, which we found small in comparison with modern dwellings, we returned to the little theatre: from thence we passed through a gap in the city wall that led from the north-west angle of the acropolis to the sea, which conducted us into a great and splendid suburb * which seems to have been more adorned with public edifices than the city itself, and to have been the identical scene of the famous Actian games. For here, according to Strabo's account, was a sacred grove with a gymnasium and a stadium, for the celebration of the contests which were similar to those of Olympia. We soon arrived at what apparently are the remains of the first mentioned edifice; its apartments are spacious and irregular, some square, others triangular, and others semicircular: I measured one of the latter whose diameter was eighty-two feet. At the distance of about 200 yards from this gymnasium, we found the stadium, perfectly distinct in all its outline, but so overgrown with bushes and brambles that we were unable to take its dimensions. Almost contiguous to the stadium is that vast theatre which arrested our attention in the first prospect of Nicopolis. There can be no doubt but that this edifice was constructed for the purpose of the Actian games, though Strabo takes no notice of it; for Dion mentions a musical contest the very first in his list †, and I believe that such were invariably held in the theatre.

* It is called by Strabo the Προάστειον· Lib. vii. p. 325.

† Ἀγῶνά τε τινα καὶ μουσικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν, ἱπποδρομίας τε, πεντ[illegible]ηρικὸν, ἱερὸν (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὴν σίτησιν ἔχοντας ὀνομάζουσι) κατέδειξεν, Ἄκτια ἀντὸν προσαγορεύσας. Lib. li. c. i. We learn from this passage not only that the Actian games were removed to Nicopolis from their ancient promontory, where Virgil to flatter his sovereign introduces Æneas celebrating them, (Actiaque Iliacis celebramus

This opinion is confirmed by its immense dimensions, being capable, as I should conjecture, of containing at least 20,000 spectators. The building, though Roman, still shews something of the Grecian method in its construction: being excavated on the side of an eminence it has no external corridors and vomitories, but there were two entrances, one on each side the stage, from whence the people dispersed themselves over the coilon or pit by radiating flights of steps between the cunei. The eminence in which the theatre is cut being not high enough for the size contemplated, that part of the external circumference which supported the upper gallery or portico, is built of large blocks, whose projecting masses are perforated with square holes for the insertion of poles which sustained the awning. The scene itself is quite entire; a lateritial structure pierced with three large arched apertures or entrances, one in the centre and the two others at equal distances. The central entrance is what Vitruvius calls the Royal

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littora ludis,) but the very nature of the contests, which consisted in music, in the pentathlic exercises, and in chariot races; naval contests also are said by some authors to have been held; and this will perhaps account for the legend upon some of the Nicopolitan coins ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΥΑΡΧΙΔΟΣ where by the way we may remark the etymological error of the master of the mint who derived Nicopolis from ΝΕΙΚΟΣ instead of ΝΙΚΗ, making it the 'City of Strife,' instead of 'Victory.' Frœlich (in Tentamine in re numariâ) thinks the epithet ΝΑΥΑΡΧΙΣ alludes to some presidency over the marine of the province accorded to Nicopolis. The reader who wishes to see the various coins and medals of this city may consult the last mentioned author, and Arigonius de numism. Imp. Græc. Many of the legends are as follow. ΚΤΙCΤΗC ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC — ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑCΤΟC — CΕΒΑCΤΟΥ ΚΤΙCΜΑ — ΙΕΡΑC ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΟC. Those of Augustus are generally marked with the head of that emperor, laureated or decorated with the corona turrita: on the reverse a female figure seated on a throne with a spear in one hand and a small Victory in the other— or a pair of galleys filled with armed men—or the dolphin and trident—or the armed Minerva, &c. The devices on those of the other emperors are very numerous and some extremely beautiful—Bigæ—quadrigæ—Victories holding a laurel crown or palm-branch—Hercules with club and lion's skin—a tripod with serpent entwined, &c. With regard to the epithet ΙΕΡΑ or 'sacred' applied to Nicopolis, no doubt it received it from its presidency over the games, which were also denominated sacred, though probably not for the extraordinary reason given by Dion Cassius in the passage quoted above; viz. because a public feast was given. If by a feast (σίτησις) he means a lectisternium, he is nearer the truth, though still obscure. Julius Pollux (l. iii. c. 10) calls those games sacred, in which the victor received only a garland or crown for his reward: but Strabo seems to make a distinction between the sacred and the crowning games when he calls the Olympic contest both ἀγῶνα τε στεφανίτην τε καὶ ἱερὸν. Probably the real origin of the epithet was the solemn dedication of the games to some presiding deity. To this supposition may be objected the epigram of Archias

Τέσσαρες εἰσὶν ἀγῶνες ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τέσσαρες ἱροὶ
Οἱ δύο μὲν θνητῶν οἱ δύο δ' ἀθανάτων, &c.

To which it may be replied that the Nemean and Isthmian games were in fact under the peculiar protection of Jupiter and Neptune, whose temples stood on the scenes of action, though the contests were instituted in honour of Archemorus and Melicerta.

Gate (Portæ Regiæ); those on each side, the hospitalia or entrances for actors who played the part of foreigners or strangers in the piece. By Julius Pollux the middle entrance is denominated the Palace, or the Grand House, or the Cavern *, being the place of exit for the chief actor or protagonistes: that on the right hand he calls the Xenon (Ξενών) or entrance of strangers, and that on the left the Prison (εἰρκτή) through which criminals and captives were conducted.

On each side of the proscenium, or stage, is a large square apartment, used probably as a tiring-room or depôt for the machinery. These I shall venture to call the Parascenia (παρασκήνια) the situation of which has so greatly puzzled every one that has written upon the Greek theatre, and which generally are made an indistinct part of the stage itself: at the entrances of these rooms it appears, from Pollux, that moveable machines (περίακτοι) were placed, to which the scenic decorations were attached †.

The proscenium of this theatre is one hundred and sixteen feet in breadth; but in depth it is only twenty-eight feet measured from the hyposcenium to the great wall or scene wherein are the abovementioned apertures for the entrance of actors. Here is the great point of difference between the ancient and modern theatres: whilst in the former we are apt to think too little room left for the proper stage effect, we ought perhaps to deprecate in the latter the enormous space which is destined to pomp and spectacle, as being too favourable to that corrupt taste which sometimes drives the genuine drama from the stage to make room for harlequinade and pantomime.

The casing of the seats being entirely gone, we are unable to decide whether the Greek or Roman custom was followed in this instance ‡; but in the midst of the cavea we remarked, with some degree of astonish-

* Βασίλειον—δίκος ἔνδοξος—σπήλαιον· Lib. iv. c. 19.

† Ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ τὰ ἔξω πόλεως δηλοῦσα, ἡ δ' ἀριστερὰ τὰ ἐκ πόλεως, μάλιστα τὰ ἐκλιμένος. Lib. iv. c. 19.

‡ The Greeks generally cased the seats of the theatre with stone or marble, the Romans with wood.

ment, three excavations like pits, nearly filled up with stones and rubbish: at the time, we concluded they were the work of modern excavators: but from a passage which I have since met with in D'Orville's Sicula, I am now inclined to think they were reservoirs of water for the accommodation of the audience*.

Behind the theatre, upon one of the highest peaks of the northern range of hills, stands a small serai belonging to the vizir, built upon the spot where he fixed his tent to observe the battle of Nicopolis, when his eldest son Mouchtar Pasha routed the French and Prevesans at the head of his Albanian cavalry. The same spot is assigned by many intelligent travellers to the tent of Augustus before the battle of Actium: there he built an hypæthral edifice to Apollo, surrounded it with a stone enclosure, and dedicated the naval spoils, as well as two bronze statues of a man and an ass from an incident which, according to Plutarch, befell him just before the engagement. Going out of his tent early in the morning to reconnoitre the fleets, he met a countryman driving an ass and inquired his name. The rustic (catus quamvis rusticus) recognising the emperor and desirous of gratifying him by words of good omen, replied, my name is Eutyches (or Fortunate) and that of my ass is Nicon (or Victor). Augustus after the victory recollected the occurrence and dedicated the statues, but whether he appointed the countryman, as he was bound in gratitude, president of the college of augurs, history does not relate. The statues were removed to Constantinople and placed in the Hippodrome or Atmeidan, from whence they were taken by the barbarous Latins, at the capture of the city under Baldwin, and melted down together with a multitude of the choicest specimens of ancient art†.

As we stood on the highest part of this vast theatre from whence

* Et Scipio Maffæus in Gallic. Antiq. epist. xxiv. p. 142. agnoscit in theatro Arausionensi aquarum conductum sive receptaculum subterraneum ex more antiquorum: in theatro Hadriensi sunt duorum quasi puteorum ora IN IPSIS CUNEIS. P. 264.

† Mich. Glycæ, Annal. pars iii. p. 235.

every monument of Nicopolis may be seen, I pleased myself with the hopes that this interesting country might again fall under a civilized and Christian government, when a plan might be executed of refitting all these ancient edifices and establishing another colony on the spot: the walls, the sepulchres, the baths, the very houses are still applicable to their former uses; churches might rise upon the sites of temples, the gymnasium might be converted into a tennis-court, and the stadium into a riding-school: the aqueduct might be restored, and the theatres adapted to the representation of the modern drama. To say nothing of mental associations, the actual economy and convenience of this plan might sufficiently recommend it.

Concerning the annals of Nicopolis only a few trifling memorials are to be gleaned from the works of historians. How soon it enjoyed the light of Christianity is not precisely known, but that it was honoured early with the presence of that great champion of the Faith St. Paul, we may infer from his intention, expressed to Titus*, of spending the winter there on his return from Macedonia; from whence it is extremely probable that he had many Nicopolitan converts already established. Its reign of splendour was but short, for it soon experienced those bitter reverses of fortune which all the other unhappy provinces endured in the decline of the Roman Empire.

Its edifices and games were restored to a considerable degree of magnificence by the Emperor Julian; but this was a very transient gleam of prosperity. Alaric and his ferocious Goths retreating from the victorious arms of Stilicho in the Morea, spread themselves over Epirus, whilst destruction marked their path. Soon afterwards the Huns under Totila, having ravaged the islands on the coasts, invaded

* Epist. to Titus, c. iii. v. 12. The city here mentioned could not possibly have been (according to the surmise of some critics) Nicopolis on the Danube, or that in Thrace; for these were both built by Trajan in commemoration of victories: the first is styled upon coins ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙC ΠΡΟC ΙCΤΡΟ, (leg. ΙCΤΡΩ) the second ΠΡΟC ΜΕCΤΩ.

Epirus and laid waste particularly the territory of Nicopolis *. From these misfortunes it again raised up its head under Justinian who repaired its dilapidated edifices †, and we find it mentioned in the Byzantine annals as the capital of one of those provinces called Themes, into which the empire was divided by the successors of Heraclius. In the reign of Michael the Paphlagonian ‡ Nicopolis joined a great revolt of the Bulgarians against that emperor, produced by the insolence and extortions of his lieutenant Joannes Cutzomytes in exacting the tribute §. When this city became finally depopulated it is impossible to say, but from the state of its remains I should think that very few centuries have elapsed since the dwellings of Nicopolis afforded a refuge to other inhabitants instead of owls and foxes. Within these last twenty years it has suffered greater dilapidation than it probably had done for many preceding ages, since the fortifications and other extensive works at Prevesa owe in great measure their existence to the demolition of Nicopolis.

During our excursion amidst the ruins we had excellent sport in shooting plover, snipes, and wild ducks; and I have no doubt that game abounds in the neighbourhood: I put up one woodcock from some low bushes, and this was the only bird of that species which we saw in Greece, though at particular times and in certain places they are said to abound in a most astonishing manner. By thus traversing the plain in search of our sport, we came into contact with more of its monuments and inspected much more of its plan than we should have done by the ordinary method. About the close of day our

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* Διαβάντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐξαπινάιως ἅπαντα ἐληΐζοντο τὰ ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην χωρία, καὶ διαφερόντως ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΝ τε καὶ Ἄγχισον. Procop. de Bell. Got. lib. iv. c. 22.

† Ἀνανεώσατο δὲ τὴν Νικόπολίν τε καὶ Φωτικὴν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ὠνομασμένην· Procop. de Æd. l. iv. c. 1.

‡ He began his reign A. D. 1034.

§ Cedreni Hist. Compend. p. 774

friend the codgià-bashee made his appearance on horseback to escort us home, and we accompanied him to Prevesa, discoursing upon the glory of the ancient Hellenes and the misery of their poor descendants.

Next morning we inspected the fortifications of Prevesa, which were constructed by Ali Pasha under the direction of French engineers, during the time he was in amity with Buonaparte. Colonel Vaudoncourt* was intrusted with this commission, who complains bitterly of the pasha's avarice, which interrupted all his plans, until he was obliged to yield implicitly to the suggestions of a semi-barbarian, and build works for shew rather than resistance. Certainly the fortifications of Prevesa have not much appearance of strength, except in the broad and deep ditch which isolates the bluff point on which the town is situated; the bastions of the surrounding wall are mounted with guns of all calibre, from old ship cannon, twenty-four and thirty-two pounders, to small swivels and light field-pieces, all intermingled together. Most of these guns are quite useless, and would either burst at the first discharge or at least shatter to pieces their rotten carriages. We observed many pieces of fine marble cornice and mutilated inscriptions inserted in these works, a compilation of classic spoils from Nicopolis, Actium, Anactorium and other towns round the Ambracian gulf. The circuit of the fortifications brought us to that magnificent new seraglio which the vizir has built at the entrance of the bay. The interior was at this time scarcely finished and a part only furnished, a few apartments being fitted up with sofas of Cyprus velvet, Persian carpets, and Venetian mirrors. I measured the great hall or apartment for the guards, which I found to be two hundred feet in length by forty in breadth; out of this, near the centre, branch two galleries each sixty feet long: at one end of this hall are the vizir's

* Now a General in the French service: he has since published a work upon the Ionian Islands, as full of ingenuity and as full of errors as the works of his countrymen generally are.

state apartments; at the other his harem, divided into a great number of small apartments, for the accommodation of his numerous suite of ladies. The upper story is allotted chiefly to officers of the household. Adjoining the garden and near the kitchens are some fine baths, with every accommodation for luxury: passing through the gardens we came to the front of the seraglio close at the water's edge from whence a long deep canal, capable of admitting a boat is carried underneath the edifice up to the apartment of the harem, and secured by a strong iron gate, of which the vizir alone keeps the key. The exterior is built of wood, upon a basement of stone, painted in the most gaudy colours, for general effect, which is very pleasing at a distance, but executed by native artists without either taste in design or excellence of workmanship. I was informed that during the construction of this palace some thousands of miserable peasants both from Prevesa and its vicinity were obliged by a rigorous order to perform all the heavy work, without any other pay than rations of coarse bread made of Turkish wheat, and the casual distribution of a few paras.

Of all arts architecture gives us the most decided character of an age. In the ruins of ancient Greece we discover the grandeur of a generous and free people by the remains of magnificent edifices destined equally for utility and decoration: in the modern buildings scattered over the same tract we observe inelegant but gaudy structures, framed of the most perishable materials, and built only to last during the life of their possessors. Thus the buds of genius are withered by the breath of despotism, and insecurity, contracting the mind, forbids it to look forward into futurity.

After breakfast we made a second excursion to Nicopolis, and spent great part of the day amidst its interesting remains. Some of the peasants, whose cottages are scattered about the ruins, brought us several coins; but they were all of brass and devoid of interest. From the circumstance of that late and gradual decay, under which Nicopo-

lis sunk I conceive it to be that so few monuments of the fine arts are discovered underneath its soil*: it is scarcely probable that the labour and expense of excavation upon this site would be sufficiently rewarded.

Our friend the codgià-bashee dined with us to-day, and amongst other subjects of lamentation deplored the great influx of bad characters into Prevesa from the islands, since good government and strict justice had been established there by General Campbell. In the evening one of these Zantiot refugees brought various curiosities for sale, from whom my companions purchased a very curious sepulchral lamp, and the celebrated medal of Mitylene: I was fortunate enough to procure an interesting tetradrachm of Athens, upon which is inscribed the name of SOCRATES.

Next day we departed in a ten-oared barge belonging to the pasha, which was ordered out expressly for our accommodation: we soon cleared the point of a long low promontory opposite Prevesa, where most writers place the site of Actium, although in D'Anville's map it is occupied by Anactorium†. In the note subjoined I have endeavoured

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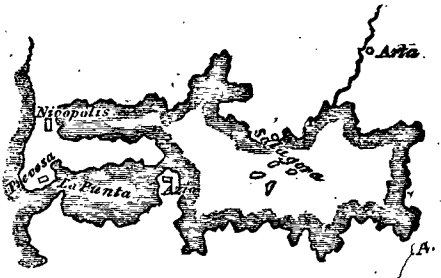
* From travellers who have visited the country subsequently to myself, I learn that Ali Pasha of late frequently ordered excavations to be made for the purposes of discovery. Nothing but one marble bust of Trajan has yet appeared. Yet even with this he seems uncommonly delighted, and like a semi-barbarian, makes anxious inquiries of the cognoscenti respecting its value.

† By the little sketch here annexed of the Ambracian gulf, the reader will, I trust, be able more easily to comprehend the merits of this question.



At the extremity of the low tongue of land opposite Prevesa, called La Punta, D'Anville places the site of Anactorium, and Actium upon the right of the two promontories, which form the fauces or entrance of the interior gulf. The great difficulty of determining these positions arises from the uncertainty in which ancient historians and geographers have, as usual, left us regarding the mouth of the Ambracian gulf: for it is generally allowed that Actium stood there. (Vid. Pliny, l. iv. c. 1. Dion Cass. l. li.

to investigate the causes which probably influenced that eminent geographer in his decision. Between the abovementioned point and the

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c. 12. Steph. Byz. in voce, &c.) Yet who shall wonder at the doubts of moderns, when he reads the following quotations from the accurate Thucydides, written within a few pages of each other?—"Crimine ab uno Disce omnes"—"ἐν ΑΚΤΙΩι τῆς Ανακτορίας γῆς, ἔ τὸ ἱερὸν τῦ Ακτίυ Ἀπόλλωνος ΕΠΙ ΤΩι ΣΤΟΜΑΤΙ τῦ Αμπρακικῦ κόλπυ." (L. i. p. 24. Ed. Duk.)

"Ανακτόριον, ὅ ἐστι ἐπὶ ΤΩι ΣΤΟΜΑΤΙ τῦ Αμπρακικῦ κόλπυ," p. 38. Polybius, à better geographer than Thucydides, says that this mouth is less than five stadia, or about half a mile in breadth, στενῷ παντελῶς στόματι, by which he seems to fix it where D'Anville has placed Actium, that entrance being about half a mile broad, whilst the bay opposite La Punta is much wider, and by no means like a στενὸν στόμα in appearance. But the most decisive author upon this point is Strabo, if full credit can be given to his assertions. He says that near the entrance or mouth of the gulf there is a *hill*, upon which stands the temple of Apollo, looking over the plain below. "Πλησίον τῦ στόματος ΛΟΦΟΣ τις ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ νεὼς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῷ πεδίον," l. viii. p. 325. Now the Punta is a low sandy promontory, perfectly level, whilst the other point is a bold rocky height. This author seems almost to make an evident distinction between the gulf of Prevesa and that of Ambracia. For after mention made of the port Glykys at the mouth of the Acheron, he comes in his regular description of the Epirotic coast to two successive bays, the first and smallest called Comarus, which, with the opposite one of Ambracia, forms the isthmus of Nicopolis, and the second and larger one, which appears to be *anonymous*, and can be no other than that of Prevesa—the same possibly which Scylax styles the κόλπος Ἀνακτορίος. The passage of Strabo is as follows: "μείζων καὶ ἀμείνων πλησίον του ΣΤΟΜΑΤΟΣ τῦ κόλπυ διέχων τῆς Νικοπόλεως ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίους." This distance accurately coincides with the port of Prevesa. Next to this the geographer goes on to say comes the Ambracian Gulf, whose mouth is little more than four stadia broad: ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὸ στόμα τῦ Αμβρακικῦ κόλπυ. Again, in book x. p. 450, he describes Anactorium as situated upon a chersonesus, and the emporium of Nicopolis: ἐπὶ χερρόνήσυ ἱδρυμένον Ακτίυ πλησίον. Now the only tract of land to which the denomination of a chersonesus appears at all applicable is the Punta, which is also much the most opportune site for the Nicopolitan emporium. Dion Cassius says that M. Antony fortified both sides of the Ambracian mouth or fauces with towers, filling up the intermediate space with his ships; and this again appears better calculated for the narrow entrance where D'Anville places Actium, as any one who has seen the place would confess. Plutarch is so very indefinite in his geographical details that his authority cannot be cited. We learn however from him, that the battle took place near the mouth of the gulf, where Antony's station was, and that it was delayed four days by a heavy swell of the sea; that the contest began on the fifth day at noon, with a wind blowing up the gulf, and ended in the defeat of Antony's fleet about four P. M., after its commander and Cleopatra had taken advantage of a change of wind, which must have happened during the fight, to escape from the contest and sail away. In addition to ancient testimonies, modern tradition, which still calls the ruins on the site of D'Anville's Actium by the name of Azio, favours the decision of that great geographer, who in the privacy of his closet composed better geographical charts than most persons can do who have the advantage of inspecting the countries themselves, and whose glory will appear in the strongest light if they be compared with the farrago that accompanies Anacharsis. In a subsequent visit which we made to Prevesa, I took a boat and went over to the opposite point (La Punta), and found a considerable quantity of foundations, with a few layers of reticulated Roman brick-work, as if many large buildings had once existed on the spot, but which did not give me the idea of a town or city. In a beautiful orangery attached to a rural casino I copied the following inscription, which, from its commemoration of the Actian Apollo, would form an argument for our ascribing this site to his temple, did not we know how frequently such relics are moved from their original situations, especially in the territories of Ali Pasha, who has made very free with antique marbles in the construction of his modern edifices: for instance, I observed the name of the Actian deity several times upon fragments which had been sawed asunder and used in the erection of his fortresses around Prevesa:

ΕΠ ΙΣΡΑΠΟΛΟΥ ΤΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΤΩΙ ΑΚΤΙΩΙ ΦΙΛΗΜΟΝΟΣ ΠΡΟΜΝΑΜΟΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΓΗΤΑΡΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΙΑ ΑΛΥΖΕΙΟΥ ΣΥΝΠΡΟΜΝΑΜΟΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΝΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟ-

narrow entrance or fauces of the Ambracian gulf, is a fine bay, making a deep curvilinear encroachment upon the Acarnanian coast. Here I conceive that the famous battle of Actium was fought, and as we glided, beneath its projecting cliffs, over that placid surface which once was stained with the best blood of Rome, it was impossible not to feel more than common sensations. In about one hour and a half we arrived at the narrow inlet of the gulf, compressed between two opposite rocky promontories, adorned with trees and shrubs. If that on the right hand was the famous Actian promontory, its temple must have commanded a superb view over the whole circuit of the bay whose sides and islands are wooded to the water's edge, and beyond which rise the noble summits of Mount Pindus. On this sacred height the Actian god is portrayed, in that animated description by Virgil, majestically contemplating the scene of contest, aiming his fatal shaft, and putting to sudden flight the Egyptian queen with all her satellites:

> Actius hæc cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
> Desuper; omnis eo terrore Ægyptus et Indi,
> Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabæi.
> Ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis
> Vela dare, et laxos jam jamque immittere funes.
>
> Æn. viii. 704.

As soon as we had passed through the narrow entrance a breeze

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ΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΑΣΤΑΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΥ ΦΟΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΑ ΒΟΥΛΑ ΠΡΟΙΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΠΕΙΘΕΟΣ ΜΑΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΑ..... ΕΔΟΞΕ ΤΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΚΟΙΝΩΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΙΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΑΓΑΣΙΑΝ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΗ ΠΟΠΛΙΟΝ ΛΕΥΚΙΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ ΑΚΙΛΙΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΣ ΕΝ ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΙΑΙ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΑΝΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΤΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΙΜΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΟΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΩΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ.

This inscription may possibly appear to others as affording a better presumption with regard to the locality of the place, than it does to me, and on that account I have inserted it here, since I am far from being decided on the merits of the question, and have thrown out the foregoing remarks rather with a view of exciting others to attempt its investigation than of determining it myself.

sprang up which quickly wafted us across this enchanting gulf* to the scala of Salagora, where there is a dogana or custom-house, and a small serai built for the pasha's accommodation when he visits Prevesa.

The rats were now dislodged from the state apartments, which were put in order for our reception. Here we dined, admitting the governor of the castle to our table; and here we would fain have slept, but the long-tailed inhabitants returning in large bodies during the night, took an ample revenge for their late ejectment.

Next morning we found considerable difficulty about proceeding, as our company required a much larger train of horses than could immediately be procured. Mahomet however was too proud of having regained his usual authority to permit this delay to be of long duration. He soon scoured the country around, putting into requisition all the horses of the unfortunate peasants, as if an enemy had landed on the coasts. The court of the serai was filled with such a collection of animals as I had never before witnessed in the shape of horses: about twenty of the best were selected, and their masters obliged to accompany them as far as Arta. Hence the reader may judge what a calamity is the appearance of foreigners in a place unprovided with a post. We lamented the circumstance, but there was no alternative: had it been practicable, I think the whole party would have preferred to walk rather than mount the beasts which were presented to them.

For a considerable distance the road to Arta follows the bending of the gulf: it was a delightful sight to observe its glittering surface covered with myriads of wild fowl of every species and plumage: amongst these a vast number of stately swans of dazzling whiteness sailed about like princes of the lake, whilst the shore was lined with eagles, vultures, and falcons, watching opportunities of darting on their prey. During our ride we shot a sufficient quantity of plover

* In Epiro nihil Ambracio sinu nobilius est. Pomp. Mel. l. ii. c. 4.

and snipes to make an excellent dinner at the end of the journey. The road was the best we had hitherto experienced in Greece, making very near approaches to an English turnpike. Its construction was carried on under the auspices of an Italian doctor, who thinking it easier to mend roads than constitutions, had turned engineer, and was appointed surveyor of highways to the Albanian sovereign. In a few places where the ground was particularly marshy a high causey was raised and paved, but in general the economical propensities of the master interfered with the measures of his engineer, as they had done at Prevesa, and we thought it doubtful which would first sink into oblivion, the pasha or his road.

View of a Greek Church at Arta.

CHAPTER XV.

Arrival at Arta—Curious Greek Church—General Appearance of the City and Environs, &c.—Site of Ambracia—Castle of Ambracus—Siege of Ambracia by the Romans—Acropolis—Religious Ceremonies in the Greek Church—Present from the old Albanian Governor—Departure from Arta—Canal of Luro—Journey over the Molossian Hills—Han of five Wells—First View of and Arrival at Ioannina—General appearance of the City—House of Signor Nicolo Argyri, in which we lodged, described—Father and Family of our Host—Anecdote of the Pasha—Dinner with Mr. Foresti the British Resident—Signor Psalida—His Character—First Visit to the Pasha—Serai of Litaritza—Introduction to Ali—Advantages in visiting Ioannina at this Time—Dinner with Mr. Foresti—Psalida—Walk round the City—Cruel Executions—Extortion of the Pasha—Gypsies—Police—Churches—Visit to Mouchtar Pasha—Visit to young Mahmet Pasha—Gardens and Kiosk of

the Vizir—Visit to Psalida—Visit to Mr. Pouqueville the French Consul—Trait of his Humanity—Similar Anecdote of Mr. Foresti —Shooting on the Lake—Vizir sends a Kaivasi to reside at our House.

AFTER a ride of about four hours we arrived at the banks of the Aracthus, a fine river, which is crossed by a very lofty and picturesque bridge, whose noble Gothic arches, as they vary in their height, form a singular and wavy outline. Entering the suburbs we passed by a serai of the pasha's painted externally in vivid colours, and a very curious Greek church of the Lower Empire, a representation of which is given at the head of this chapter, as it is one of the few remaining monuments of those times, when architecture, without losing all traits of magnificence, became as it were a confused mixture of disordered principles and a combination of distorted proportions. Our Saxon style in England affords a parallel instance of a similar degradation of the art.

We were conducted to an excellent lodging in the house of a Greek merchant, from whence, as soon as we had deposited our luggage, we sallied out in search of the poor peasants whose cattle had been so unceremoniously pressed into our service. Most of them had set out immediately on their return home in a sullen kind of despair; but we were fortunate enough to discover a few, to whom we gave an adequate remuneration, which we entreated might be fairly divided amongst their comrades: but in all probability those who then received it were the only gainers.

The general appearance of Arta is pleasing, especially that of its bazar, which contains many excellent shops, well stored with commodities, and exhibits a considerable shew of commercial activity. Its prosperity seems to have increased since the ruin of unfortunate Prevesa. The gardens and orange-groves in its environs are celebrated for their beauty, and the rich soil of its territory, well able to support

the absorption of succulent plants, produces some of the finest tobacco in Turkey. Its leaves are of a fine yellow colour and emit a fragrance very different from the smell of our plantation shrub: it is esteemed one of the best preservatives against the effects of the climate and those pestilential fevers to which Arta is very subject from the low marshes in its vicinity. The price is about five piasters the oke. Grain of all kinds, cotton, flax, Valonéan bark, skins, wine, cattle, and timber, form the chief articles of exportation. Before the reign of Ali Pasha the French had a resident consul here, who procured from the magnificent forests of Ambracia the most plentiful supply of timber for their navy.

There seems to be no doubt but that Arta occupies the site of the ancient Corinthian colony Ambracia*. It stands at the same distance as the latter did, both from the sea and from the ruins of Amphilochian Argos†; it is similarly situated with regard to the Aracthus, and like its predecessor is commanded by a rugged height towards the east, upon which appear considerable remains of an ancient citadel. Nor is it to the site only of Ambracia that Arta has succeeded, but also to the honour of giving its name to the gulf.

The custom-house of Arta is at Salagora, a poor substitute for the fine emporium which it formerly possessed at the mouth of the Aracthus, between which and the city lay the strong castle of Ambracus in the midst of a marsh, accessible only by one narrow raised path. The possession of this post was of the utmost importance, as it in some

* Ἀπέχει ἄντη ἀπὸ θαλάττης σάδια π', ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάττης τεῖχος καὶ λιμὴν καλλιστος· Scylax. Arta is now considered about three hours from the sea, which will agree with the eighty stadia of Scylax. Livy describes the site very accurately. "Ambracia tumulo aspero subjecta, Perranthen incolæ vocant, urbs, qua murus vergit in campos & flumen, occidentem, arx, quæ posita in tumulo est, Orientem spectat: amnis Aretho ex Acarnania (leg. Athamania) fluens cadit in sinum maris, ab nomine propinquæ urbis Ambracium appellatum." L. xxxviii. c. 4. With this account that of Polybius coincides, though this latter historian more properly gives the name of Aracthus to the river. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ ἀυτὴ (Αμβρακία sc.) τῶ μυχῶ μικρὸν, Τόλγε τῦ Κυψέλε κτίσμα· παραῤῥεῖ δ' ἀυτὴν ὁ Ἄραχθος ποταμὸς ἀνάπλεων ἔχων ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς ἀυτὴν ὀλίγων σαδίων, ἀρχόμενος ἐκ Στύμφης ὄρυς καὶ τῆς Παρωρείας· Ἤντυχει μὲν ὂν καὶ πρότερον ἡ πόλις ἄυτη διαφερόντως· Τὴν γῦν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐντεῦθεν ἔσχηκεν ὁ κόλπος.

† It is reckoned seven hours. Livy says the distance was twenty-two miles.

measure commanded the city and its territory *: it was attacked and taken after a siege of forty days, in the Achæan or social war, by Philip king of Macedon; but this delay prevented him from passing into Etolia and taking advantage of the opportunities of the war. Ambracia was a favourite residence of Pyrrhus †, who built therein a magnificent palace called the Pyrrhéum. Against the quarter in which this was situated, the Roman consul M. Fulvius Nobilior threw up one of his works in that celebrated siege, which is described with such spirit by Polybius and Livy. There is scarcely an instance in the Grecian annals, where a city was defended with greater bravery and skill, where the contests above ground were more gallant or the subterranean ones more extraordinary. In the capitulation which ensued, the citizens exhibited an instance of that good faith and magnanimity which seems to have been a distinguishing trait of the Ambracian character. They resolved to suffer all extremities and reject all terms rather than compromise the security of their Etolian allies ‡ who had succoured them nobly during the siege, and who were peculiarly obnoxious to the Romans. The city, though spared from pillage, was despoiled by the rapacious victors of its fine decorations in painting and sculpture with which it had been decorated by the partiality of the Molossian king §. In the annals of the Byzantine historians we frequently find Arta mentioned as a very strong city and the capital of Acarnania. In the reign of Andronicus, junr. it revolted with Rogous and Thomocastron under two leaders named Cabasilas and Basilitzes, who threw the imperial protostrator into prison; but

* Ἐπίκειται δ' ἐυκάιρως τῇ τε χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτῶν καὶ τῇ πόλει. Polyb. l. iv. 63.

† Μάλιστα δ' ἐκόσμησεν ἀυτὴν Πύῤῥος, βασιλέιῳ χρησάμενος τῷ τόπῳ. Polyb. l. iv.

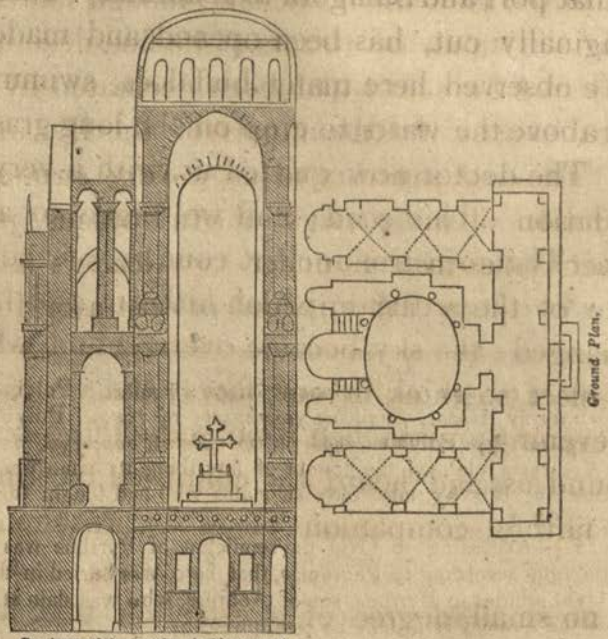
‡ Τοῦτο γὰρ ὐφέιλοντο πρῶτον, says Polybius, τηρῆντες τὴν πρὸς τὰς συμμάχους πίστιν. L. xxii. c. 12. No city of Epirus, except Ambracia, claimed the honour of inscribing its name upon that pedestal of the statue of Jupiter dedicated at Elis by those Grecian states who had fought for liberty and won it at Platæa. Pausan. Eliac. c. 23. 1.

§ Liv. lib. xxxviii. c. 9.---According to Ovid the sepulchre of Pyrrhus was here, and violated by the Roman soldiers; though, according to Pausanias, that hero was buried in the temple of Ceres, at Argos: unless indeed Ovid alludes to Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who was slain at Delphi.

Nec tua quam Pyrrhi felicius ossa quiescant
Sparsa per Ambracias quæ jacuere vias. Ibis. 304.

were reduced again to obedience by the Great Domestic John Cantacuzene*.

Nothing now remains of the ancient splendour of Ambracia except the Cyclopéan masonry of its citadel, which has served, during the times of the Lower Empire, as the substruction of a modern fortress: a few cannon are still mounted there, and the prospect from its heights is extensive and pleasing. Having finished the circuit of the modern city we again arrived at the Greek church already mentioned, which is styled the Metropolis: seeing the doors open we entered and found a priest at the altar, making devout crossings, repeating prayers, and sanctifying divers messes of boiled wheat and currants, which the women brought in dishes to receive his benediction. A crowd of children waited at the entrance, eager for a share in the spoils, a few handfuls of which were always distributed among them, whilst the remainder was carried home for the consumption of the respective families. The following is a delineation of the ground-plan, with a section of this curious edifice.



Specimen of the interior Architecture of the Greek Church at Arta.

* Cantacuz. Hist. l. ii. c. 34, &c.

After dinner we received the visits of the Albanian governor, the Greek primates, and the medical engineer, the latter of whom endeavoured by all the arts of colloquy to elicit from us our opinion of his road. He was very desirous that we should speak favourably of it to the vizir, and to interest us in his cause, sent us a bundle of the finest tobacco which the district produces. This poor man had lately lost his wife and all his children by the malaria fever, which is so destructive at Arta.

January 1. This morning we received from the old Albanian vaivode a fine house-lamb for a new-year's gift; an occurrence that reminded us strongly of those old tokens of hospitality (ξεινήϊα δῶρα) which distinguished the heroic ages of Greece. At noon we mounted our horses, recrossed the Aracthus, and proceeded under the guidance of our friend the engineer to the extent of his new road, where it joins what is called the canal of Luro; this is cut from the river of Luro, which emptying itself into the gulf at no great distance from Prevesa, takes off a great circuit of land carriage in the transportation of merchandise from that port and Salagora to Ioannina. This canal or dyke, though not originally cut, has been opened and made navigable by Ali Pasha. We observed here many buffaloes, swimming about with their noses just above the water to crop off the long grass which floated on its surface. The doctor now quitted us, with a very broad hint for the recommendation of his road; and we began to ascend amongst mountainous acclivities in the ancient country of the Molossi. Presently the state of the weather, which hitherto had been fine though cold, totally changed; the sky became overcast and a bitter wind blew the snow and sleet so thick in our faces that we could scarcely see the road. As evening approached we observed fires kindled on all the mountains around us, and heard the continual barking of Molossian dogs, the still faithful companions of Albanian shepherds—amica vis pastoribus.

It was with no small degree of satisfaction that after a fatiguing

journey we arrived, though late in the evening, at a solitary resting place called the "Han of five wells" (πέντε φρεάρια). It stands in a very bleak and desolate situation, upon the highest point of ground between the plains of Arta and Ioannina, and takes its name from the number of wells dug for the accommodation of caravans. Whilst the best apartments above stairs were put into order for our reception, we were glad to creep for the sake of warmth into the most wretched shed that ever was constructed for the reception of human beings, the very abode of filth, where our tatar and another of his fraternity were already seated over a few charcoal embers, boiling their coffee in small brass pots, which, together with a small cup, a metal soucup, and a wooden spoon to stir the liquor, always forms a part of their travelling apparatus.

As soon as a fire was lighted up stairs by our own servants (for no Turkish han ever supplies any menial assistance) we ascended, and found that the apartment in which we were to rest had been newly composed of unseasoned wood, which by frequent splitting and warping let in the piercing breeze on all sides: thus we were unable to keep a lamp or candle lighted, or to enjoy the blessing of sleep after the large fire became extinguished that we had piled up before we went to bed. Yet we were informed that these rooms were built expressly for the accommodation of the vizir himself.

Next morning we were charged twelve dollars for this lodging and fire. We started at an early hour, and proceeded by a gradual descent into the plains of Ioannina. We rested for a short time at the han of San. Dimitri, where we procured some black bread and resined wine, which the keen air of the mountains made palatable, and then dashed over the plain at a gallop, with loud cries and cracking of whips from the tatar and suradgees, like a baggage-train flying from an hostile force. About two miles before we arrived at Ioannina we ascended a gentle eminence which brought that city full into our view, with its glittering

palaces and mosques, stretched along the shore of its magnificent lake. The air was frosty, the atmosphere transparent, and the snowy mountains were beautifully reflected in the smooth surface of the water, over which a number of canoes glided lightly, carrying sportsmen after the myriads of wild fowl which rose at times like dark clouds into the air. Nothing was wanting but classical authority to make us believe these really to have been the famed Elysian fields of antiquity surrounding the Acherusian lake*.

A long street, broader than is usually seen in Turkish towns, conducted us to a large open space occupied by vast cemeteries, and affording a fine prospect of the grand serai of Litaritza, belonging to Ali Pasha, together with those of Mouchtar and Vely, his two sons. These edifices are in the best style of Turkish architecture, painted in the most gaudy colours, and when taken in conjunction with the noble expanse of water and range of snow-capt mountains beyond them, form altogether a coup d'œil of astonishing magnificence. The interior of the city, like all others in Turkey, disappointed our expectation: its houses are not built for external shew: that part of them which is turned towards the street consists almost entirely of bare wall; the windows, galleries, and doors of the rooms, communicate with the interior court or area; the basement story is generally of stone and mud, the upper one of wood and plaster, being roofed with large concave tiles, or reeds, which are produced in great quantity and superior quality upon the borders of the lake: still however a much greater degree of neatness and stability was visible in the habitations at Ioannina than in those of any other city which we had yet visited.

* This erroneous idea, propagated by many travellers on the authority of Mr. Pouqueville, owes its origin to the deceitful pages of the ignorant Meletius. When Mr. Pouqueville first wrote upon Albania, he had never seen it, but took his description from some French officers who were made prisoners, and employed by Ali Pasha: he has frequently lamented to the author the errors to which this circumstance gave birth, and for which he is about, very soon, to make ample compensation, by an elaborate and satisfactory history of this interesting country.

After traversing several other streets we alighted at the house of Mr. George Foresti, the British resident, who being from home, we adjourned to that of Signore Nicolo Argyri, which had been expressly ordered for our reception by the vizir: it is the same which Lord Byron and Mr. Hobhouse occupied during their residence in Ioannina, and as it affords perhaps as good a specimen as can be met with of a modern Greek mansion, a brief description of its different parts, illustrated as far as seems fit by ancient denominations, may not be an unacceptable addition to the beautiful and accurate view which is annexed*. From the street we enter by a pair of folding doors, (αὔλειος θύρα or πύλαι ἐρκείαι†) into a large stone portico or piazza, enclosing three sides of an area or court (αὐλὴ) fronted by a garden, which is separated from it by a palisade: in the basement story, which is flanked by this portico, are stables, granaries, and other offices: very near the folding doors a flight of stone steps leads up to a fine picturesque gallery or corridor (ἄϊθυσα ἐυερχέος αὐλῆς) supported on the stone arches of the portico and shaded by the long shelving roof of the house; this is a place of exercise for the inmates in bad weather, and of indolent repose during the violence of the heat‡: at one end is seen a species of summer-house fitted up with seats and cushions, called the kiosk, where the family sit to enjoy the refreshing breeze, and the master frequently receives his visiters; at the other end is a bath. From this gallery we enter at once into the dwelling rooms, the principal of which are the apartments of the men (ἀνδρῶνες) fitted up with a divan, or low sofa, raised about a foot from the floor, and furnished with cushions, which serve the purpose both of chairs and beds, for in the same room wherein the Greek sits, and eats, and drinks, and smokes

* I am well aware that it is impossible to make the ancient and modern features of Grecian dwelling houses accurately correspond.

† Vid. Œsch. Coeph. 560. 652.

‡ It also serves during a great part of the year as a dormitory for the domestics and retainers of the family, who lie stretched upon the boards, and enveloped in their shaggy capotes.

all day, he sleeps also by night, divesting himself only of a small part of his clothes, and covering himself with a species of thick quilt called a paploma. At a different part of the gallery a passage leads into the gynæconitis or gynæcéum (γυναικεῖον,) the apartments of the women, which are in general smaller than those of the men, and are for the most part entered through a small anteroom or passage*.

The best room in this mansion was allotted to the English milordi: it was large and lofty, containing on the side next the court two rows of windows, between which ran a projecting cornice; the chimney-piece was, according to the fashion of the country, a species of alcove, surmounted by an elegant leafy ornament, and handsomely ornamented with mouldings; whilst the divan was tastefully enough supplied with sofas and cushions of blue cloth. Here we were received by Signore Nicolo and his younger brother Giovanni, who resided with their widowed mother, in a state far different from that which distinguished this opulent and respectable house in the lifetime of its founder. Their six sisters were all married into some of the best families of Ioannina. The father of our host was a very extraordinary character. He had amassed vast wealth in a long life of successful commerce, but his only object in it appeared to be the power of exerting universal benevolence: nor does the name of any patron exist to whom the city of Ioannina owes so many humane and charitable institutions as that of Anastasio Argyri Brettò†. He was moreover a very learned man, and most venerable in his personal appearance; when he walked the streets in his lofty calpac and long white beard, the children used to flock round him, kiss his hand, and accompany him to his own door. At his death it is said that nearly half the city attended his funeral, when several hours

* Neque sedet materfamilias nisi in interiore parte ædium quæ gynæconitis appellatur. But the harem of the Turks answers more completely to this separation.

† Amongst other acts he founded a very handsome church, purchased a house and estate which he gave for the purposes of an hospital, instituted a fund for the poor prisoners of Ioannina, to all of whom he used to send a dinner every Sunday; erected bridges, constructed roads, and contributed largely to other charitable purposes.

elapsed before the last duties could be paid to the corpse, since each person was anxious to imprint a parting kiss upon the clay-cold hand of their former benefactor *.

The virtues of this respectable personage were able not only to overcome the prejudices of bigotry, but to defy the attacks of envy: he continued till his death equally respected and beloved both by Turks and Greeks, and the bosom friend of the pasha, who rarely passed a day without spending some portion of it in his social converse.

I feel sorry that the first trait in the character of this Albanian ruler which I introduce to the reader's notice, must be one of deep ingratitude. A few days after the interment of old Anastasi the pasha called Nicolo into his presence to condole with him upon the loss they had mutually sustained, a loss, he said, which cut him to the very heart. At the conclusion of the conference however he took occasion to introduce the subject of his father's will, expressing his entire satisfaction that his old friend had remembered him in it, since he understood that he had bequeathed him all his fine lands, gardens and orange-groves in the vicinity of Arta, a legacy which he had indeed always promised him during his lifetime. Poor Nicolo was struck with consternation, being deprived at one blow of the best part of his inheritance: he just ventured to observe that he had not remarked any such item in his father's testament, although he certainly had bequeathed to his Highness a diamond ring of great value. At these words the vizir's countenance changed suddenly from that serenity in which he had studiously clothed it, his eyes flashed fire, and he declared vehemently that a son who thus violated the respect due to so excellent a father, in neglecting to fulfil his last and most sacred promises,

* I never heard of a man to whom the beautiful lines of Callimachus would better apply.

Γηράσκει δ' ὁ γέρων κεῖνος ἐλαφρότερον,
Κῆροι τὸν φιλέυσι, νέους δέ μιν ὠία τοκῆα
Χειρὸς ἐπ' οἰκείην ἄχρις ἄγυσι θύρην· Call. Frag. xi. edit. Spanh.

was not fit to live: Nicolo began now to tremble for his head, a possession upon which he set a still greater value than his land; he was therefore glad to appease the tyrant's wrath by a speedy compromise, and humbly besought him to accept both of the Arta estates, and the ring, since the intention of his father was perfectly *clear*, although most *unaccountably* no document respecting it had been discovered. This however was but the forerunner of Nicolo's misfortunes. His character had been cast in a very different mould from that of his father: his extravagancies and debaucheries soon gave the vizir opportunities to strip him of his remaining property and reduce him to the miserable state in which we found him, inhabiting a large mansion, with a revenue scarcely able to keep up the establishment of a cottage. That pride which so often succeeds to departed prosperity gave an air of constraint and even incivility to the manners of our host in his first reception of strangers so unceremoniously forced upon his hospitality: but he soon found so many real advantages accrue from the residence of the English milordi in his house, that I believe he would willingly have given it to us upon the condition of our constant occupation of it.

We had scarcely deposited our luggage, before a janizzary came to conduct us to the house of Mr. Foresti, from whom we experienced the most cordial and gratifying reception: at his table we met Colonel Church, commandant of an Albanian regiment in our service, who had arrived in Ioannina the same day with ourselves, having passed through the northern districts of Epirus from the ancient port of Aulon, now called Avlona. Such meetings always possess a great degree of interest to the traveller. After dinner the celebrated Psalida came in to spend the evening. This personage possesses the greatest name for literature and talent amongst the modern Greeks, and is at the head of a large school in Ioannina. Still both from this and other conversations which I have had with him I cannot help thinking that his acquirements, especially in Hellenic literature, have been greatly

overrated. He is a great talker and possesses a very considerable degree of natural acuteness, but his conversation is strangely mixed with parodoxical and dictatorial assertions. He has travelled much and acquired a little scepticism in his religious notions: his chief place of residence in his youth was St. Petersburgh, where he composed the only work which he has published, viz. "A Treatise upon true Happiness, or the foundation of all Religion:" this he dedicated to the Empress Catherine, by whom he was patronized, when that ambitious woman entertained designs of placing her son Constantine upon the Byzantine throne. Signore Psalida pleased us much more by his amusing anecdotes of the Russian court, than by the violent attack which he made upon one of our party, Mr. Cockerell, whose name was not unknown to him, and who fell under his extreme displeasure on account of his fortunate excavations at Ægina and Phigalia: the titles with which he was now honoured for his discoveries were those of a τυμβώρυχος and an ἱερόσυλος, "a tomb-breaker, and a sacrilegious wretch," with some others of the like gentle import. Mr. Cockerell however did not want arguments to repel these attacks. Neither was it gratifying to hear this cynic philosopher inveigh with great asperity against another English gentleman of high character and attainments whom he had known in Ioannina, but against whom, whether absent or present, such invective must fall powerless*. Before the conclusion of the evening, the whole body of our nation were attacked, and accused of base ingratitude, as seeking rather to forge fresh chains for the wretched Greeks, than break those with which they were loaded, and this in return for all the inestimable advantages we had received from the works of their ancestors. To these observations we ventured to remark that

* The author has learned from a friend who has lately visited Ioannina, that the tongue of this Signore Psalida has not spared himself as well as others. He can easily account for this, because he had the misfortune to give him some offence, though most unintentionally, as the reader will be informed in the proper place.

whatever might be thought of the governments of civilized Europe, and that deficiency of public charity which is scarcely to be wondered at in the system of modern politics, still he had little reason to accuse Englishmen in general of refusing their sympathy for the misfortunes, or their exertions for the benefit of his unfortunate countrymen; that our travellers generally come to survey these scenes of ancient glory fresh from the study of ancient models of philosophy and taste, full of enthusiasm, and warm with that spirit of liberty which they inculcate; that under these circumstances they are always the first to make the calamities of Greece ring in the ears of all who may have the ability to alleviate or remove them.

In this manner, and in listening to the adventures which Colonel Church had met with in his Albanian tour, we spent the hours between dinner and the introduction of coffee, with its general concomitant the pipe: the novelty and pleasure of such society detained us to a much later hour than might have been expected after a very fatiguing journey. One of Mr. Foresti's servants carried a lantern before us to our lodging, an ordinance which is very strictly observed in this capital.

Next morning Signore Colovo, the vizir's principal dragoman, called to convey his highness's salutations and inquiries after our health, expressing his satisfaction at our arrival in his dominions, and the pleasure with which he should receive our visit to him in his serai, Mr. Foresti having informed him that he should formally introduce us in the afternoon. Our time between breakfast and this visit was chiefly occupied in arranging our travelling equipage, and taking a cursory view of the Albanian capital. At about four o'clock Mr. Foresti, accompanied by Colonel Church, called at our lodging, and we all proceeded together to the new Serai of Litaritza, as it is called, an immense pile of building, constructed in a very curious and picturesque manner, of wood painted in various colours, and rising as it were out of a strong fortress which forms the basement story, whose

cannon in its embrasures seem to frown over the town below—the picture of a tyrant entrenched among his slaves!

Having passed through the outer gates of the great court we found it crowded with a numerous retinue of Albanian guards, loitering about or seated on the ground and smoking pipes; intermingled with these, agàs and beys might be distinguished by jackets embroidered till they were as stiff as coats of mail, tatars by the lofty bonnet, dervishes by the sugar-loaf cap, chaoushes by their golden knobbed sticks, and here and there a poor petitioner by his supplicating looks and dejected air, unable perhaps to fee the proud menial who denied him access to his master *. At the second gate, which leads into an inner area, is a small room on the left hand side where the pasha now sat listening to petitions and deciding causes, in the gate, being supreme over all both ecclesiastical and civil in his dominions. Indeed he very much simplifies judicial proceedings, and cuts very short the quirks and quibbles of the law, setting archons, muftis, cadis, and every other officer at defiance; his will is the only statute book, and the sole pre-

* There cannot be a more lively or faithful representation of that mixed assemblage which appears in the court of the Albanian Pasha, than what is given in the following beautiful stanzas of Childe Harold.

Richly caparison'd, a ready row
Of armed horse and many a warlike store
Circled the wide extending court below;
Above, strange groups adorn'd the corridore;
And oft-times through the area's echoing door
Some high capp'd tatar spurr'd his steed away:
The Turk, the Greek, the Albanian, and the Moor,
Here mingled in their many-hued array,
While the deep war-drum's sound announc'd the close of day.

The wild Albanian kirtled to his knee
With shawl-girt head and ornamented gun,
And gold embroidered garments, fair to see;
The crimson-scarfed men of Macedon;
The Delhi with his cap of terror on,
And crooked glaive; the lively supple Greek;
And swarthy Nubia's mutilated son;
The bearded Turk that rarely deigns to speak
Master of all around, too potent to be meek.

cedents to which he appeals are the dictates of his own caprice: in criminal matters, that admirable maxim of British jurisprudence, which tends to prevent the execution of one innocent man, though nine guilty should escape, is here totally reversed,—hang ten provided you secure the offender. We entered the palace through a mean kind of hall, which is turned into a coach-house, or place de remise for a large unwieldy German carriage. From this place we ascended a flight of narrow slippery stone steps, into the habitable part of the seraglio, which is upon the first floor. Passing through a large room at least one hundred and fifty feet in length, which is appropriated to the retinue of the court, we were ushered into a very fine saloon, well furnished and profusely adorned with gilding and carved wood: the floor was covered with a rich Persian carpet of immense size, the sofas of the divan were of the best Cyprus velvet fringed with gold, and the windows, formed of the largest plate-glass, brought into view the fine expanse of the lake with its very magnificent mountain scenery. All the decorations of the palace appeared sumptuous; but how much rather would the eye have rested upon those ornaments of the fine arts which form so distinguishing a mark between barbarian magnificence and elegant refinement! We waited in this room about half an hour, during which time we were subjected to the inspection of nearly all the officers, slaves, and eunuchs of the palace; amongst the rest one Seid Achmet Effendi, a man of dark colour, who had been sent by the pasha upon a mission to London, accosted us with great familiarity, and seemed so ambitious of displaying his extraordinary attainments before his companions by conversing with the Milordi in their own language, that he repeated to us the few sentences of English with which he was acquainted full fifty times. A mad dervish also, who has free ingress into all the vizir's apartments, came and looked at us, muttered something between his teeth, probably a curse, and then departed.

At length a chaoush came to announce that his highness was ready

to receive us; and we descended down the great staircase, impatient to view this extraordinary character, the representative of a sovereign more puissant than his master, a man less than a king, yet greater. As we approached the audience chamber I felt my heart palpitate at the thought of entering into the presence of a being who had long held so dire a sway over the destinies of his fellow mortals, and whose steps in his dark career were marked indelibly by the stain of blood! At the entrance of his apartment stood several Albanian guards, one of whom opened the door, and we marched into the room saluting the vizir as we entered, who sat upon a lion's skin * at an angle of the divan, handsomely but not superbly dressed: a band of gold lace which bound the scarlet cap upon his head, a broad belt of the same material which passed round his waist, and the pommel of his handjar glittering with diamonds, alone denoted the man of exalted rank: a houka stood near him which he is rather fond of exhibiting, as the use of it shews a considerable strength of lungs. As soon as we were seated upon the divan he returned our salutation by placing his right hand upon his breast with a gentle inclination of his head, and expressed his satisfaction at seeing us in his capital. He then asked if we spoke Romaic. Colonel Church, though an excellent linguist, for political reasons pretended total ignorance of the language; Mr. Cockerell, from his intimate acquaintance with the manners of the Turks who admire reserve in youth, dissembled his true knowledge, whilst Mr. Parker and myself confessed an ignorance which our short residence in Greece had not yet enabled us to overcome: but at this moment I made a firm determination that I would use all possible diligence in acquiring so necessary a vehicle of communication with this interesting personage. In the present instance Mr. Foresti acted as interpreter general. At a first introduction it could not be expected that we should acquire much

* This is the manner in which the modern heroes of this country use the skin of that lordly animal, the ancient ones wore it on their shoulders.

Drawn by C. R. Cockerell Esq.

Smith, So. Clements Inn Strand.

PORTRAIT OF ALI PASHA

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insight into the character of this pasha: my own attention was directed chiefly to the contemplation of his countenance; and this is in general no index of his mind. Here it is very difficult to find any traces of that bloodthirsty disposition, that ferocious appetite for revenge, that restless and inordinate ambition, that inexplicable cunning, which has marked his eventful career: the mien of his face on the contrary has an air of mildness in it, his front is open, his venerable white beard descending over his breast gives him a kind of patriarchal appearance, whilst the silvery tones of his voice, and the familiar simplicity with which he addresses his attendants, strongly aid the deception. He appears as he is described by the animated bard—

——— "A man of war and woes;
Yet in his lineaments ye cannot trace,
While gentleness her milder radiance throws
Along that aged venerable face,
The deeds that lurk beneath, and stain him with disgrace."
Childe Harold, p. 91.

Still after very attentive consideration I thought I could perceive certain indications of cruelty and perfidy beneath his grey eyebrows, with marks of deep craftiness and policy in the lineaments of his forehead; there was something sarcastic in his smile, and even terrible in his laugh. His address was engaging, his figure very corpulent, although it is said to have been graceful in his youth; as his stature is rather below the middle size, and his waist long in proportion, he appears to greatest advantage as we now saw him seated on the divan, or on horseback: but the print annexed will give a much better idea of his personal appearance than any other representation could hope to do.

Soon after our entrance some young boys dressed in rich garments with their fine hair flowing over their shoulders, presented us with pipes, whose amber heads were ornamented with jewels: others brought us coffee in small china cups with golden soucups. Our conversation was very desultory. The vizir paid many handsome compliments to

our country, assuring us that he should always feel happy whilst his territories afforded objects of curiosity and interest to his English friends. We assured him in return, that the theatre of *his exploits*, would long continue to attract the regards, not only of the English but all other nations. He seemed pleased at the compliment, inquired with much apparent interest respecting Lord Byron and Mr. Hobhouse, asked us how long we had left Athens, whether any discoveries had been made there lately by excavations, and mentioned the pleasure which his son Vely Pasha had received by his visit to that beautiful city. Observing that I was somewhat incommoded by sitting close to an immense fire piled up with logs of wood upon the hearth, he directed an Albanian attendant to place a large metal pan before me in lieu of a screen, saying—"Young men require no fire at all; when I was young, I lived upon the mountains in the midst of snows and exposed to storms, with my touphéki on my shoulder and my Albanian capote, but I never cared for the cold." He then turned to Colonel Church with an air of the greatest affability, for whatever displeasure he may feel internally he can mask it by the most complete veil of hypocrisy *, and expressed his hopes that he would stay at least a month with him in Ioannina: this invitation was politely declined under plea of military orders, which obliged the colonel to leave Albania next day: upon this the vizir requested another conference with him in the morning before his departure, and addressing

* He certainly was at this time very jealous of our raising the Greek regiments, and suspected some deep and secret plot beyond the mere enrolment of a corps against the common enemy of Europe: many of the troops composing it were certainly his subjects, and others were outlaws or robbers who had escaped from his vengeance. Possessing, as he does, the art of simulation and dissimulation to the greatest possible extent, he hoped to have elicited all he wished to know from Colonel Church, but was cruelly disappointed by that gentleman's politic feint of ignorance in the Romaic language: thus he was thrown into the necessity of employing Mr. Foresti as an interpreter, the only man in the world perhaps who had ever so thoroughly studied his character that he was able to retain his confidence, whilst he eluded his wiles and foiled his machinations. To prevent our recruiting, Ali had very sedulously set abroad reports that the plague was in his country, and had thereby occasioned the quarantine in the Ionian isles, which prohibited our excursions in Santa Maura. Not long after Colonel Church's departure from Ioannina, we learned that all his agents had been arrested at the same time by orders of the Pasha.

himself to us said he hoped he should see us frequently, adding in the true style of oriental hyperbole, that his palace and all he possessed must be considered as our own*. The conference was now broken up and we departed. In the outer court of the serai we met two grandsons of the vizir, young Mahmet Pasha and Ismail Bey, who had lately arrived in Ioannina to reside in the palace of their father Vely Pasha, not more for the purposes of education than as hostages, a deadly feud having but lately been reconciled between their grandfather and father; they rode on spirited little Arabian chargers, which they sat firmly and elegantly during their curvets and plunges. The Albanian guards ran with a shew of eager zeal to assist the young princes in descending from their horses, and these little despots marched through the crowd in measured steps, scarcely deigning to notice those faithful retainers who would have shed every drop of blood in their service. Our intention was to have paid a visit of ceremony to Mouchtar Pasha, the vizir's eldest son; but upon application at his seraglio we learned that he was out on a shooting excursion.

We returned therefore with Mr. Foresti to his house very much gratified by the reception we had met with: indeed it was impossible to have visited Ioannina at any time more favourable to our views. Never was the vizir under so many obligations to our government and never did he entertain such strong hopes of receiving still greater advantages from his connexion with Great Britain. He had the earliest and most accurate information of all Buonaparte's reverses; he foresaw the result of this long protracted contest, and easily conjectured that the Ionian isles would pass under the dominion of that conquering power which already possessed the greatest share of them. The

* This mode of speaking is very common in Spain: an English officer of my acquaintance in that country by way of joke once put a valuable snuff-box into his pocket, which an old lady of the first class of grandees had often proffered to him with the most apparent cordiality. When he carried it off however to his ship, such an outcry was set up that the consequences had nearly been extremely disagreeable.

French ruler himself never longed for ships, colonies and commerce so eagerly as Ali has always desired a footing in these Islands, as well for the establishment of a more powerful marine and commercial depôt, as for a place of security against any unfortunate reverses: I am convinced that he would cede half his continental dominions for the possession of Corfu, which would render him more independent of the Porte than every other acquisition. With regard to Santa Maura he claims that island as his own, not only by right of compact with the inhabitants, the deed of which he often declares he carries in his bosom next his heart, but by the solemn promises of British agents. At the conclusion therefore of a war, during a very important part of which he had rendered considerable services to his British allies, he confidently anticipated the cession of some insular dependency at least as a recompence. With such objects in view he endeavoured to cultivate the acquaintance and conciliate the regard of every English subject: so favourable a disposition, aided by the powerful influence of Mr. Foresti, exerted on all occasions for our pleasure and advantage, induced this stern and powerful chieftain to treat us with an attention which he never before shewed to simple travellers of any nation whatever.

At dinner to-day we again met Signore Psalida, who, amongst other topics, attacked us upon our English pronunciation of the ancient Greek: I was very willing to compromise this matter by allowing our own demerits, provided a similar concession were made respecting the utterance of those who receive it almost as a vernacular tongue: but no, the descendants of the Greeks could not err in pronouncing the language of their ancestors, and their disgusting iotacism must needs be correct. Desirous of shewing him how the English could compose in Hellenic, I presented him with a copy of beautiful Iambics from the pen of the late Professor Porson. These, however, he treated with so much contempt, and endeavoured so injudiciously to criticise, that he gave me no very favourable idea of his own erudition; and this

opinion was strongly confirmed by an incident which occurred next morning at our own lodging, where we invited him to breakfast. In the course of a long conversation at this meal the interesting subject of Dodona and its probable site was introduced; in the opinion of Psalida this lay near a place called Pheniké (the ancient and opulent city Φοινίκη) in the district of Delvino, upon the banks of the river Pistrizza, the Dodon or Simois of antiquity. There he described as still to be recognised the dark obscure wood of oaks, the fountain and the hill, with ancient Cyclopéan walls, and many other features of the prophetic Hieron. Though we could not entirely agree with him in the locality thus assigned to Dodona, chiefly on account of its proximity to the sea*, still he sketched out a route which comprised so interesting a portion of Epirus, that we determined, if it were possible in this season of the year, to investigate the spot before the departure of our friend Mr. Cockerell.

After this, our guest unfortunately produced from his pocket-book an inscription which he had copied from an ancient fragment near Triccala: this he handed over to me in return probably for the Porsonian Iambics, and requested that I would give it any person in England who might think of publishing a new edition of the Anthologia† The inscription is as follows, being an epitaph upon a physician named Cimber, by his faithful widow Andromache.

Φῶτα θεοῖς ἴκελον συγερὼν ἰήτορα νόσων
Μοίρη ὑπ' ἀτρέπτῳ Κιμβέρα τύμβος ἔχει·
Ὃν πινυτὴ παράκοιτις ἀνιηρὸν, φίλ' ὀδίτα,
Θάψεν ἀκοιμήτοις δάκρυσιν Ἀνδρομάχη·‡

* The reader will see this question amply discussed in the learned Dissertation in the Appendix to this volume.

† Many of the epigrams already in the Anthologia are transcriptions from Grecian monuments. Sir G. Wheeler copied, at a house in Venice, the famous inscription on the tomb of Diogenes, which stood at the entrance of Corinth to those who came from the Isthmus: it was probably conveyed away like the lions from the Piræus, when that country was under the Venetian government.

‡ It is not extraordinary to find the name of a physician in an inscription found at Triccala, since

In transcribing this epitaph he had unfortunately made three blunders*, which I pointed out to him with as much tenderness as I could, and with rather more than his prior attacks deserved. His pride being now piqued he still more unfortunately defended his faults, the necessary exposure of which so disconcerted him, that he took it in high dudgeon, and we had very little more of his company during our residence in Ioannina.

After his departure we took a walk round the city, accompanied by Signore Nicolo and his brother Giovanni, who introduced us to several respectable Greek families. Some time however elapsed before we were admitted to terms of intimacy with the inhabitants of Ioannina: despotism here locks up the sympathies and affections of the heart, nor dare any person shew civility to a stranger until it be quite ascertained upon what footing he stands with regard to the pasha.

Ioannina, as I have before observed, extends along the western bank of its magnificent lake: it lies at the foot of some low vine-clad hills which defend it on the west, and is sheltered on the east by the lofty range of Mitzikeli, a diverging ridge of Pindus. Near the middle of the city a large promontory juts out into the water, called the Castron or fortress, crowded with habitations of Turks and Jews, for no Christian is permitted to reside there: it contains also the old seraglio, an immense pile of building, with two very fine mosques. This castron was the site of the primitive town, and its figure is not unaptly compared to the double head of a spread-eagle, whose wings are represented by the outstretched habitations of the city. Opposite this fortress is a picturesque island in the lake. Its fortifications, and the deep ditch by which it is now isolated, were greatly improved by Ali

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this city in ancient times was celebrated for nothing but a very ancient and renowned Temple of Esculapius, the great patron of the medical profession. Ἐστι δ' ἡ μὲν τρίκκη ὅπου τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ασκληπιοῦ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον· Strab. Geog. lib. ix. p. 437.

* These were συγερὸν in the first line, Κιμβήρα in the second, and the omission of the word Φίλ' in the third. Nothing can shew in a stronger point of view the errors into which a neglect of prosody, which they entirely sacrifice to accent, must ever lead the modern Greeks.

about the time when the French armies gained possession of the Dalmatian provinces. In constructing them he forced all the people of the city to work at free cost, and gave them only a band of music to cheer their toil. He spared not even the primates, archons, and priests of the Greeks, any more than the beys and agàs of the Turks; nay, he forced the archbishop and his own son Mouchtar to labour. Signore Nicolo's back seemed to ache afresh as he recounted to us the fatigues which he used to undergo in carrying stones and working with the pick-axe*. Nearly opposite the castron, but bearing a little towards the north, is the bazar, the object of greatest interest in every Turkish city. It consists of many irregular streets, the shops being low and sheltered by projecting roofs, under which artificers are seen at work, or a vast variety of goods are exposed to sale. Each different trade has its particular district allotted to itself. The whole bazar is shut up every evening by lofty wooden gates, and is well guarded by innumerable watch dogs of the fiercest nature: even in the day-time it is dangerous for a person wearing a Frank dress to pass through this district. Mr. Parker once had his great coat nearly torn from his back, and Antonietti suffered severely from a bite upon the thigh. A curious mistake, by the bye, occurred in this latter instance. After being bitten he ran home crying out vehemently, 'σκηλὶ κερατὰς, σκηλὶ κερατὰς,' 'dog and cuckold,' expressions which every insolent Turk is in the constant habit of using against the Greeks. Mustafà, one of the vizir's chaoushes who resided with us, hearing his exclamations, snatched up his pistols and ran out into the street, desiring Antonietti to point out the villain who had abused him, and his life should pay the forfeit of his insolence. It was a long time before he could be

* At the same time also he threw up lines round the city. This forced labour is styled an ἀγγάρια or ἀγγάρευμα. It is a curious circumstance that the capitol of Rome seems to have been fortified in a similar manner. "Etenim vel Capitolium, sicut apud majores nostros factum est, publicè, gratis, coactis fabris, operisque imperatis, exædificari atque effici potuit." Cic. Act. in Verr. II. 5. 19.

persuaded that the dog was a real dog, or that any thing could wear horns but a Greek.

Between the bazar and the castron is a short street, and at one end a small area wherein is the city guard-house. This spot is the scene of the most cruel executions when the vizir wishes to make a striking example. Here criminals have been roasted alive over a slow fire, impaled, and skinned alive; others have had their extremities chopped off, and some have been left to perish with the skin of the face stripped over their necks. At first I doubted the truth of these assertions, but they were abundantly confirmed to me by persons of undoubted veracity. Some of the most respectable inhabitants of Ioannina assured me that they had sometimes conversed with these wretched victims on the very stake, being prevented from yielding to their torturing requests for water by fear of a similar fate themselves. Our own resident, as he was once going into the serai of Litaritza, saw a Greek priest, the leader of a gang of robbers, nailed alive to the outer wall of the palace, in sight of the whole city. These examples must have produced a strong effect, for we neither saw nor heard of any execution taking place during our residence here. They who defend the conduct of the pasha in this respect, say, that amidst such barbarous tribes as he governs, where the sense of honour scarcely exists, and the corporeal faculties alone are sensible of pain, punishments must necessarily be sanguinary. I think it is Montesquieu who observes, that punishments are always more or less severe according as the constitution of a state recedes from or approaches towards liberty. The subjects of a free government fear the loss of life more than the pain of death; to them, therefore, the deprivation of life alone is sufficient without any addition of bodily suffering: but under a despotic power death is more an object of terror than life is of regret; hence the necessity of agony and torture.

The principal part of Ioannina extends towards the north beyond

the bazar, and contains many large and excellent houses, both of Turkish agàs and rich Greek merchants; some of these latter are so splendidly furnished and profusely adorned as to hasten the downfal of their masters by exciting the cupidity of the tyrant. An instance of this occurred a few days only before our arrival. The vizir had deprived Signore Anastasi, the richest Greek merchant, and one of the best men in his dominions, of a most magnificent house, because he wished to give it as a town residence to his nephew the Pasha of Ochrida. Under some feigned pretence he banished the poor proprietor, with an amiable wife and large family, to the arid rock of Argyro Castro: there I myself saw him a few months afterwards actually dying from a fever brought on by his distresses. The young pasha took possession of his house in the very week we left Ioannina.

That part of the city which extends south of the castron, contains the superb palaces of the pasha and his two sons: in this district is the long street leading towards Arta, at one end of which live an immense quantity of gypsies. The habitations of these miserable beings are the very abodes of filth and wretchedness: they seem a distinct race, and rarely marry out of their own tribe; they are addicted to robbery and idleness, and have apparently no religion at all: the chief arts they exercise are those of fortune-telling and metallurgy, and from them the pasha always selects his executioners. Near the district in which they reside is a large plane-tree, which, like the justice-tree of Ellengowan, serves for a public gallows: ten or even twenty robbers at a time have been seen dangling in clusters amidst its branches.

The whole length of Ioannina is rather more than two miles: its breadth varies at different points, but is no where more than one mile, unless the castron be taken into the measurement: though its streets are very irregular, still one unbroken line of communication may be traced from each extremity. It is supposed to contain 6000 hearths. In churches and public edifices it does not greatly abound;

but its mosques rising out of their cypress-groves and bearing aloft the triumphant crescent, give it an air of picturesque beauty, especially if it be viewed from the eminences on the western side, whence the eye takes in the full expanse of the lake with the abrupt precipices and towering heights of its mountain scenery. I have rarely seen a more striking prospect than is here presented: but what will the reader think of Grecian curiosity when he is informed that our two guides had never before seen it, though they had been born and bred within a few hundred yards of the spot.

After having thus given a general view of Ioannina, I shall take other opportunities of describing its particular features, according as I inspected them myself. I presume to think that this method, as it is more natural, will be less fatiguing to the reader. During our walk we observed but few persons in any of the streets, except the bazar, which was considerably crowded: now and then we met an archondissa, or great lady, going to the bath, or to pay a visit, followed by her maid servants carrying her best robes and ornaments in bundles and boxes, according to ancient usage: I think we saw more Turkish ladies than Greeks on these errands: the former are for the most part covered with a long veil, the latter always. None but women of the lower classes mix indiscriminately in the streets, and amongst these the Albanians much more than the Greeks. In justice to the police I must observe that neither at this time nor any other were we annoyed by those intolerable nuisances which disgrace the Catholic cities of Spain, Portugal and Sicily, in the shape of beggars, made loathsome by every species of disease which is contracted by misery or vice, and who are there suffered to crawl about the streets for the purpose of insulting decorum and harrowing up the feelings by exposures of the most disgusting kind. In Greece we observed none of these abominations, and I think it tells greatly to the advantage of the Greek character, that the misfortunes of their common lot seem to awaken

among them the best sympathies of the heart, and open those sources of benevolence in private individuals which the operation of our own poor laws tends so strongly to close up.

We looked into several churches, in which we observed much more tawdry gilding and rude painting of saints and martyrs than tasteful decoration: taste is a thing of which the Greeks have as yet no conception, but they appear to have an innate love of magnificence. We entered into the church of Santa Maria, or the Panagia, wherein the father of our guides lies buried. It is also called the Archimandreion, from an ancient monastery which stood there before the Turkish conquest. Here, in walking towards the great altar, I stumbled over a bag which lay on the pavement, and discovered that it contained the bones of a corpse which had been disinterred and brought to lie for a week within consecrated walls before it was recommitted to the earth: this is a general custom, probably introduced for the purpose of saving room in the cemeteries.

As Ioannina is comparatively a modern city in Greece, it claims no importance from its connexion with great historic deeds, nor interest from the exhibition of architectural remains.

After dinner to-day Mr. Foresti called, and accompanied us to the serai of Mouchtar Pasha, the eldest son of Ali, who is generally left as caimacam during his father's absence from the capital. The character of this man is considered brutal and debauched in the highest degree. He has most of his father's vices, but none of his virtues, except his bravery. He is very avaricious, and less generous than Ali; and his lust is so ungovernable that he has often been known to violate women in the public streets of Ioannina. Signore Nicolo is one of his retainers, and served him in the capacity of secretary during the Russian war, when the Turkish army was besieged in Rustschuk. Nicolo's attendance in this service was far from voluntary, for no one could possess less of a martial spirit. He lost in the campaign three horses, an excellent tent, and all his baggage, but never received one parà in compensation, though he had been forced to borrow the money for their purchase.

The serai or palace of Mouchtar is in its external appearance handsomer than his father's. It stands on a considerable elevation, and is nearly square in form. Like the other it is painted in gaudy colours, but some of the devices strongly point out the disposition of the owner. One of these, over the principal entrance, particularly struck us: it represents the vizir after his return from an expedition, surrounded by his troops and witnessing the execution of two Greeks whom the hangman is tying to a gibbet with the same rope: others exhibit decapitated trunks with the blood spouting out from the veins and arteries.

The pasha had just returned from the sport of hawking: indeed we met the keepers in the court of the serai with the noble birds seated upon their wrists. We were introduced into a large room furnished with draperies of cloth and silk, fine German mirrors, a Persian carpet, and embroidered sofa, in a much better style of elegance than we were prepared to expect: two sides of this room were nearly one continued window, composed of the best plate glass from Vienna. In about half an hour the pasha made his appearance, followed by a troop of beautiful Greek and Albanian youths with their hair flowing down their backs and garments glittering in gold embroidery; they were bare-footed and took their station at the bottom of the room below the divan, where they stood with their hands resting on the pistols or handjars, with which their belts were decorated.

Mouchtar welcomed us with great cordiality, and entered into a conversation, the repetition of which, as the reader would derive from it neither instruction nor amusement, may well be spared: it ended in promises of taking us with him in a grand shooting expedition upon the lake, and the sport of falconry: the first promise he kept, but the second he broke, though we contrived that he should be more than once reminded of it. After the usual compliment of coffee sweetmeats and the pipe, we took our leave and adjourned to the palace of Vely Pasha, to pay a visit to his son Mahmet Pasha, one of the most interesting young men we ever met with. This is the little fellow of whom Lord

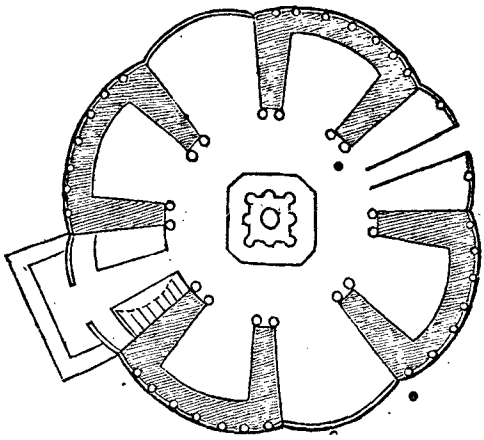
Byron speaks so favourably in his notes to Childe Harold, and certainly not more than he deserves. He had lately been to Larissa to visit his father, and we had seen him on his return with his younger brother paying the first visit of ceremony to his grandfather. He was a perfect contrast in manners to his uncle, whom we had just left. Our approach having been announced, he arose from his corner of the divan and walked to receive us at the door in the most graceful manner possible; he then marched back before us with all the dignity of a little prince, reseated himself, and politely motioned us with his hand to take our places on the sofa. His countenance was certainly the sweetest I ever recollect to have seen, and the tones of his voice particularly harmonious. He entered readily and easily into conversation, asking the most pertinent questions respecting the countries we had visited, especially Great Britain, which he expressed the greatest desire to see: then, turning suddenly to his little brother Ismail Bey who sat next him, he asked him if he loved the English: the child making no answer from shyness or reserve, he added laughingly that he would have him shut up in a dark room and fed upon bread and water, if he did not love his English friends who came from such a distance to see him. He answered many questions which we put to him respecting his father's government at Larissa, and the state of the country, with singular felicity and good sense: informed us of several improvements in bridges and embankments which had taken place, and seemed very free from prejudices: he laughed heartily at that absurd idea of predestination which prevents the Turks from taking precautions against infection, and objected very much against entering into Paradise by such a gate. By the calamboio, or inkstand, pens and paper that lay upon a table in the apartment, we perceived that this interesting youth, who was now scarcely fifteen years old, had been employing his time in study, instead of indulging in that indolence which is too much the characteristic of his countrymen. Like other young Turkish nobles, he had masters to teach him the art of address and etiquette; but no art could have given such a polish to

his manners if nature had not also been prodigal of her bounty. After partaking of abundance of refreshments, we left the serai highly gratified with our visit, and returned home to a late dinner at our lodging.

The next day was still dedicated to the satisfaction of our curiosity in viewing the city. We first proceeded to the suburbs at its northern extremity, for the purpose of visiting the beautiful kiosk or pavilion of Ali Pasha, situated in the midst of extensive gardens, where indeed a natural, more than artificial taste, predominates, and fine elms or beeches, mixed with the plane tree and the cypress form umbrageous shades impervious to the sun. These gardens are the vizir's favourite retirement, and in this pavilion he enjoys leisure and relaxation from the fatigues of business, without removing too far from the occupations of government and the engagements of his capital. There is also a small room in a different part of the garden where he frequently transacts business, administers justice, and pays his troops. But there are, I should suppose, not less than thirty of these little tenements in and about Ioannina, to which this chieftain is in the habit of retiring for the enjoyment of his pleasures or the transaction of his most important affairs: as he selects a different place almost every day, it is never known where he can be found until he is actually housed. This custom seems to originate more from caprice than any fear which a tyrant might be suspected to entertain: for no one can expose himself more openly than Ali. He seems to know no terror of this sort. He constantly rides through Ioannina on horseback attended by one single guard, and admits freely all persons into his presence armed or unarmed, whether he may be alone or surrounded by his attendants. His very confidence seems to be his protection, and the multitude fancy that he bears a charmed life.

At the entrance into the gardens of the kiosk are some quarters for Albanian troops: in the court a fine leopard is kept, which by constant association with man has become so tame that we saw it let out loose into the yard whilst we stood by: but the sight of persons in a

strange dress seemed to revive its natural ferocity, and it became necessary for our safety to throw a large piece of meat before the animal. A long alley which in summer is overspread with vines, led us up to the entrance of the kiosk. It is an elegant building, profusely ornamented with carving and gilding in the best Turkish style, and its construction does credit to the architects of Ioannina. Its interior is divided into eight compartments, or deep recesses, diverging out of the great area, in the middle of which stands a curious jet d'eau. This consists of a small castle built of marble surmounted by cannon, and surrounded by regular lines which play upon each other in imitation of a bombardment: between the cannon, on the parapet, stand figures of parrots, lions, and other birds or beasts, who spout water also out of their mouths as if in mockery at what is going forward: the motion of the water gives voice to a small organ attached to a pillar in the apartment. The whole may be considered an apt measure of the national taste where the curious is preferred to the beautiful, and that which can astonish a vulgar mind to what might captivate a cultivated and refined one. The recesses are splendidly fitted up with draperies of the richest silk and the most luxurious sofas. The subjoined ground-plan will perhaps give the reader some little idea of the edifice.



It was here that Ali once gave a grand dinner, served upon gold plate, to the Hon. Fred. North, now Earl of Guildford. A flight of stairs lead up to a neat room, in which the favourites of the harem are sometimes indulged by being permitted to view the festivities of their lord and master through a small latticed window. From the gardens of the kiosk we passed through a paddock adjoining, in which a number of large and curious deer are kept, with a fine ostrich, upon whose back an Albanian boy got up and rode about in the vacant space. Here also we observed a barrack for troops, and another small tenement belonging to the vizir.

We extended our walk over the range of low hills to the west, which gave us superb views of the city, the lake, and the scenery of Mount Pindus. We entered the town again by a long narrow lane called the street of the Brothers, from the circumstance of two Albanians, standing to each other in this relationship, who from an attachment to the same object fought and fell by each other's weapons, and were buried in the same tomb at one extremity of the street. Not to be deficient in point of etiquette, we called upon Signore Psalida, who received us with a consequential dignity. Pipes were of course introduced, and the lady of the house brought in coffee and handed it to the guests as well as to her husband *, without presuming to sit down or being requested to do so by her imperious lord: two lovely children were introduced to us, a boy and a girl, the former under the care of a domestic pædagogus, the latter attended by an ancient nurse; she was scarcely nine years old, but was already affianced in marriage to the chief physician of the vizir. After the lady of the house had quitted the apartment, I contrived to lead the conversation to what I thought a very injurious custom, viz. that of excluding women from society, and with them all the delicacy and refinement which their

* Σῖτον δέ σφ' ἄλοχοι καλλικρήδεμνοι ἔνεικαν·
Od. δ. 628.

influence is alone able to produce. I suppose nothing that I ever said shocked our host's prejudices more than this, for he vehemently defended the practice by a declaration, that women were all prone to evil, and that if liberty were granted them they would abuse it: I replied, that nothing is so likely to produce honour and sincerity in the female sex as confidence placed in them by the men, and I brought the women of my own country as an example: to this he opposed the opinions and customs of the ancient Greeks, who of necessity must be right: this therefore cut short the argument, for to have controverted the decision of Plato in Greece would have seemed as heinous a crime as to deny the infallibility of the Pope in Rome. I did venture however to quote a distich from an ancient author, amongst all whose faults an ignorance of human nature cannot be reckoned—but that author was a *Roman*.

Cui peccare licet, peccat minus; ipsa potestas
Semina nequitiæ languidiora facit*.

Our conversation now passed to the state of modern Greece; but upon this subject it was impossible to get at his real opinions: at one time he lamented its misfortunes and inveighed bitterly against the European powers who suffered them to exist; at others he abused his own countrymen, calling them ἀνδράποδα and a hundred other vile names, praised the conduct of Ali Pasha, spoke of his acts with the spirit of an Albanian, and vindicated in warm terms the horrible massacre of Gardiki†.

Having finished this visit we determined to wait upon Mr. Pouqueville the French Consul, conceiving this attention due to a man of his distinguished reputation, who from his official situation could

* Ovid. Amor. l. iii. El. 4.

† The history of this will be given in the sequel. Mr. Pouqueville afterwards gave me a clue to this apparent inconsistency of Psalida.

not make the first advances. We found him living with his brother, the vice-consul of Arta, in a state of comparative inaction, since the French interests had been for some time annihilated at Ioannina: nothing probably but the occupation of Corfu retained him in his post; for *Ali*, in spite of all his antipathy against the French, was not averse to the exportation of provisions to that island under the impost of enormous duties. As the vizir had prohibited the intercourse of all his subjects, except in matters of business, with Mr. Pouqueville, though he permitted him to reside in his capital, poor Nicolo was obliged to leave us at the door and return to his own home.

The consul received us with all the politeness of a Frenchman, and entertained us with the conversation of a scholar and man of the world: nor did that contest in which our respective countries were engaged, ever repress in the slightest degree his hospitality and attentions; attentions which were the more acceptable, as our kind friend Mr. Foresti was absent from Ioannina during the greater part of our residence. I shall never cease to acknowledge with gratitude the obligations I owe to Mr. Pouqueville: not only was his door ever open to receive and his conversation to entertain us, but the stores of his knowledge and experience were freely drawn forth to inform and direct us; and as he had resided long in the country, the advantage of such a guide was inconceivably great. Whilst he was under this cloud of the pasha's displeasure, he passed great part of his leisure in cultivating his garden, which he had decorated with choice flowers from Paris, to the utter astonishment of the Turks, who used frequently to demand of him why such did not grow in their gardens? He transacted all his business with the pasha through the intervention of his brother, and assumed his state only when he went to Corfu, where he held the same rank and received the same honours as a general of brigade. He was highly respected by the inhabitants of Ioannina for his generous and humane disposition, having always exerted his influence with the vizir, whilst he possessed any, to save them

from the effects of his tyranny. The case of the poor woman who kept his house may serve as an instance of this exertion.

According to the cruel custom of this despotic realm, if a man dies without a male heir, his property all passes into possession of the vizir; his widow and daughters in the midst of their distress are liable to be turned out destitute into the street, to subsist upon public charity, exposed to the violence of the ruffian or the arts of the profligate. In the whole system of Ali's government I know of nothing so revolting to the heart as this. In such a misfortune the poor woman alluded to, with one young and handsome daughter, found herself at the death of her husband. The corpse had scarcely been consigned to the grave ere the agents of the pasha seized upon her property, and turned her out with her child to starve. The unfortunate creatures fled to Mr. Pouqueville, and conjured him to save them. The appeal was not made in vain--he gave them protection for the night under his roof, and next morning, having obtained an audience, he procured their house for his own consular dwelling, reinstated in it the owners, and continued to reside with them as a lodger.

In touching upon this subject it would be unpardonable to omit the frail record which these pages may afford to the unceasing efforts made by our own resident Mr. G. Foresti, in mitigating the calamities and averting the misfortunes of this unhappy people. If the heart of a stranger could melt at their unmerited sufferings, it may easily be credited that so excellent a person would sympathize still more in the sorrows of his afflicted countrymen. From a thousand instances which I heard of this praiseworthy conduct I shall select one which was related to me by an eye-witness of its principal scenes, and which tends strongly to illustrate, not only the character of the vizir, but that influence which Mr. F. had gained over his mind, and to which I shall frequently have occasion to revert.

Amongst other political manœuvres which the caution of Ali Pasha leads him to adopt, there is one which consists in keeping up a spirit of

fear and subjection amongst his vassals, by now and then throwing down to the lowest depth of misery some person or other who has risen to the height of prosperity, especially if he has risen by the tyrant's own assistance. In pursuance of this policy he determined upon the ruin of Michael Michelachi.

This young man was descended from one of the best families in Albania. His father, who had been one of the vizir's oldest and most faithful friends, dying whilst his son was yet an infant, left him, with all his fortune, under the guardianship of his sovereign. Ali seemed affected by this appeal to his sensibility and good faith; he took the greatest care of his young ward, procured him the best possible education, and when he arrived at maturity, restored his fortune with all its accumulation. Nor did his generosity stop here: he betrothed him to a rich heiress, and made him primate of the city, in which post Michelachi, by his engaging manners and strict integrity, secured the respect both of Turks and Greeks. But it suited the policy of his faithless sovereign to make an example, and this excellent man, in spite of all his virtues, was doomed to fall. For a semblance of justice, in default of its reality, a set of false witnesses were suborned, who swore that Michelachi was in possession of the treasures which the widow of Kalou Pasha, Ali's immediate predecessor, had secreted at her husband's death, a pretext which he very often makes use of when he wishes to get rid of a troublesome subject.

Michelachi was confronted with these wretches, their depositions were shewn to him, and he was ordered to deliver up the treasure on pain of death. Conscious innocence, added to the surprise and indignation which arose in his mind at this base accusation, made him reply in terms probably too high for the haughty spirit of Ali to bear. With a countenance that is said to be quite horrible under the influence of rage, and in a tremendous tone of voice, he ordered the prisoner to be carried away to the *buldrun*, a dark and damp dungeon situated close to the ditch of the castron, where he was secured to the

ground by a heavy chain bound round his hands and feet and neck. In the mean time his house was rifled, his fine furniture broken to pieces or thrown into the public streets, and his afflicted family bolted and barred in a small inner room, were screened from the insults of the Albanian guards only by the efforts of a venerable and benevolent priest. In the mean time terror and despair took possession of the inhabitants of Ioannina. Persons of all ranks and religions came to console the wretched family and alleviate their sorrows, if possible: many went to the serai to intercede with the vizir, but like a hunted lion he was too indignant to be approached, and he saw no one during the day.

This occurrence happened to take place during Mr. Foresti's absence from Ioannina, who had accompanied an officer of the Porte sent with dispatches, on his road towards the Pindus. He returned to the city late in the evening, and found a deputation of the chief Greeks at his house to inform him of the treatment which poor Michelachi had suffered. It was impossible to see the vizir that night, but next morning he rose with the sun, and made his appearance at the seraglio as soon as Ali had performed his morning ablutions. Even at this hour he found the court-yard and anterooms of the palace crowded with persons, expecting the result and expressing all the marks of fear and anxiety on their countenances.

Mr. Foresti having sent in his name, was immediately admitted to the presence of the pasha, and entered upon a conversation in the ordinary routine of business, in order that he might not appear to come for the purpose of counteracting his designs. At last he casually observed, "I see a vast number of people about the serai this morning, and the city also is quite in an uproar: I inquired the cause, but no one would explain it to me till my cook* informed me

* His cook was a Frank, and not a subject of the pasha.

that you have put to death my friend Michelachi. As I knew him to be an excellent and an innocent man, I have to thank your highness for not committing this act whilst the dragoman was here, who might have spread very disgraceful intelligence about us at Constantinople." (V.) in a quick tone, "Ah! but I have not killed him, he is alive at present." (F.) "Then God be praised, I am heartily glad of it." (V.) "But he has treated me shamefully; he has cruelly deceived me; παιδί μου*, my very heart burns within me at his conduct; if you could see it, it would appear at this moment in a flame! How could a man whom I have brought up from his infancy in my own bosom make me this return!" (F.) "Indeed if he has treated you so, I shall be the first to condemn him; but has any opportunity been given him to prove his innocence? and who are his accusers?" (V.) "Oh! a great many persons, both men and women, came here, and before the archbishop took solemn oaths, after kissing the Christian crucifixes, to the truth of their accusation." (F.) "That may be; but are these accusers people of credit? and can you even believe their oaths against the word of such a man as you know Michelachi to be? Consider what people will say at the Porte, and what my government will think, when they hear that you have put to death or ruined one of your best friends upon such kind of evidence!" (V.) "But παιδί μου, what can I now do, implicated as I am in this affair?" (F.) "Why order instantly an examination concerning it to be instituted." (V.) "Will *you* then take it into your hands and examine it?" (F.) "To be sure I will do so, for your sake, even more than that of Michelachi: but you must release him on security, for he is at this time in chains, and may perish before his innocence can be proved." (V.) "Take him then to the chamber over the treasury, station there a guard to prevent escape, and God prosper you in the business."

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* "My son," a familiar expression, which he uses to an intimate acquaintance.

Mr. Foresti having gained this point, had little more to do. Taking with him the two primates of the city and the archbishop, they released the prisoner, and proceeded to his mansion, where they found his young and beautiful wife surrounded by her children and some friends in the greatest agony: they comforted her with the assurance that her husband was safe, and for form's sake searched every part of the house for a treasure which they well knew had no existence. They then interrogated Michelachi and his accusers, which last were of course unable to substantiate any part of their charge: upon this they returned to the vizir, and reported the prisoner guiltless of the accusation. The tyrant then pretended to fall into a terrible rage against the abandoned wretches whom he had himself suborned, and declared that they should suffer the cruelest of deaths; and it was only at the special entreaties of Michelachi, who threw himself at the vizir's feet, joined by those of Mr. Foresti, that this sentence was not executed immediately. By a compromise, made to save the vizir's credit, they were thrown into prison for a few months, and then released. Ali restored Michelachi again to favour, and has since more than once expressed his thanks to Mr. Foresti for saving him the disgrace and pain of putting an innocent person to death.

After we left the house of the French consul, Mr. Cockerell occupied himself in sketching some scenery, whilst Mr. Parker and myself went to shoot wild ducks upon the lake, in one of the small caiques, or monoxyla, which are paddled along by a man who sits at the stern with a pair of sculls. The day being clear, we found it impossible to get within range of the immense flocks of water-fowl that covered great part of the surface. We then had recourse to stratagem, and by rowing up the channels which intersect the reeds that line the banks, we had excellent sport. In the afternoon we were surprised and gratified by the appearance of one of the vizir's kaivasi or chamberlains, who stand at the door of his audience-chamber with golden-knobbed sticks in their hands. He came for the purpose of residing in our

house as long as we should remain at Ioannina, to see that all due respect and attention was paid us, to walk before us with his staff of office in the city, and to accompany us on our expeditions, and to provide horses, food, and lodging, free of all expence. A more faithful and obliging man could not have been selected for this office than Mustafà. During our long connexion, he became, I really believe, most sincerely attached to us, and in spite of his original Mahometan apathy, degenerated at length into a perfect antiquarian: he understood all the distinctions of Greek masonry, would hunt out an ancient ruin with singular sagacity, and shout with rapture at the sight of a palaio-castro*.

We now began to think of commencing our Dodonæan researches: but before our departure we thought ourselves bound to pay a visit of ceremony at the serai, and make our acknowledgments for the munificence of the vizir.

* This is the title by which the ruins of an ancient Greek town are designated, the reason of which is obvious to the classical reader. If the site be occupied by modern habitations, it generally takes the name of Castri.

View from the Island in the Lake of Ioannina. — *Hill of Dodona.*

CHAPTER XVI.

Visit to the Vizir in the Fortress—Description of the Castron—Old Serai—Conversation with Ali—Mosques of the Castron, &c.—Visit to Mouchtar Pasha—Description of the Lake—Katabothra—Ruins at Gastrizza—Fish of the Lake, &c.—Excursion to the supposed Site of Dodona—Village of Velchista—Reappearance of the Waters of the Lake there—Ancient Remains—Molossian Dogs—Climate.

JANUARY 12th, 1814.—This morning we sent the kaivasi to signify a wish of paying our respects to his highness, who returned for answer that he would gladly receive us in his old serai, which is within the castron. Accordingly, preceded by Mustafà in state, and accompanied by Nicolo as interpreter, we directed our steps towards the fortress. At one entrance of its deep fosse we observed an old brig, which had been built for the vizir's excursions upon the lake, but

being now too much decayed for service, was here laid up in ordinary. We crossed the ditch by a strong drawbridge, and in passing through the heavy gateway observed the entrance to the *buldrun*, that dismal prison of an inexorable tyrant, beneath the strong line of fortification. The streets in the interior of the castron are very narrow, badly paved, and gloomy; in that quarter allotted to the Jews, the habitations are not to be compared in point of comfort to an Irish cabin. Many of them are actually open to the public view on two sides, whilst the stories of the house are only supported by props, to which ragged blankets and old garments are attached for the purpose of sheltering the wretched inmates from the inclemency of the weather; one feels alarmed at walking through such streets, lest he should chance to be overwhelmed in the falling ruins. Without ocular demonstration I could not have believed it possible for human beings thus to have existed in a climate where the winter is oftentimes extremely rigorous and severe. Yet they do exist in this state, and many of them from motives of policy rather than necessity. They exercise for the most part the trade of brokers and money-lenders, and the hope of gain cheers this wretched people under all their privations here, as in every other foreign land. One of the tribe is chief-treasurer and banker to the vizir.

The serai stands in an open space, near the south-east corner of the castron: it is a vast irregular pile of building, surrounding nearly three sides of a large area or court. The effect of its architecture and decorations is very striking at a distance; but this diminishes on a closer inspection, when the coarseness of its work and the perishable nature of its materials, impress upon the mind ideas only of barbarous magnificence and ephemeral power. The great hall of this palace was crowded with attendants in every variety of costume, from the red-shawled Macedonian and turbaned Osmanli, to the Albanian with his shaggy white capote, and the Greek archon in robes of ermine and enormous calpac. The turban being the characteristic head-dress of

a Mahometan, the Greeks in most parts of Turkey are not permitted to wear it. How different are the marks of servitude among different people! Tacitus says of the ancient Britons that it was a part of *their* subjection to *wear* the dress of their conquerors.

We had our audience in a large square saloon, very handsomely gilt and furnished: Signore Colovo and a Turk of distinction were present. The pasha himself was seated as usual at a corner of the divan, drawing the smoke of tobacco into his lungs through a houka, whilst a book lay opened and turned down upon the sofa beside him, as if with a design to shew us how erroneous the assertions of some persons were who have declared that he is unable to read. He received us very graciously and motioned us to take our seats beside him on the divan: Signore Nicolo however, as interpreter, did not dare to assume this privilege, but stood all the time at an awful distance. The pasha inquired minutely respecting our accommodations, hoped we were satisfied with the attentions paid us, and requested us always to inform him of any neglect in others, or any wants of our own, through the medium of Mustafà, who he declared was a very honest fellow. We assured his highness that nothing could exceed the satisfaction we had experienced from his kind reception of us, and that we were perfectly contented with our accommodations of every kind. At this interview I thought his countenance exhibited stronger marks of stern severity than I did at our first introduction, which was by candle-light, and the deep-worn furrows of care seemed to indicate more clearly the hardships and anxieties of an eventful life. He questioned us a little, but in the most polite and courteous manner, respecting our situations in life and motives for travelling, and expressed great astonishment that Mr. Parker, who was an only son, should leave his friends and so many sources of enjoyment at home, to roam about such desolate uncivilized countries, so full of dangers and inconveniences; and he blamed his mother very much for permitting him to quit England. It would be difficult indeed to persuade a Turk that the dangers and inconveniences of

foreign travel can be at all compensated by any advantages with which it is accompanied. He now turned to me and requested to look at the hat which I held in my hand; expressed his astonishment at the excellence of our English manufactures, and wished he could procure a great-coat made of the same material. In the mean time some of the fine Albanian youths that stood in attendance supplied us with pipes and coffee, and the pasha ordered a brace of English pistols, which he had condescended to accept as a slight mark of our gratitude, to be brought in their case before him; he then made one of his attendants charge them with powder and fire them off in the balcony of the serai, appearing much pleased at the loudness of the report. Before our departure we mentioned to him our intention of making a short tour in his dominions, which would comprise Suli and Paramithia, which we understood to be the scenes of his most warlike exploits. He seemed very much pleased at this intelligence and desired us to send Mustafà to receive his directions upon the subject; said the country was quite practicable; but that he had passed and repassed over all parts of it in every season of the year, when a thousand muskets were aimed against his life; but that *now* we should find perfect security and tranquillity diffused over the whole district.

When we took our leave the vizir preceded us to the gallery or external balcony of the palace, where he stood a considerable time to view his officers amusing themselves, in the great area, at the exercise of the Djereed. This is a species of sham fight between two parties mounted on horseback, who hurl at each other sticks of a moderate thickness and about a yard in length. They advance in a gallop with loud outcries, bring their steeds in a moment to a dead stand, hurl their pointless darts with incredible dexterity, start off again at full speed, wheel round, or avoid the blow of their adversary by reclining at full length over the bow of the saddle. The bustle and activity of this scene is indescribable; the Turk in proportion to his general supineness is the more violent in exertion when he is once put

in motion and his blood in circulation; he then appears like a horse which runs away blindly in all the wildness of ungovernable fury. Neither is this exercise entirely free from danger; they are frequently unhorsed, and sometimes the loss of a combatant's eye or tooth, or a broken rib, attests the skill and strength of his adversary's arm. But nothing is so amazing as the dexterity acquired by the horses: these sagacious and docile animals are taught to stop, or to start off, at full speed; to turn round in the most confined space; to deflect from their course for the purpose of avoiding the weapon; and to gallop in the most intricate figures: they seem actually as if they could penetrate the very intentions of their rider.

Quid cupias ipsi scire videntur equi.

Yet one is shocked at the cruelty used both in the training and the exercise: we saw these poor animals, at the conclusion of the sport, led off the ground with their mouths all in a bloody foam from the terrible sharpness of the bits.

Mustafà now took us into a small room adjoining the serai to see the standards of the vizir; the three horse-tails which are attached to long poles and carried before a pasha of the highest rank in the field of battle. From thence we proceeded to the south-west corner of the castron where a large mosque, appropriated to the serai, stands upon the site of the most ancient church of Ioannina*: near it is a large tomb surrounded by an iron railing, wherein repose the ashes of one of Ali's wives, the mother of Mouchtar Pasha, a woman whose character was universally respected and who is still spoken of in terms of the highest admiration: from this mosque, we passed through many miserable narrow lanes, to the other of Hassan Pasha, which stands charmingly situated on the edge of the north-east precipice. Upon this site stood formerly a church dedicated to St. John, and it is now enclosed by some beautiful cypresses: in the vicinity are ruins of the

* I copied here a very singular and curious Greek inscription, which will be given in its proper place. The church was dedicated to St. Michael, the patron of the city.

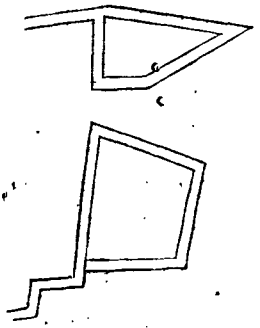
ancient gula, or tower of the castron, which is much spoken of in the history of this place; and at the bottom of the precipice between this gula and the mosque is shewn a deep cavern called the Cave of the Skelosophist or 'Dog-Philosopher;' with which a very curious story is connected, that shall be related in the sequel.

Having left the castron we adjourned to the serai of Mouchtar Pasha: he received us kindly, and when he heard of our intention to visit the plains of Thesprotia, promised to send one of his own men to accompany us in our route, which would lie through several villages and districts dependant upon himself. Thus we had every reason to be well satisfied with the facilities afforded us for travelling in Albania.

We spent the intervening time between these visits and our departure in visiting Greek families, especially the connexions of our host, which are very respectable, in wandering about the city and its environs, or in shooting upon the lake whilst Mr. Cockerell sketched the beautiful scenery which adorns its banks.

The length of this lake is about six miles, and its greatest breadth is almost three: it is narrowest towards the northern extremity, and gradually expanding towards the south spreads its waters round the indentures and promontories of the fertile plain, or reflects in its surface the fine mountain ridges of Mitzikeli that adorn its eastern bank and contain many beautiful villages and convents embosomed in rich foliage within their deep recesses: at the north end it is connected by two long channels, flowing through a large tract of marshy land overgrown with reeds, to an upper lake lying under the mountains to the south-east of Zitza. Here may be seen the subterranean channels called Katavothra (Καταβόθρα) by which the superabundant waters are discharged; the stream flows tranquilly underneath a mountainous ridge, and reappearing on the other side, at the distance of about five miles, in a beautiful cascade, falls into the river Kalamas below the village of Velchista. I counted fifteen of these channels at this spot, and five or six at the

south end which also carry off the water, though the place of its reappearance is not known*: this end of the lake is bounded by a rocky mountain of moderate height, upon the summit of which appear most extensive ruins of an ancient Epirotic city, of extremely fine masonry, in the antique Pseudo-Cyclopéan style. It is called Gastrizza, and is supposed by Mons. Pouqueville to have been once named Cassopæa. For my own part, as I can discover no authorities in ancient historians to determine the point, I shall leave it in its obscurity. The walls of this city are in several places surprisingly perfect, and remain with many of their towers to the height of eighteen or twenty feet; the annexed figure represents the ground plan of its gateway or southern entrance.



The length of the city was very great in proportion to its breadth, and the whole appears to have been occupied by inhabitants in ages much posterior to the Roman conquest, by the different style of building, consisting of small stones and cement, which surmounts various parts of the ancient walls. I made the most diligent search for inscriptions but without success; I discovered the foundations and remains of several edifices in its interior, but no columns nor any appearance of a temple.

Just opposite the castron of Ioannina, where the lake is rendered narrow by the projection of that fortress, lies a little rocky island, but nearer to Mount Mitzikeli than to the city. On this island there is

* In a similar manner the waters of the lake Copais and those of Stymphalus in Arcadia are discharged.

a village, containing about 200 houses, which display greater neatness than I ever remember to have seen in any part of the world; it lies at the water's edge, near the N. E. corner; its houses are good, its streets clean, its churches handsome, and its inhabitants very industrious. It belongs chiefly to Mouchtar Pasha, but the vizir has a serai in its vicinity, and keeps a herd of red deer upon the island, which add much to its picturesque beauty. Seven convents occupy different situations upon this isle; these have frequently been used as places of confinement for state-prisoners, and if their walls could speak, might tell of many a bloody deed perpetrated within them. In one of these receptacles Mustafà Pasha of Delvino was starved to death, and at this very time his two sons were immured in another, cut off from every consolation and from all commerce with mankind.

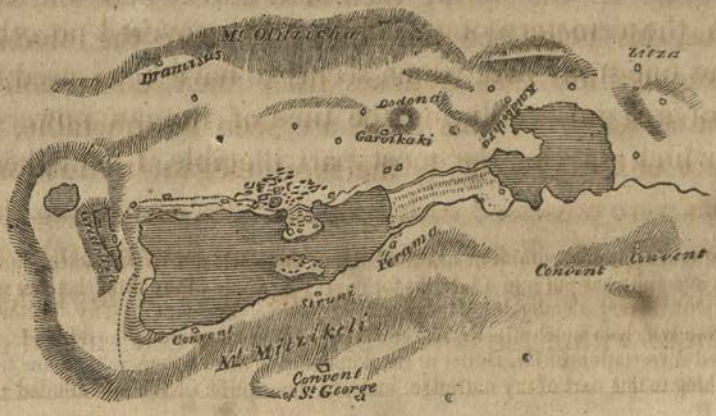
The people of this island subsist principally by catching and supplying the city with fish, that abound in the lake. The finest species, which we frequently purchased for our table, are called the marizia and tulianos; these will sometimes equal six or even seven okas in weight*: an immense quantity of a small fry called zimes, of which about eight make an ounce, are taken in decoys made of reeds with which the shores are lined; these little fish are considered very injurious to the multiplication of the others, because they eat the spawn. The eels of this water are remarkably fine, and are taken to the size of two and three okas in weight. In the spring their flesh is very bad, and said even to be poisonous, this being the time of copulation: the inhabitants have a strange superstition that it arises from their connexion with the water-serpents which at this time are seen innumerable, swimming at the surface of the water with the most elegant undulatory motion. The ancients were possessed with a similar idea respecting the lamprey and the viper. (Vid. Ælian. de Nat. Animal, l. i. c. 50.)

On the borders of the lake myriads of wild fowl deposit their eggs and breed within the covert of its lofty reeds: afford occupation

* An oka = 3¼ lbs. avoirdupois.

to a great number of persons and an excellent supply of food to the city: numbers of small boats, called monoxyla, are constantly employed in carrying the fowler after this species of game. Mouchtar Pasha is remarkably fond of the sport, and preserves the upper part of the lake, i. e. all from the island up to its northern extremity, for his own private diversion: but he not unfrequently gives a day's sport to all the inhabitants who choose to attend him.

We find no instance in which the lake of Ioannina is mentioned by ancient historians. Indeed it is a matter of doubt whether it existed in their days or has been produced by an earthquake or the sudden opening of springs before latent: I discovered no sources of this kind except two under the edge of Mitzikeli, nearly opposite the island, but these do not appear copious enough to account for such an accumulation of water: probably therefore its sources are hid below its surface. It is Mr. Pouqueville's opinion that the greatest part of the plain of Ioannina was once overspread by water, and that the opening of the Katavothra reduced the lake to its present compass. He argued to this conclusion from the nature of the soil and the great number of stagnant pools which during great part of the year are observed in all parts of the plain: but upon this subject I do not feel competent to offer an opinion. The annexed plan of the lake itself may probably not be unacceptable to the reader.



The 14th of January was dedicated by Mr. Parker and myself to a very extensive circuit of the lake in a light monoxylon, which we loaded well with wild-fowl, the produce of our guns, and then rejoined Mr. Cockerell on the island, where he had been sketching that beautiful view of Ioannina which embellishes these pages. As we sat in one of the neat habitations of the village, for the purpose of taking some refreshment, I myself attempted to sketch the vignette which is prefixed to the head of this chapter, not for any particular beauties of the scenery, but because it comprehends that hill which I consider to have the best claim to the original site of Dodona*: on a future day we made an excursion to the scene itself, and as we are now upon this subject, the reader will perhaps pardon a little anticipation of my narrative, and accompany me at once to the desolate remains of this ancient and venerable oracle†.

Riding nearly five miles by the side of the lake in a direction about N.N.W. of Ioannina we arrived at a small village named Gardikaki, situated upon an eminence about two miles distant from the channel which connects the upper and lower lake, and overlooking a great extent of marshy ground in its immediate vicinity: near this village stands a small Greek church in a most picturesque situation, embosomed in fine trees and commanding an astonishingly fine view of the city, the expanse of water, the chain of Zagoriot mountains which may easily be connected with Tomarus, and the magnificent summits of the Pindus chain. In the cemetery of this church I discovered no other antique remains but one stone slab, which seems to have been used in the construction of a sepulchre during the time of Roman power: in its inscription, which was for the most part illegible, I decyphered the fol-

* The author takes this opportunity of acknowledging the merit of Mr. Harraden, jun. of Cambridge, who with great ingenuity has put into a form fit for engraving some of the little sketches which were taken upon the spot, with a very slender knowledge of perspective, but without any skill or practice in that beautiful art from which so much illustration and satisfactory pleasure may be derived.

† The learned dissertation of Dr. Butler in the Appendix to this volume, relieves me from the necessity of adding any thing to this part of my narrative, except a description of the site alluded to.

lowing words, NEARCHO.....NAT. XX..., ET. LUCIO. A peasant from one of the neighbouring cottages informed us, that in digging he once discovered a large brass coin, but he had given it to his children to play with, and they had lost it. We next ascended the fine circular hill which rises from this eminence on its western side, and agrees aptly enough with the epithets ἀιπύνωτος, δυσχείμερος, applied by the ancient poets to Dodona: it is conical in shape, with a large piece of its vertex cut off by a plane parallel to its base: its summit is entirely surrounded by very fine Pseudo-Cyclopéan walls, dilapidated in many places: in their circuit, which appears to be about a mile and a half, we observed several towers and gateways; but in the interior we could not discover, after the most patient investigation, any vestiges of buildings, excepting a few subterranean vaults or reservoirs. Some persons place the site of Dodona upon the Zagoriot mountains on the other side of the lake, others at the village of Protopapas, near Zitza: others again assert it to have been near the village of Glyki, on the borders of the Acheron, below the Suliot hills; and Dr. Holland, whose opinions are always worthy of most attentive consideration, inclines to a situation between the Aracthus and Achelous, under the lofty mountain called Zumerka*. Amidst these conflicting testimonies I shall refer the reader, who has any curiosity upon the subject, to the Dissertation in the Appendix.

From the oracular hill we descended to the spot where the waters of the lake descend into the bowels of a mountain through the orifices called Katavothra; amongst some rocks near this place we shot a great number of wild pigeons, with which the hills around Ioannina abound, and then directed our course over the mountain ridge in a westerly di-

* Holland's Travels, p. 146, note. I cannot however help thinking that every opinion which inclines to place Dodona in the more southern district of Epirus is considerably invalidated by a passage of the accurate Polybius, who says that Dorimachus the Ætolian General, laid waste Epirus, and advancing towards the upper districts (εἰς τὰς ἄνω τόπους τῆς Ἠπείρου) destroyed the temple of Dodona together with its porticoes and many of its offerings, A. U. C. 536, for the Ætolians were a people who knew not the laws of peace or war. Lib. iv. c. 67.

rection towards the village of Velchista. In about one hour and a half we arrived at the opposite side of the ridge and looked down upon a most picturesque glen, at the head of which the waters of the lake (as they are conjectured to be) ooze out of the ground in an infinite number of small streams, till they form a large body of water: this foams impetuously down the glen from rock to rock in a vast variety of cascades and sets in motion a number of water-mills, which, together with groups of Albanian girls washing linen in the stream, give an air of indescribable life and beauty to the scene. As the valley widens, the plains of the river Kalamas, or Thyamis of antiquity, (those plains where Atticus the friend of Cicero had his delightful country house, to which he retired during the most disastrous times of the republic) come finely into the prospect bounded by the blue mountains of Thesprotia. The houses in this valley appear as if they were shut out from connexion with the world; and their inhabitants, secure from its corruptions, might here cultivate all the rural virtues in peace and tranquillity, but for the tyranny and exactions of Mouchtar Pasha, who purchased all the land, turned the village into a chiflick*, and obtains from the poor inhabitants a greater annual revenue than the sum with which he bought the property.

In our endeavours to penetrate as far as the head of the valley to observe more accurately the exit of the waters, I had very nearly met with a fatal accident. As there is no regular road, we were obliged to find a way along the steep and precipitous sides of the glen; one hill I endeavoured to cross by means of a ledge formed of loose materials that had been washed down by the rains; but scarcely had I advanced ten steps when these materials began to slide from under my feet, and if I had not possessed presence of mind enough to recline quietly upon my back, I should have been precipitated down a chasm at least three hundred feet in depth. By slow degrees I regained my

* The meaning of this term will be explained hereafter.

original position, when we returned and proceeded to the western point of the village, where a fine angular promontory, like a natural mole or bastion, rises over the plain. The ancients, who were quite as acute as the moderns in selecting appropriate sites for their fortifications, had taken advantage of this to build thereon some very strong works, the massive masonry of which seems to defy the efforts of time in its destruction. In this neighbourhood are two old Greek churches, one of which occupies the site of a pagan temple or some other ancient edifice.

In returning to Ioannina I was attacked by one of those fierce Molossian dogs which the shepherds of this country keep as the guardians of their flocks: the animal flew with such fury at my horse's heels, who plunged and kicked most violently, that I was obliged to turn and discharge my fowling-piece over him, or I should certainly have been unhorsed: probably a single shot touched him, as he gave a howl and ran off immediately. I have not unfrequently been exposed at different times to very considerable danger by the attacks of these ferocious animals: on one occasion, during our tour in Upper Albania, as I loitered a little behind the party, three of them set upon me at once, one of whom actually leaped from the high ground on the side of the mountain path upon my horse's back, and might possibly have dragged me from my saddle but for a blow which I dealt him from a large iron handled hunting-whip which I had carried from England.

The colour of these dogs varies through different shades from a dark brown to a bright dun, their long fur being very soft, and thick, and glossy: in size they are about equal to an English mastiff: they have a long nose, delicate ears finely pointed, magnificent tail, legs of a moderate length, with a body nicely rounded and compact. There seems reason to think that, while the human inhabitants of this rich soil have been strangely intermingled with degenerate strangers, these four-footed tenants have preserved their pedigree unimpaired, as they possess all that strength, swiftness, sagacity, and fidelity which are ascribed to

them by the ancient authors*; from whose accounts we find this breed was so esteemed that they were thought worthy of a place amongst the rarities of the earth in the splendid pomp of Ptolemy; whilst Polycrates, the celebrated tyrant of Samos, when, like an excellent agriculturist, he imported goats from Scyros and Naxos, pigs from Sicily, and sheep from Attica and Miletus, brought bitches also from the Spartan and Molossian territories to improve the breed of their guardians†.

January 15. The weather during our residence at Ioannina had hitherto been very favourable, only now and then interspersed with a little rain and sleet. Fahrenheit's thermometer had varied from 38 to 52 degrees, the observations being taken between twelve and two o'clock. A succession of several fine days just at this time gave us hopes of a mild winter, and Mustafà, at our request, issued orders at the post-house for as many horses as we might require on the following day.

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* The Molossian breed was so celebrated, that it was deduced from the famous dog of Cephalus, to which the following fabulous origin was assigned. The god Vulcan having made a brazen dog, according to the finest rules of art, endowed it with animation and made a present of it to Jupiter, from whom it descended through various hands to Cephalus. As this dog was created ἄφυκτος, i. e. endowed by fate with the power of catching every thing at which he should run, a dilemma ensued on account of the famous Teumesian fox, which at a prior birth had been created ἄλητος, "fated never to be caught." Whilst two such animals therefore as these existed upon earth the Destinies could never be free from apprehension: to save their credit therefore, Jupiter was obliged to change both dog and fox into stone. Julius Pollux, v. c. 5. The savage nature of these Molossian dogs is denoted by Virgil in his Culex, 330. "Scylla rapax canibus succincta Molossis:" and the terrible Cerberus was of the Epirotic breed: ἔνδοξος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἠπειρωτικὸς Κέρβερος· Pollux, v. c. 5. Æneas Poliorcetes (p. 24. ed. Casaub.) says that they were very generally used as letter-carriers when particular dispatch was requisite. Their fidelity is so well known that one example of it will suffice. The dog of Pyrrhus is recorded to have kept watch over his master while he slept, and being inconsolable at his death leaped upon the funeral pile and was consumed with his remains. From the constant mention made by the ancient poets and others of the Spartan and Molossian dogs together, it would seem probable that they were of the same breed, or at least held in equal estimation.

Molossus aut fulvus Lacon
Amica vis pastoribus. Hor.

Nec tibi cura canum fuerit postrema; sed una
Veloces Spartæ catulos acremque Molossum
Pasce sero pingui. Virg. Georg. iii. 404.

† Athenæi Deipn. v. 201. xii. 540.

CHAPTER XVII.

Departure for an Excursion into Thesprotia—Scenery—Greek Chapels, &c.—Ruins of an ancient City—Theatre and Walls—Conjectures on its Site—Village of Dramisus—Mountain Roads—Devitziana—Heavy Rains—Miseries of an Albanian Cottage—Flute of an Eagle's Wing—Adventure at the Acheron—Return towards Ioannina—Village of Vareatis—Manner of killing Fowls—Scenery of Epirus—Molossian Dogs—Arrival at Ioannina—Combat in the Streets—Visit the Vizir in his Albanian Room—Visit Mouchtar and Mahmet Pasha—Mr. Cockerell departs for Athens—Accompany him over the Lake—Cold of the Winter—Great Scarcity of Fuel—Game at Chess—Visit to a Greek—Dinner at the French Consul's—Letter from Mr. Cockerell, dated Livadia, and Extract from it.

JANUARY 16.—The sun beamed bright upon the minarets of Ioannina as we departed on our Thesprotian expedition. A considerable concourse of people was drawn together by curiosity to see us, and several of our Greek acquaintance shook their heads at the idea of an Epirotian tour undertaken at this time of the year. Being preceded by Mustafà and an Albanian guide, whom Mouchtar Pasha had sent according to his promise, we advanced across the great plain in a direction S. S. W., and from thence diverged into the recesses of its mountain barriers. We soon arrived at some very beautiful scenery, and were particularly struck with the romantic sites of many pretty villages, as well as solitary Greek chapels, situated upon the tops of eminences and surrounded by umbrageous groves of venerable oaks or spreading beech trees. These chapels generally contain the picture of a saint to whom they are dedicated, and afford a place of resort to the

peasantry on the anniversary of their patron, where they assemble to amuse themselves in various sports after mass has been performed, or to dance beneath the shade, where each rustic nymph may listen to the accents of her admiring swain*. The whole of this savours strongly of antiquity.

Stat vetus et densa prænubilus arbore lucus.
Aspice! concedas numen inesse loco.
Accipit ara preces votivaque tura piorum,
Ara per antiquas facta sine arte manus.
Hic ubi præ vonuit solenni tibia cantu
It per velatas annua pompa vias.

Ov. Amor. l. iii. El. 13.

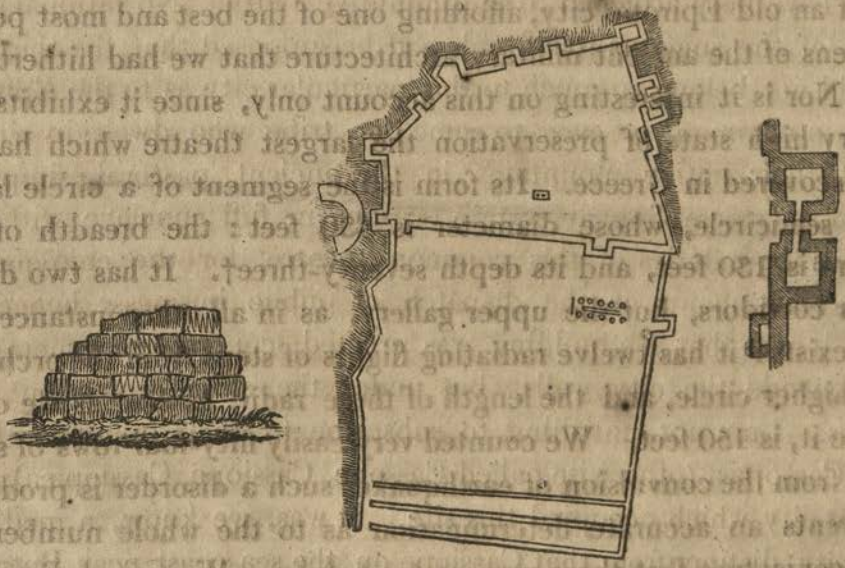
We soon saw before us the fine mountain Olitzika, which bounds the western side of the plain of Dramisus, rearing its two central peaks aloft into the air. After a ride of about four hours we arrived at the ruins of an old Epirotic city, affording one of the best and most perfect specimens of the ancient military architecture that we had hitherto beheld. Nor is it interesting on this account only, since it exhibits also in a very high state of preservation the largest theatre which has yet been discovered in Greece. Its form is the segment of a circle larger than a semicircle, whose diameter is 430 feet: the breadth of the orchestra is 130 feet, and its depth seventy-three†. It has two diazomata or corridors, but the upper gallery, as in all other instances, no longer exists: it has twelve radiating flights of steps from the orchestra to the higher circle, and the length of these radii, as near as we could measure it, is 150 feet. We counted very easily fifty-four rows of seats, though from the convulsion of earthquakes such a disorder is produced as prevents an accurate determination as to the whole number. I should conjecture that there were at least sixty. We traced distinctly

* Festa dies Veneremque vocat cantusque merumque. Ov. Am. l. iii, El. x.

† We took these measures with considerable accuracy, having carried out a graduated tape roller from England.

the foundations of the proscenium and the scene, of which enough remains to enable a good architect, who had time for its investigation, to restore the plan. This theatre commands a fine view of the rich plain towards the south-east, with the grand outline of Mount Olitzika: it was partly cut out of a rocky eminence, and partly constructed of fine hewn stones in the style called isodomon, of which the reader will see a specimen in the subjoined plan of the city. The great mass of ruins which it presents to the eye is very picturesque.

The city to which this magnificent appendage was annexed is divided into two parts of nearly equal dimensions; the one defended by fortifications of great strength, the other merely surrounded by a wall of moderate size. The plan here given was taken by myself with great care, whilst Mr. Cockerell was engaged in sketching the ruins of the theatre.



The walls of the northern division, which is upon a moderate eminence, remain very perfect to the height of fifteen and in many places twenty feet: they are built in a fine style of Pseudo-Cyclopéan masonry, and some of the blocks used are of great magnitude. The towers, bastions,

and gateways appear to have been constructed with very considerable skill; the space between the two flanking towers of the principal entrance* is eleven feet. We found scarcely any traces of edifices in the interior, except a subterranean reservoir supported by two pillars, in the acropolis, and the bases of several columns in the lower city, which from their situation appear to have once belonged to a temple. I had the curiosity to measure the circuit of these walls as accurately as could be done by stepping or pacing it, and found that of the citadel about 770 yards, whilst the lower division did not exceed 650†. In every other ancient city, whose ruins I have observed, or seen described, the acropolis was very small in comparison with the rest.

No doubt the reader will be struck, as we ourselves were, with the extraordinary circumstance that a theatre of such vast dimensions should have been attached to so diminutive a city. No rational explanation of this suggests itself, unless it be supposed that the theatre in fact did not belong so much to this particular city as to the Epirotian tribes in common, or even to some one tribe who dwelt in villages amidst their native mountains in the ancient pastoral simplicity, (κατὰ κώμας) assembling at certain seasons in full conclave within the spacious boundaries of this common theatre, for the enjoyment of public amusements or the dispatch of public business: hence probably it was that the building was erected, contrary to general custom, outside the city walls, but under the close protection of its fortress. I am not unwilling to subscribe to their opinion who fix upon Cassopæa (otherwise called Cassope, Cassiope, Cassiopæa) as the ancient city which occupied this site. It was, we know, a mediterranean city, distinct from that Cassiopé on the sea-coast near Butrotum, which gave its name to the Portus Cassiopæus: this was the capital of

* See its plan in the plate above.
† This measurement was taken in the interior.

a small tribe whose territories extended from hence to the Glykys Limen or mouth of the Acheron, comprehending the Suliot mountains and the cities of Buchetium, Pandosia, and Elatria, within their limits. (Strabo, l. vii.) And I am strengthened in this idea by Stephen of Byzantium, who says that Cassope was a city of the Molossi, which gave its name to the Cassopian district, and more especially by Scylax, who observes μετὰ δὲ Κασσωπίαν Μολοττοί εἰσιν ἔθνος. Now the situation of these ruins does appear to be upon the very borders of Molossia. Nothing however is more difficult than to identify the ancient cities of Epirus and Illyria, since the accurate Pausanias here deserts or at least only casually enlightens us, and we are left to the careless incomplete details of Strabo, or of historians who have given us very rarely any topographical remarks to assist us in our researches*.

* In conformity with the plan I proposed, and have endeavoured to follow, of keeping topographical details as much as possible out of the text, I have here thrown together a few short remarks in form of a note, respecting the divisions of ancient Epirus, a country of which the old historians and geographers, being more than usually ignorant of it, have left us a most deficient and perplexed detail. The whole country was bounded on the west by the Ionian sea, on the south by the Ambracian gulf and Acarnania, on the east by the great mountain chains of Pindus, and on the north by wild Illyrian tribes whose southern boundary extended from the Acroceraunian mountains to Macedonia. According to the account of Strabo, who cites Theopompus for his authority, the Epirotic nations were fourteen in number, but he does not take the trouble to distinguish them all by name or even assign their relative situation to those which he does condescend to mention. We are left therefore to collect these particulars from other sources, and to form our opinion by a comparison of authorities. One thing however is learned from Strabo and confirmed by others, that the three great and principal divisions of Epirus were, Chaonia, Thesprotia, and Molossis. We will begin then with—I. The Chaonians. Their country commenced at the Acroceraunian mountains, and comprised the modern canton of Kimarra with part of that of Delvino. The bravery of this people has always been noted both in ancient and modern times. II. The Thesprotians, inhabiting the southern part of Delvino, the district of Tzamouriá, comprehending the territories of Philates, Margariti, and Parga. It is very difficult to determine its boundaries, which vary with almost every author who treats upon them. Pausanias even includes Ambracia in this division (Eliac. c. xxiii. 1.) It seems itself to have had a set of inferior divisions: (vid. Steph. Byzant. in voce Χᾶννοι·) III. The Cassopæans, whose narrow strip of land extended from the mouth of the Acheron or Glykys Limen into the interior, till it joined that of the Molossi, and comprehended the cities of Elatria, Buchetium, Pandosia, Batiæ (now Paramithia), Suli, and the capital called Cassopæa. (Strabo, l. vii. Demost. Orat. de Haloneso, p. 84, ed. Reisk. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. &c.) IV. The Molossi, who seem to have possessed a large territory, comprising the pashalic of Arta and part of Ioannina, running along the Ambracian gulf and extending northward to the Lake of Ioannina, adjoining on the west to the country of the Cassopæi. Ambracia, like many other cities, was a Grecian colony settled in the midst of semi-barbarous tribes: most authors ascribe it to Molossis, though Pausanias and Steph. Byzantinus both refer it to Thesprotia. V. The Dolopes, who appear to have inhabited a tract north of Amphilochian Argos; they are by many ascribed to the Thessa-

After this examination of the ruins we adjourned to the village of Dramisus, to sleep beneath a roof which was scarcely able to keep out the rain which began to descend heavily during the night. An Albanian tour, like poverty, makes a man acquainted with strange bed-fellows! this we now experienced, being preyed upon all night by every species of vermin that nature has produced to punish the indolence or filthiness of mankind. These visitants assail new-comers in flocks, and our clothes next morning bore ample testimony to the zeal with which they endeavoured to cultivate our acquaint-

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lian tribes; probably they were a colony who emigrated from Thessaly. Ptolemy says they were above the Cassopæi, but I prefer following the authority of Thucydides, who fixes their situation on the Achelous (p. 160. ed. Duk.) with which account Strabo agrees, when he says the Dolopes lay south of the Pindus (l. ix. p. 434.) VI. The Perrhæbi lay to the north of the Dolopes, and were one of the Pindus' tribes (quorum mons Pindus, says Pliny); probably Kalarites is in this district. Strabo says they lay to the west of Pindus (l. ix. p. 434.) VII. The Athamanes, north-east of the Dolopes, on the banks of the Achelous. VIII. The Æthices, between Athamania and Tymphæa, an obscure tribe mentioned by Homer and ascribed by Steph. Byzantinus to the Thessalians. IX. The Stymphæi or Tymphæi (for they are called both ways) received their appellation from Mount Stympha or Tympha, near Mezzovo, from which the Aracthus took its rise; probably Konitza and Kolonia are in this district: its oxen were celebrated in ancient times, and are so still. (Callim. H. in Dian. 178. & Schol.) X. The Paroræi on the river Aous, now called Vòiussa, and comprising the district of Premeti and Ostanitza, conterminous with the Tymphæi. XI. The Atintanes, inhabiting the great valley of Argyro-Castro (the ancient Adrianopolis) conterminous with the Chaonians, the Orestæ, and the Tymphæi, the territory of which latter people seems to have extended to Delvinachi (the ancient Nicæum.) XII. The Orestæ, who possessed the modern district of Tepeleni (in which Ali Pasha was born) with part of the pashalic of Avlona along the bank of the Aous. XIII. The Cestrini, who had a very small tract of country north-east of Batiæ, or Paramithia, which still retains its ancient appellation: it was separated from Thesprotia by the river Thyamis, the modern Kalamas (Thucyd. p. 34, ed. Duk.) It was very celebrated for its breed of oxen (Schol. in Aristoph. Pac. 924.). So also was Epirus in general, the fine pastures of which were greatly prized by the Romans (Varro. Præf. l. ii. de R. R.). XIV. The Hellopes or Selli, whom I conceive to have been the same people, whose name is derived from ἕλος, a marsh; they dwelt in low marshy ground on the north and north-east side of the Lake of Ioannina, and in this district was the oracle of Dodona,

> Ἔστι τὶς Ἑλλοπίη πολυλήιος ἠδ' ἐυλείμων
> Ἔνθά δε Δωδώνη τις ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ πεπόλισται.

Pliny makes mention of an obscure tribe called Dryopes, which, from his collocation, it would seem, inhabited a tract between the Selli, Cassopæi and Molossi; but Strabo appears to think that Dryopis was a district of Thessalia, l. ix. p. 434. Possibly they were part of a tribe of the same name which was settled between the north east parts of Parnassus and the south of Mount Œta, and who having been conquered by Hercules and transplanted by him to Asine in Argolis, were afterwards driven out by the Argives and settled in Messenia. Pausan. Messen. c. viii. 34.

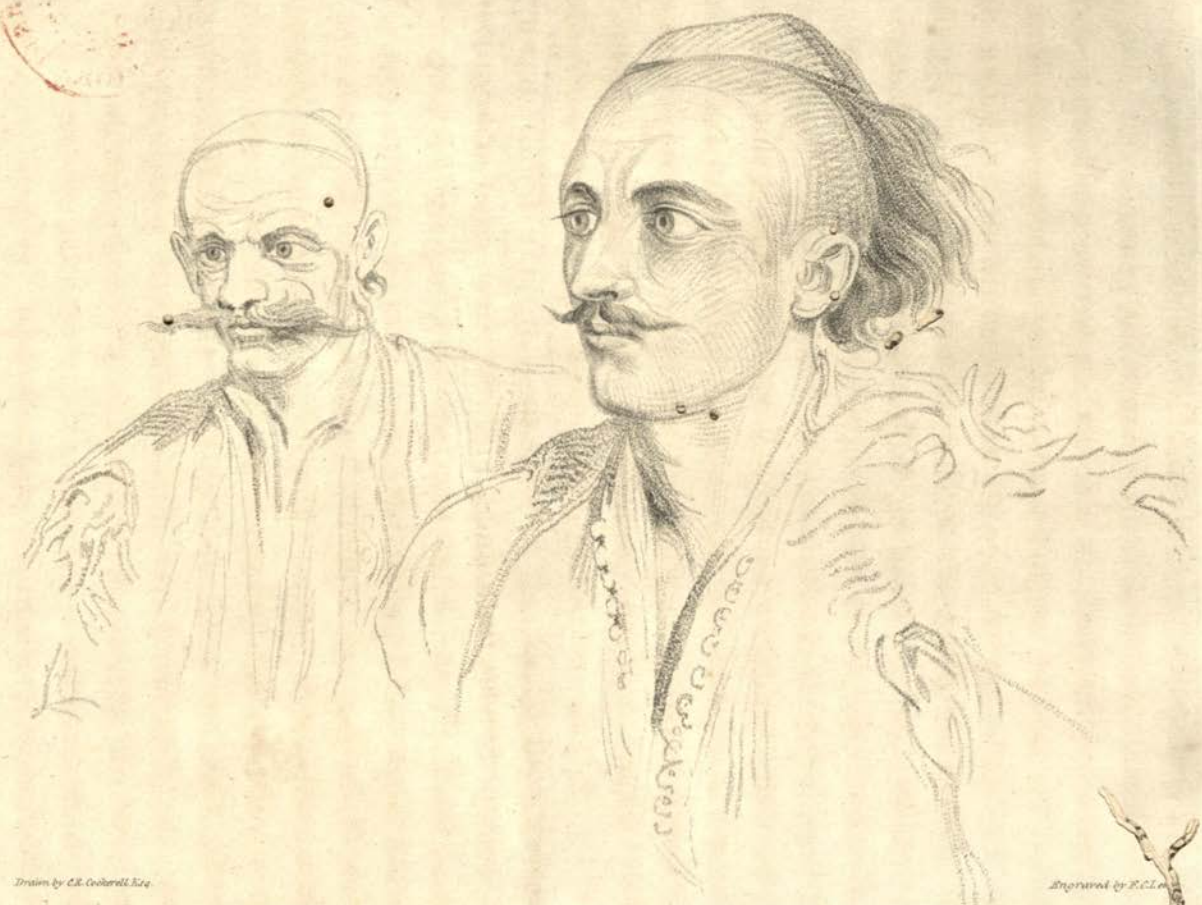
ance. Yet who would complain of being *flead* alive, or even worse, for an opportunity of expatiating amidst the mountain scenery of Epirus!

Next morning the rain continued and the hills around were enveloped in dark clouds. We proceeded however in our route, since the cottage would not long have given us shelter from the wet. During one hour we advanced down the plain in a southerly direction, and then turned off amongst the mountains on our right hand, over roads which make one shudder at the very recollection. Many of these paths lay upon the summits of a mountain chain, over great slate rocks which had the appearance of paved causeways, and being now quite slippery from the rain, filled us with apprehension lest our beasts should make a false step and precipitate us down the tremendous abysses which frequently appeared on both sides, when the wind as it rushed up these deep valleys from time to time, cleared away the thick masses of vapour which filled them like clouds of smoke. Probably no horses but those of the country, who are accustomed to it, would have carried us safely out of such dangers.

In about four hours we arrived at the village of Vareatis, which had but lately been rebuilt after its destruction in the Suliot wars. As the rain descended in torrents, and we were already wet, we did not halt here, but kept on our course towards the large village of Devitzianà, the limit, on this side, of that dominion which the Suliots once obtained. We observed that the calcareous nature of the mountain ridges that intersect this country, make them very subject to decomposition and decay: hence it is that enormous masses of rock are frequently seen scattered about in all directions, which having been at some time or other detached from the upper parts of the mountain, have rolled down like the avalanches of Switzerland: some of these huge fragments having met with obstructions in their path, hang over the road in frightful guise and threaten the passing traveller with sudden annihilation. In these wild tracts we met few persons except an

occasional shepherd or goatherd, and small parties of fierce mountaineers covered with thick fleecy capotes, (κεκαλυμμένοι διὸς ἀώτῳ) from whom as they emerged from behind the rocks we scarcely knew whether to expect the friendly salute or the musket-shot. The accompanying plate will give the most spirited and faithful representation of the Albanian palikars of any attempt that has yet been made to delineate their characteristic features, costume, and warlike habits.

We were soaked to the skin long before we arrived at Dervitzianà, which is built in a grand situation, commanding a prospect of one of the noblest valleys in Epirus watered by the converging branches of a fine river, that form their junction about two hours below the village. We were received into the best cottage the place afforded; but what was our consternation when we found the rain dripping through its roof, no fire, and no materials but *green wood* to make one! It was nearly two hours before we could persuade these logs to burn, during which time the smoke which filled the cottage, very appropriately drew abundance of tears from our eyes. When the fire was once kindled we took special care to keep it so in spite of the rain, which did its utmost to extinguish it. These wretched ignorant barbarians actually cover the roofs of their houses with stakes and hurdles, though great plenty of straw and reeds may be procured for thatching. How did we envy the meanest peasant in England, when at night not a single dry place could be found to spread out our beds, but we were obliged even to fix our umbrellas over head, to keep the wet partially from us as we slept, though the water collected in pools at our feet. During the two following days the rain still continued, and as it was represented to us that we should find still worse lodgings if we removed, it was determined to wait the event at Dervitzianà. In the mean time it was a curious sight to see the whole family, consisting of three generations, huddled together with all our attendants into a small interior room, for our accommodation. At length the old progenitor with his son-in-law, a fine young palikar who had been one of the warriors of



Drawn by C.R. Cockerell, Esq.

Engraved by F.C.L...

PORTRAITS OF LAMBRO THE SULIOTE, AND THE OLD BALOUK-BASHEE OF DERVITZIANA.

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Suli, ventured out into our presence and entered into a conversation, from which we learned many curious anecdotes of that celebrated war, in which Lambro, so the young man was called, had been engaged; we moreover acquired considerable information respecting the customs and manners of the Albanian peasantry in general.

On the third day of our sojourn, as we were sitting round the fire wrapped up in our travelling cloaks against the rain, smoking our pipes, and listening to the old man's recital of an Albanian war, we were startled at a sound of the most shrill and piercing music that ever met the ear, proceeding from the interior apartment. Mustafà at our desire brought in the musician, a fine boy, the eldest son of our host, who kept his flocks upon the mountains. His instrument was a simple pipe made of an eagle's wing. This spoiler had frequently descended from its lofty eirie and carried away the lambs intrusted to the youth's care. Indignant at the outrage, he armed himself with his long Albanian knife, climbed up the steep and craggy rocks, engaged and killed the robber on its nest, and brought away the wing as a trophy, from which he formed the simple instrument above alluded to. It was open at both ends, and required great strength of lungs to produce from it any variety of notes, but the airs played by the young musician were characteristically wild, and the sounds, though remarkably shrill, by no means deficient in sweetness.

There was something so inspiring in his melody as well as romantic in his adventure, something so poetically retributive in soothing, as it were, the bleating dam, by that very wing which had borne away her young, that I amused myself by composing a Greek epigram upon the subject, whilst Mr. Cockerell was engaged in sketching the spirited heads which form the adjoining plate, representing Lambro and the old baloukbashee of the village, who called to pay us a visit, and who was not persuaded without great difficulty to sit for his portrait, a thing so totally adverse to Mahometan prejudices.

This adaptation of the bones of animals and birds to the purpose of

musical instruments, was known in very early times to the ancients. Hyginus relates (Fab. 165) that Minerva first formed the flute from the leg-bone of a stag, and that when she was derided by Juno and Venus for puffing out her cheeks in blowing it, she laid it aside herself and taught the use of it to Marsyas. Julius Pollux also makes mention of the bones of eagles and vultures* being used by Scythian tribes for the purpose of flutes, as in the instance of this Albanian shepherd boy.

In conversation with our friend Lambro, whom we found a very interesting young man, we discovered that he had been one of the troops engaged in the massacre at Gardiki. We induced him to relate the account of this horrid affair, but it was with evident reluctance, for he shuddered at the recital. Our kaivasi Mustafà seemed also affected, but at this time we little knew the reason he had to be so—accident afterwards discovered it. One thing I noticed, that no person who had been present at this murder, whether Turk or Christian, could ever speak of it without great apparent remorse.

At length the fourth morning dawned upon us residing in this uncomfortable though not inhospitable dwelling. The rain had now ceased, and the sun resumed his wonted brilliancy: we took leave of our kind hosts and started in hopes of reaching before night the hills of Suli, which shot up their lofty summits beyond the broad valley of Dervitzianà. In little more than an hour we arrived at one of those arms of the river which we had seen below us from the cottage. By the late rains it had swollen into such an impetuous torrent that we all hesitated on the bank, and Mustafà gave it as his opinion that we

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* Σκῦθαι δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τουτῶν οἱ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Μελάγχλαινοι καὶ Ἀριμασποὶ, ἀετῶν καὶ γυπῶν ὀστοῖς ἀυλητικῶς ἐμπνέουσιν· L. x. c. iv. In the third volume of Dr. Clarke's Travels, p. 759, I find the following paragraph in the account of his residence at Corinth. "We saw nothing worth notice, except an Arcadian pipe, upon which a shepherd was playing in the streets. It was perfectly Pandæan; consisting simply of a goat's horn with five holes for the fingers, and a small aperture at the end for the mouth. It is exceedingly difficult to produce any sound whatever from this small instrument, but the shepherd made the air resound with its shrill notes."

could proceed no farther. The Albanian guide however thought differently, and being acquainted with the ford plunged into the stream. I was close behind him, and my horse had got one foot into the water, when he suddenly disappeared. I checked my steed, and in less than half a minute, he ascended to the surface, when horse and man were observed struggling for life in the foaming torrent. The sight was appalling. The rider at last succeeded in disengaging himself from the animal, but was immediately hurried off his legs by the impetuosity of the stream, and both were rolled over and over down the current. To our imagination they were lost beyond redemption. Mustafà uttered the most piercing cries, and called upon Ali and Mahomet; but honest Antonietti observing in a moment that the river made a bend almost in a right angle about two hundred yards lower down, jumped across a narrow branch, and running first to this spot, arrived just in time to catch the poor Albanian as the current threw him into shallower water, and dragging him to land exhausted and almost senseless, had the merit and the happiness of saving a fellow creature's life.

It was not till some time afterwards that we discovered this river, which had nearly given so tragical an interest to our expedition, to be the identical Acheron of the ancients, the most celebrated stream in the Plutonian dominions. It takes its rise under a mountain called Lepé, near the head of the great valley of Dervitzianà, and being joined by another branch from the territory of the ancient Cestrini, flows through a district called Laka, into the deep gorge of the Suliot mountains: from thence emerging into the Paramithian plain, near the village of Glyky, it loses itself in a great morass anciently called the Acherusian lake, emerges again, and finally empties itself into the Ionian Sea at the Glykys Limen or Port of Sweet Waters, now known by the appellation of Porto Fanari.

Our guide, thus rescued from a watery grave, soon recovered, but was inconsolable for the loss of a beautiful musket and a fine turban-

shawl, until we promised to repair both on our return to Ioannina. After a short consultation, and being assured by the peasants that the other branch of this river which also crossed our path, was equally impassable, we determined to retreat.

As we passed through Dervitzianà our old host and Lambro joined the party and accompanied us as far as Vareatis. They described to us the severe contests which had taken place in this vicinity between Ali Pasha and the Suliots, from whence the latter had sometimes driven him back with disgrace and great loss to the very walls of his capital. In spite of their present service under the pasha, it was impossible not to see that their hearts dilated at the remembrance of the valour and the victories of their now lost countrymen. Our appearance at Vareatis spread dismay amongst the poor villagers, who foresaw dreadful contributions to be levied upon their stock of poultry. They who supplied us were however no losers, for we contrived unseen by our guards to give them ample remuneration; besides this they would bring the estimate of their expences to be settled by the village at the annual account-day of the codgià-bashee and elders. The Albanians here used a very extraordinary method of killing fowls: seizing the animal by the neck they dashed it down with so sudden and violent a jerk as left the head in their hand separated from the body, which for some time ran about the yard with a stream of blood spouting from the trunk. Whilst dinner was preparing we strolled into the village, which is beautifully situated in a rocky glen, triangular in shape, formed by three ridges of fine mountains, and commanding a prospect down a deep valley which is crossed by the distant chain of Pindus rearing his snow-capt summits into the upper region of the sky. Both now and at other times we could not help remarking that the views in Epirus had the advantage in point of wild magnificence and extensive range, when compared with those we had seen in Grecia Propria. In this walk we should probably have suffered from an attack made upon us by some fierce Molossian dogs, had we not been armed with our travelling sabres;

Mr. Cockerell happening luckily to turn round discovered them running at us without barking or making any signal, whilst a group of Greeks, standing within sight at the door of a cottage, gave us no notice of their approach, but rather enjoyed the idea of seeing the Franks worried. We threatened to inform our kaivasi of their behaviour, which sufficiently alarmed them: had we put our threat into execution they would probably never have had another opportunity of baiting a Frank. We slept in the village rather disturbed by the associates to which this journey introduced us, and next morning our old host and Lambro took a most affectionate leave of us, each kissing the skirts of our great coats at parting.

The sun shone bright, but we were now only tantalized by the brilliancy of that sky which would have gladdened our hearts a few days before. We advanced down the deep valley before mentioned, which is formed by two chains of converging mountains, and leaving our former route on the left, we entered the great plain of Ioannina nearly opposite the Han of San Dimitri. Early in the afternoon we arrived at the capital, and having passed the justice-tree in the street of Arta found ourselves stopped all on a sudden by a vast concourse of people in the great cemetery opposite the palaces of the vizir and his sons. Half the inhabitants of Ioannina were here collected together to view a combat between the young men of two different districts, which was carried on by means of stones hurled from slings as well as from the hand. Each party endeavours to gain ground and put the other to flight, taking prisoners and guarding them till the contest is determined: many broken heads, with the occasional loss of an eye or a few teeth, are the agreeable incidents of this mimic warfare, which is carried on with great spirit and accompanied by many characteristic traits of the Albanian military system. We were much struck with the manner in which each palikar held out his white capote stretched upon his arm to defend himself against the missile weapons of his adversaries, just as Hercules is portrayed upon antique vases holding forth his lion's skin instead of a shield, or like the martial Pallas using her variegated

peplus in a similar manner of defence. Before we left this country the vizir put an end to such combats by public proclamation; moreover, the great cemetery itself was divided into portions, enclosed with stone walls, and planted with rows of cypress trees, which will hereafter add a feature of no small beauty to the interior prospect of Ioannina.

Signore Nicolo and other friends received us on our return without any marks of surprise, but the vizir, when we called upon him next morning at his palace of Litaritza, could not forbear quizzing us a little on what appeared to him a failure in resolution. I must do Ali the justice to say that I do not believe the Acheron, Phlegethon, Cocytus, or any other infernal stream, would have been able to have stopped him in one of his expeditions. He received us this day in what is called his Albanian room, a moderately sized square apartment, whose smoky walls are covered with all sorts of arms, many of which are so profusely adorned with brilliants that the eye is actually dazzled by their lustre. In the centre is a large fire-place with four faces, the chimney being in shape of a huge square pilaster supported upon arches: the divan is furnished with sofas of very common materials, and the room is quite bare of all ornament except the superb weapons above-mentioned. He observed our astonishment at the splendour of these arms, and civilly ordered several to be handed to us for the satisfaction of our curiosity: amongst these was a musket from the manufactory of Versailles which had been sent to him as a present by the late emperor of the French, and was superbly set with all kinds of precious stones: but I was afterwards informed that these ornaments were for the most part of his own addition. I know also from the best authority that he pretended to have sent a vessel laden with provisions to Corfu, in return for this gift, which was wrecked in her passage; and though the vessel left no port, except one of Utopia, he took the opportunity of laying a very heavy contribution upon his subjects to repair the imaginary loss.

Mr. Cockerell having informed the vizir that he intended to depart,

within a few days, from Ioannina, he said he would take care that a proper bouyourdee should be prepared, promising him also a letter to his son Vely Pasha who resided at Larissa. He seemed pleased at the determination of Mr. Parker and myself to stay and winter in his capital, assuring us that every attention should be paid us, and every accommodation afforded in visiting any part of his dominions. Understanding that Mr. Parker played well at chess he told him he would send one of his Turkish players to contest a game with him. Having thanked his highness for all his civility and condescension, and taken our leave, we proceeded to the serai of Mouchtar Pasha (who laughed heartily at the adventure of the Acheron), and lastly to the residence of the interesting little Mahmet Pasha, by whom we were welcomed with the most genuine cordiality; the elegant manners, sweet disposition, and good sense of this youth, gained upon us at each succeeding visit: we remained a very considerable time with him in conversation, the chief topic of which was his father Vely Pasha, of whose accomplishments and enlarged political views he spoke in a most acute as well as dignified style of approbation, quite extraordinary in a boy of his age. He also promised to send a letter by Mr. Cockerell, of whom he took leave in a most pleasing and affectionate manner.

January 25. This day to our great regret we lost the entertaining and instructive society of our friend. Being obliged to return to Athens, and anxious to avoid the delays of a sea voyage, he determined even at this season to attempt the passage of the Pindus, and to penetrate through Thessaly, although its towns and villages were depopulated by the plague. In pursuance of this plan he engaged the tatar Mahomet who had accompanied us from Athens, and having ordered the horses to go round and meet him at the south-east end of the lake, I embarked with him in a small caique, Mr. Parker having preceded us in another with Demetrio. We had scarcely advanced a mile before a violent storm of wind and rain arose; the waves of the lake ran terribly high, and we were in danger of upsetting every instant: our

anxiety also for Mr. Parker was scarcely less than for ourselves; we could see his caique no where on the expanse of waters, and his fate was uncertain: luckily we ourselves arrived in safety under the mountain ridge of Gastrizza, and had the satisfaction of seeing the tatar, suradgees, and horses, pass by unheeding or not hearing our shouts, having mistaken the place of rendezvous: we, however, disembarked, waded for half a mile over a morass, and then having gained the high road, pursued the advanced guard for about three miles further, in the midst of heavy rain, till they chose to stop and wait our arrival. At the foot of the first ridge of hill over which the road leads to Mezzovo, we underwent the melancholy ceremony of parting. Each expressed a cordial wish of meeting in England, if we should escape all intervening perils, that we might talk over old adventures, and renew an intimacy which I sincerely believe had been gratifying to both. Providence has kindly ratified these wishes.

Having watched the slowly marching cavalcade till it was lost within the distant folds of the mountains, I set out with Mustafà on our return to Ioannina. The wind increased in violence, and at one spot, under the hill of Gastrizza, our horses were literally blown off the pavement, which is here raised along the bank of the lake, into the water, which fortunately was extremely shallow at the margin: we were at length obliged to take shelter in one of the numerous hans which abound on this road, for the purpose of selling wine and rakee* to passengers: from hence we had a fine view of the lake whose raging billows were elevated to a height which I little expected to see: not a boat in Ioannina could have weathered it, and my anxiety for Mr. Parker was inexpressibly great. In about two hours we proceeded, but it was very late in the evening before I was relieved by the arrival of my friend: his boatman foreseeing the violence of the tempest had very prudently ran for shelter to the nearest convent, where Mr. Parker had been most hospitably

* A species of ardent spirit in very common use.

entertained by the caloyers with their humble fare, and detained till the lake had become tranquil enough to allow a safe passage to the city.

January 26. The reader will have some idea of the variableness of this climate in the winter when he learns that this morning we were surprised by seeing all the mountains in the neighbourhood covered with a deep snow. Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 37°, and the weather became exceedingly cold, especially as the wind set in from the north and north-east over the snowy summits of Mount Pindus. Indeed the severity of this winter which was so great in England, seems to have been felt more or less by all the European nations: so much rain, sleet, and snow as fell in Epirus was never recollected by the oldest inhabitants: but there was not much frost, nor was the surface of the lake once wholly congealed, though this is an occurrence which happens upon the average in ten or twelve years. In the midst of such disagreeable weather we had a frequent recurrence of the most brilliant sunshine which lasted for a day or two, and was again succeeded by clouds and gloom, as if summer had been contending for the mastery with his hoary antagonist, and obtained a partial success. The poor of Ioannina suffered extremely at this season, especially in the article of fuel. The sides of Mitzikeli and other mountains in the vicinity, were formerly clothed with very fine timber. Within the last thirty years this has entirely disappeared, chiefly owing to the increasing size of the capital, whose houses are for the most part constructed of wood, and the large and numerous serais which Ali and the other members of his family have built. The wood-cutters are now obliged to go a considerable distance into the mountains of Zagori for fuel, which is carried on the backs of asses and mules to the borders of the lake, and thence transported in boats to Ioannina. This length of carriage makes the article so dear that it is almost out of the power of the lowest classes to purchase, nor can others afford to supply them: they are obliged therefore to bear the severity of winter in their miserable huts without the comfort of a fire, and to purchase a little charcoal in the shops, where it is sold by the pound, for the purpose of dressing their victuals. Our expen-

diture in fuel was very near as much as that which all the other articles of board occasioned. Many respectable inhabitants of Ioannina were glad of an opportunity to call upon the English milordi for the benefit of sitting an hour or two by their fire, and in this point of view, as well as for the luxuries of Antonietti's cookery, did our hosts begin to congratulate themselves upon the vizir's selection of their mansion for our residence.

January 28. To-day an elderly Turkish gentleman of grave and dignified deportment made his appearance at our lodging, sent by the vizir to carry off the palm at chess from Mr. Parker: this indeed he did with the greatest ease imaginable, though without any discredit to my friend, since in all probability few persons in England would have been able to cope with him: moreover the Englishman was obliged to accommodate his play to the Turkish mode, which neither admits of the movement we call castling, nor that by which the pawns pass over a square in the first move. This quiet sedentary game is a vast favourite with the Turks in general, who are constantly seen sitting in pairs at the open windows of the public coffee-houses with long pipes in their mouths and a chess-board between them. After Mr. Parker's defeat we accompanied Signore Nicolo on a visit to one of his friends, who resided near the end of the street leading to Arta. This person was an officer of the vizir's household, and his brother, a fine young man, had been one of those pages (like the ἐξαιρέτικα παιδάρια of the Byzantine court) whom I have before adverted to as standing at the door in attendance upon the pasha. He was richly dressed and wore a fine brilliant in a ring upon his finger, which had been given him by his sovereign. At this house we met a Greek who had just arrived from the country of ancient Pthiotis, and who boasted of his descent from the celebrated Achilles. He had much better reason to boast of his proficiency in Hellenic literature, for he was the best Homeric scholar I met with in Greece, and was able to repeat the finest passages of that noble bard by heart. He begged of me to recite some according to our English method of pronunciation, at which

he was quite amazed, and laughed heartily; but when I afterwards repeated a passage with the Romaic literal pronunciation, accompanied by rhythm according to the rules of quantity, he confessed at once the delight which his ear experienced from that hexametrical melody, so much more pleasing than their own stupid accentual prosody. Having partaken of pipes and coffee we returned to dine by invitation with the French consul. The party consisted only of ourselves and his brother, for the poor man had lived during the last two or three years not only under a constant system of espionage, but of exclusion from all society with the natives, not one of whom, if he was anxious to retain his head upon his shoulders, would so much as enter into his house: he therefore lived alone in the midst of a crowd; a species of solitude more intolerable than that of an African desert. Our conversation turned chiefly upon the miseries of this semi-barbarous country contrasted with the delights of Paris and the pleasures of its society: so that without presuming much upon our own powers of entertainment, we had reason to believe that this day was noted with a white mark in the consul's calendar.

January 29. This morning the suradgees who had accompanied our friend in his perilous journey returned, and gave us a miserable account of their toilsome passage over the snowy mountains of Pindus: no very long time afterwards we received a letter from himself, dated at Livadia, from which I shall present the reader with an extract, as it describes a portion of very interesting country which we were prevented by unfortunate circumstances from visiting.

Livadia, February 9, 1814.

"I arrived here on the ninth day after leaving Ioannina, safe and well, through perils of all kinds: I doubt not but you received my note from Mezzovo: on the following day I passed the Pindus, as the weather

became milder, but our Vlakians*, trained to the business, were obliged to cut a way through the snow, which lay higher than their middle. We were six hours in going from Mezzovo to Malacassi where we slept. The view from Pindus was wonderfully fine; I saw Olympus and Pelion, with all the intervening country, under a glorious sunshine, and the effect was sublime beyond description. In six hours we arrived at Kalabaki, the village of the Meteora, following the course of a river which we crossed at least thirty times. Twelve sheets would not contain all the wonders of Meteora, nor convey to you an idea of the surprise and pleasure which I felt in beholding these curious monasteries planted like the nests of eagles upon the summits of high and pointed rocks†. To the great terror of myself and Michaeli we were

* The inhabitants of Mezzovo are vlaki, or zuzzo-vlachi as they are called, and are freed from all taxes and contributions by the pasha, for their services in keeping open the road over the Pindus.

† Dr. Holland has given a very interesting account of these rocks and monasteries in his Travels, p. 231, &c. He says, "they are seen from a great distance in descending the valley of the Salympria (or Peneus) rising from the comparatively flat surface of the valley, about a mile distant from the river; a group of insulated masses, cones, and pillars of rock, of great height, and for the most part so perpendicular in their ascent, that each one of their numerous fronts seems to the eye as a vast wall, formed rather by the art of man, than by the more varied and irregular workings of nature: the small town of Kalabaka is situated immediately below the loftiest of these singular pinnacles of rock, which seems absolutely to impend over the place and its inhabitants: the height of this point, the summit of which is an irregular cone, cannot be less than from four to five hundred feet: on the side of the town it rises apparently to two-thirds of this height, by a perpendicular plane of rock, so uniform in surface, that it seems as if artifically formed; on the opposite side, the base of the rock falls even with the perpendicular line, and there is the same singular uniformity of surface." The following extract is from the MS. Journal of Rev. Mr. W. Jones.

"Next morning I devoted to an examination of the rocks of Meteora: I had a fine view of them in my approach the evening before.

"On proceeding to the loftiest of these, named Barlaam, I found the monks employed in drawing up provisions and wood by means of a rope and pulley. On my requesting to ascend to their aerial habitation, a rope of greater thickness was let down with a net at the end of it. Placed in this I was drawn up through the air to an height of 200 feet. Having been dragged in and disengaged from the net, it was let down a second time for my servant Nicolo, but I was obliged to wait a full quarter of an hour before he could be persuaded to enter: it was necessary to have him as an interpreter. The ascent each time was made in two minutes and a half, and by means of a windlass. The monks received me with great kindness and shewed me several of their numerous apartments: they have two churches or chapels, and a library containing between 250 and 300 volumes; amongst which are some of the best Greek Classics, as Hesiod, Pindar, Herodotus, and an old edition of Homer, printed in 1534. I inquired for MSS. but saw nothing of consequence. The hegumenos or prior of this convent had resided in it for seventy-two years, and recollected Jacob the Swedish traveller visiting the monastery:

Drawn by C. R. Cockerell Esq.

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MONASTERY OF BARLAAM, ON ONE OF THE ROCKS OF METEORA

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put into a net, not unlike a cabbage bag, and drawn up to the height of 125 English feet, suspended in the air, with precipices on all sides, upon the good faith of a rope scarcely an inch and a half in diameter. The monasteries were once eighteen in number, but are now reduced to ten. These are named as follow: Meteora, Psetorera, Aghia Triada, (the highest) Aghio Stephanos, Ronsari, Aghia Moni, Aghio Nicolo, Aghio Pneuma (or the Holy Ghost) and Panaghia (or the Virgin). Even these are gone into considerable decay and the wretched caloyers are so ignorant that they could give me no rational account at all respecting their foundation. They said a bey of Triccala with a Saint Athanasius had retired thither, at the invasion of the Turks, and built them. Perhaps the following inscription may throw some light upon them: I copied it from the wall of the chapel.

ΑΝΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΘΗ
Ο ΠΑΝΣΕΠΤΟΣ
ΟΥΤΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ
ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ
ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ
ΔΙΑ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ
ΤΟΥ ΤΙΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ
ΕΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΙΣ
ΙΩΣΑΦ.

---

before I departed I was invited to partake of a repast, consisting of kid's flesh and bread and wine.

"The circumference of the ground at the top of this rock may be about 200 yards. The prospect is not extensive, being confined by the other rocks and their monasteries. Close to Barlaam is the great rock of Meteora, which gives its name to all the rest collectively. The poor caloyers complained sadly of the vizir's exactions, which they said were not a regulated sum, but depended upon his arbitrary will. After remaining in the convent about an hour I descended, and pursued my journey from Kalabaka (where the valley of the Peneus opens into an immense plain at least sixty miles long and twenty broad) to Triccala, at which place I arrived when it was dark. This city has of late greatly declined: the plague two years ago carried off 4000 persons and many of the inhabitants have also fled from the exactions of Ali and his son Vely Pasha: it possesses an old Greek castle of the middle ages. At about half way between Triccala and Larissa I entered another great plain, called by the ancients Campus Pelasgiotis, and remarkable for its fertility: I counted more than 100 ploughs upon it, and it seems still to deserve the Horatian title, Larissæ Campus opimæ. Larissa and all the country around as well as in the route to Pharsala and Zeitun bears melancholy testimony of the effects of the plague. I saw whole villages entirely devoid of inhabitants, and in Larissa alone it was computed that not less than 8000 persons fell victims to this dreadful malady."

"Kalabaki is governed by Vely Pasha, who has lately laid a contribution of seven piasters upon every strema of land, a thing never yet done by Ali himself. The inhabitants are in great distress, but endeavour to avoid becoming a chiflick, which, as I understand it, is a general bankruptcy, when unable to answer the extortions of their governor, they throw up their land into his hands: they spoke with great horror of such a disaster and of the misfortunes of several villages in the vicinity, under the jurisdiction of Vely, which had become chiflicks.

"We arrived at Triccala, in four hours, about sunset; but hearing that the plague was still in the town, I mounted again and rode four hours further to a han where we slept. We arrived at Pharsala (twelve hours) next evening, but the plague being there also, we proceeded four hours further to a han under Thaumaco. From Meteora to Pharsala is one uninterrupted plain, which I thought never would end: I saw many villages, but great misery, particularly in Triccala and Pharsala. At Zeitun (six hours) we arrived about mid-day. I did not venture to stay in this town, on account of the plague; but passed on to Molo, where we arrived in the evening, after passing the celebrated straights of Thermopylæ. The thermæ, or hot springs, have no doubt accumulated a quantity of stony sediment and widened the passage to its present extent, which is about one quarter of a mile: below is a considerable marsh gained from the sea; but further to the south-east are some low hills, which an army would still find it difficult to pass: the present road winds round the point of these for several hundred yards and is not above thirty feet wide: here I should conceive the famous pass to have been.

"Molo is a village of only 200 houses, but forty persons had died here of the plague in the last three days: in consequence the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, and we found only two hangees* to

* The host of a Han is so called.

receive us. We meant to have slept here, but the cats and dogs howled so terribly (a symptom always of the plague) that I could not sleep in comfort, so as the moon shone bright we mounted and rode six hours further to a village opposite Parnassus, passing in safety the fountain famous for robbers, who are almost always stationed there. The scenery is here very fine and romantic: in six hours more, after crossing two little plains besides that of Chæronea, we arrived at Livadia."

A

DISSERTATION

ON

THE ORACLE OF DODONA;

WITH

An Appendix

ON

THE SITE OF THAT OF DELPHI.

BY

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A DISSERTATION,

&c. &c.

THE oracle of Dodona is often mentioned in Homer, and was the most ancient and most celebrated in the early ages of Greece. In after times the glory of the Delphic oracle eclipsed that of the Dodonean, which by degrees fell into comparative neglect, partly on account of the superior splendour of Delphi, partly on account of the superior skill or *charlatanerie* of the priests there, and perhaps principally on account of the much greater facility of access to a city situated like Delphi in civilized Greece, than to one in an almost barbarous and impracticable country.

As so little is known of Dodona, it may perhaps be acceptable to give such an account of it as can be gleaned from the scattered notices in ancient writers: with regard to Delphi I shall confine myself to conjectures on its site alone.

The first mention of Dodona in Homer is Il. B'. 749:

——— μενεπτόλεμοί τε Περαιβοὶ
Οἳ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχείμερον οἰκί' ἔθεντο. [a]

Where from the epithet δυσχείμερος we must conclude that it stood in an elevated situation much exposed to winds. The lesser scholiast here calls it a place ἐν ὑπερβορέῳ Θεσπρωτίας, in the extreme north of Thesprotia; but Thesprotia is a vague term, the limits of that region having been changed according to the prosperous or adverse circumstances of the nation, and though it certainly at one time comprehended Dodona, because it then comprised also Molossia, it is no less certain that at other periods Dodona was not comprehended in its jurisdiction. Undoubtedly Dodona was on the confines of these Perrhæbi, who are not to be confounded with the Perrhæbi in the north of Thessaly, about Larissa, and though a branch of that nation, were separated from them by the chain of

Mount Pindus, and lay to the south-west of them, near the Athamanes. Eustathius in confirmation of the epithet δυσχειμέρῳ, alludes to a circumstance which we shall hereafter notice more fully, of brazen vessels being hung at Dodona and struck by pellets suspended near, and driven against them by the wind. May we not, by the way, trace in this the origin of *bells*, as well as of the *vocal* oak? In fact, I may remark that Pliny, or rather Varro, whom he copies in his description of the fabulous tomb of Porsena at Clusium, tells us that "from each of the five pyramids on this tomb were suspended a number of *bells* by chains, which being blown against each other by the wind, made a long continued sound, *as was anciently the case at Dodona.*"

The next mention we have of Dodona is Il. Π. 233, in the celebrated passage:

Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων,
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρῳ, ἀμφὶ δὲ Σέλλοι
Σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται, ἀνιπτοπόδες, χαμαιεῦναι.

Where we find Dodona marked again by the epitheton perpetuum of δυσχείμερος, as Ilion is by that of ἠνεμόεσσα. The minor scholiast here says, ἐν χωρίῳ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων τῇ Δωδώνῃ τιμώμενε. But Ὑπερβόρεοι can only mean here a people to the north of civilized Greece, for he cannot be supposed to make any reference here to the transmission of the Hyperborean sacrifices through Dodona to Delos, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. The scholiast proceeds to tell us that the city of Dodona was founded by Deucalion, who came to Epirus after the deluge, and consulted the oracular oak, when he was directed by the dove to build the city, which was named Dodona from one of the Oceanides. He adds, that the Pelasgi settled near Dodona, being originally a Thessalian nation, and thus, though his account is a little different, confirms what we have before mentioned of the Perrhæbi. The Selli he informs us, were an ἔθνος Ἠπειρωτικὸν τῆς Θεσπρωτίας, κληθὲν ἀπὸ τῆ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ Σελλήεντος. Though, he adds, Pindar calls them Helli, from Hellus the son of Drytomus (or the wood cutter), who first discovered the oracle, whence we may understand that he first cleared the forests about the oracle: and with this account the Venetian scholiast also in the main agrees. Eustathius observes that some say there were two Dodonas, a Thessalian and Molossian, but that Achilles here means the Molossian, because he calls it δυσχείμερος. In fact I find this notice of the two Dodonas in other authors,

but we may be sure that the Thessalian was an obscure place without an oracle, if indeed it ever existed, and did not owe its origin to the circumstance of the real Dodona more than once changing masters, according as the limits of Thesprotia were extended or reduced. Eustathius farther informs us that Dodona was anciently called Hellopia, and quotes an author unnamed, to shew that the Selli or Helli, and Dolopes, are near the Pæonians, about Dodona and the river Achelous. These Pæonians, however, must be a branch of the great tribe of that name, which lay farther north. The *oak*, Eustathius calls μαντικὴ φηγὸς, *a prophetic beech*, which is the term adopted by much the greater number of writers, and is most probably the correct one, being the species of which δρῦς is the genus. With regard to the term Πελασγικὲ, he observes that some write Πελαργικὲ, because there was *a white hill* so called in the τέμενος of Dodonean Jupiter.

Dodona is again mentioned in the Odyssey Ξ'. 327 and Τ'. 296, as being in Thesprotia. The Scholiast on the former passage tells us, on the authority of Proxenus, that the oracle was discovered by a shepherd who, while feeding his flocks in the marsh Dodon, lost some of his best cattle, and that on invoking Jupiter the oak spoke for the first time, and told him that he had been robbed by the youngest of the ἀκόλαθοι, a term which in that country signified a shepherd. Having thus discovered the thief in the person of Mardylas, Mardylas, in revenge, attempted to cut down the oak in the night time, but was forbidden by a dove which perched upon the branches. The account given by Eustathius, principally from Strabo, is that Dodona was originally a city of Thesprotia, though afterwards under the dominion of the Molossi; that the oracular oak there was the first from which men eat acorns (upon which we may recollect Virgil, Georg. i. 146,

——cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacræ
Deficerent sylvæ, et victum Dodona negaret)

and that the doves there, which must have been wood-pigeons, were used for auguries. He then adds, that others say men were the first prophets there, but that three old women afterwards were prophetesses, and that πέλειοι and πέλειαι are the names for old men and women in the Molossian tongue. We need not pursue the account in Eustathius farther, as it is principally extracted from Strabo, and will be more properly introduced in another part of this Essay.

We shall only remark here that Eustathius says, from Strabo, that the priests of Dodona were called Tomuri, from Tomurus or Tmarus, a mountain in Thesprotia, on which the oracle of Dodona was situated. They were the same with the Selli mentioned by Homer, and are often spoken of by Eustathius, Strabo, Hesychius, &c. Philostratus, though a late writer, gives an account of the Selli in his description of Dodona, Icon. 11. 34., which is picturesque enough, and probably founded on more authentic accounts now lost. He describes them as living *on their daily bread*, αὐτοσχέδιοι, without making provision for the morrow, the Deity being pleased with their faith in reposing the care for their subsistence on his providence. Some he figures as employed in covering the temple with fresh boughs and garlands, some in prayer, some in arranging the confectionaries, πόπανα, some in preparing salt cakes and baskets, some in sacrificing, others in flaying the victim; and he represents the priestesses also, ἱέρειαι Δωδωνίδες, whom he distinguishes from the Selli, as having a severe and venerable look, and seeming to breathe incense and libations, the whole place indeed being full of odours and holy sounds. We may observe also that Lycophron in his Cassandra, v. 223, calls a prophet τόμαρος, no doubt from the title of the priests of Dodona, though the worthy Isaac Tzetzes derives it from τὸ μὴ ὂν ὁρῶν, ἤτοι τὸ μήπω γεγονὸς βλέπων. Philostratus farther describes the axe which Hellus used, as lying at the foot of the sacred oak on which he represents a golden dove sitting, and speaks of the garlands suspended from its branches and a chorus of Thebans dancing round it and claiming affinity with it, because they find the golden dove there. These Thebans therefore must be understood to have come from Egyptian Thebes.

Pindar, in a fragment quoted by Strabo, vii. p. 506. calls Dodona Thesprotian, where Strabo remarks that the tragedians also thus called it; but that in after times it fell under the dominion of the Molossi. From another passage in Pindar, Nem. iv. 82. we find Dodona stood on a hill.

Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ [κρατεῖ] Ἀ-
πειρῳ διαπρυσίᾳ,
βώβοται τύθι πρῶνες ἔξ-
οχοι κατάκεινται
Δωδωνάθεν ἀρχόμενοι πρὸς
Ἰόνιον πόρον.

We may hence infer that Dodona was the commencement of a hilly country

on the east side of Epirus, whence a chain of mountains ran to the Adriatic or Ionian sea.

Æschylus speaks of Dodona as backed by mountains, or as I should rather interpret it, as *standing on a lofty ridge*, on the confines of Molossia and Thesprotia. Pr. Vinct. *v.* 828.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθες πρὸς Μολοσσὰ δάπεδα
Τήν τ' αἰπύνωτον ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην, ἵνα
Μαντεῖα θῶκός τ' ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτῶ Διὸς,
Τέρας τ' ἄπιστον, αἱ προσήγοροι δρύες.

And he then speaks of Io being driven *from thence*, towards the gulf of Rhea, to be called afterwards from her the Ionian Sea. Here again we find Dodona on a mountain, and in the interior of the country. The Scholiast A'. here interprets πρὸς τὴν γῆν τῶν Μολοσσῶν, καὶ περὶ τὴν Δωδώνην ΤΟ ΟΡΟΣ. And on αἰπύνωλον, ὑψηλήν· ὅπερ μαντεῖά εἰσι. Ἄλλως· τὴν ὑψηλόνωλον, ἢ τὴν τραχεῖαν· παρὰ τὸ αἶπος. The Schol. β'. places Molossia between Thessaly and Ætolia; μεταξὺ Θετταλίαν καὶ Αἰτωλίαν οἱ Μολοσσοί. In the Supplices also, v. 264. Æschylus mentions Perrhæbia, the region of Pindus, the Pæonians and Dodonæan mountains as contiguous, and these two mountains as extending from Dodona to the sea, in strict conformity with the passage above quoted from Pindar:

Ὁμόξομαι δ' ὧν τε Περραίβων χθόνα,
Πίνδῳ τε τἀπέκεινα, Παιόνων πέλας,
Ὄρη τε Δωδωναῖα· συντέμνει δ' ὄρος
Ὑγρᾶς Θαλάσσης ——

Sophocles, Trachin. 171, ed. Brunck, speaks of the oracle given by *two* doves from the beech in Dodon:

Ὡς τὴν παλαιὰν φηγὸν αὐδῆσαί ποτε
Δωδῶνι δισσῶν ἐκ πελειάδων ἔφη.

Where the Scholiast calls it τὴν ἐν Δωδῶνι τῆς Θεσπρωτίας φηγὸν, and tells the usual story of the doves and vocal tree, adding, τὰς γέρονλας οἱ Μολοσσοὶ πελείας ὀνομάζουσιν, thus apparently using the terms Molossia and Thesprotia indiscriminately.

Euripides places Dodona on an eminence in Thesprotia: Phæniss. 989.

Θεσπρωτὸν ἕδας, σεμνὰ Δωδώνης βάθρα.

Where the Scholiast says, εἰς τὴν Θεσπρωτῶν γῆν, εἰς τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Δρυόπολιν, πλησίον δὲ τῆς Δωδώνης χώρας· τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει βάθρα, οἱονεὶ θεμέλιον καὶ ὄρος.

The other in contradiction to better authorities, places it in Leucadia, near the sea. Δωδώνη τόπος Λευκάδος πλησίον τῆς αἰγιαλοῦ. Ὅπου τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς Δωδώνης θεμέλια. Δωδώνη γὰρ ἐγγὺς τῆς Θεσπρωτείας. Plutarch in his life of Pyrrhus joins Thesprotia with Molossia, and says that some relate Δευκαλίωνα καὶ Πύρραν, εἰσαμένους τὸ περὶ Δωδώνην ἱερὸν αὐτόθι κατοικεῖν ἐν Μολοσσοῖς. Callimachus in his hymn to Delos, v. 284, describing the route of the Hyperborean sacrifices, says that they come first to the Pelasgi at Dodona, the ministers of the never silent caldron:

—— ἃ Δωδώνηθε Πελασγοὶ
Τηλόθεν ἐκβαίνοντα πολὺ πρώτιστα δέχονται,
Γηλεχέες, θεράποντες ἀσιγήτοιο λέβητος.

Where we may remark the Γηλεχέες corresponding with the Homeric χαμαιεῦναι, and the ever-ringing caldron, which he again mentions, Fragm. cccvi., a fuller account of which will be hereafter given.

Herodotus, ii. 54, mentions the oracle of Dodona as the most ancient of Greece, and relates, on the authority of the priests of Jupiter at Egyptian Thebes, that two priestesses were carried off from thence by the Phœnicians, one of whom was sold into Libya, the other into Greece, and that they founded the respective oracles of Hammon and Dodona. He adds, that according to the account of the priestesses of Dodona, two black doves flew from Egyptian Thebes, the one to Libya, the other to Dodona, which latter settling on a beech tree there, ἐπὶ φηγὸν, spoke with a human voice, and commanded the inhabitants to establish there an oracle of Jupiter, while that in Libya commanded in like manner the establishment of the oracle of Hammon. This, he says, was the account of the *three* priestesses, Promenea, Timarete, and Nicandra, with whom the Dodoneans agreed in story. He then proceeds to give his own very sensible and perspicuous explanation of the fable, as follows. That the Phœnicians carried off these women, the one of whom they sold in Libya, the other in Thesprotia, in what is now called Greece, but was then called Pelasgia. That she was first a slave there, but that recollecting the worship of Jupiter at Thebes, she introduced it into Thesprotia, and having consecrated a beech to Jupiter, there founded the oracle over which she afterwards presided, and that when she became acquainted with the Greek

language she related how her sister had been taken and sold in Libya. The historian adds, that she was probably called a dove by the Thesprotians, from being a foreigner, and speaking in a barbarous tongue, as unintelligible as the language of birds; but that afterwards, when she became able to speak Greek, they said the dove had now got a human or intelligible voice, whence in after times the fable arose of the dove speaking. Moreover, he adds, she was said to be a *black* dove, because she was an Egyptian, and the resemblance was considerable between the oracles at Egyptian Thebes and Dodona.

This account of Herodotus not only recommends itself from its obvious good sense and consistency, but is remarkably confirmed by a passage in the Agamemnon of Æschylus, where the prophetess Cassandra is compared to a swallow, as speaking a barbarous language, Ag. v. 1059.

Ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ μὴ, χελιδόνος δίκην,
Ἀγνῶτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη.

Hence χελιδονίζειν, *to speak unintelligibly*, and in like manner even in our own language we apply the word *chatter* to the voices of certain birds, and to those who speak without a meaning. So also Hesychius tells us that foreigners were called χελιδόνες, διὰ τὴν ἀσύνθετον λαλίαν. See also Aristoph. Ran. 93. χελιδόνων μεσεῖα.

That Egypt was called *the dark* we know from the Schol. of Apollonius Rhod. i. 580, παρὰ τὸ μέλαιναν εἶναι τὴν γῆν, we may therefore now understand how easily an Egyptian priestess was metamorphosed into a *black dove*.

We must not however forget to notice, that if the original institution of the oracle and its rites came from the south, some additions or alterations were probably engrafted on it from the north. The Hyperborean offerings to the Delian Apollo mentioned by Herodotus, iv. 33., Pausanias Attic. c. 31., Callimachus Hymn. in Del. 284., and various other writers, were conveyed from the north through Dodona, and probably left there some traces of northern superstition behind them. And this indeed seems more than merely probable, when we find from Strabo that the worship of Dione was subsequently united at Dodona with that of Jupiter.

The account of Dodona, in Strabo, imperfect as it is, is more diffuse than that in any of the ancient writers. He appears to have taken the substance of

it from other authors, and among them from Ephorus, according to whom Dodona was founded by the Pelasgi. This he confirms by the authority of Homer, Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ, and by that of Hesiod, Δωδωνὴν φηγόν τε Πελασγῶν ἕδρανον ἦκεν, which line however does not appear in those writings of Hesiod which have come down to us. He then proceeds to inform us, with a becoming attention to cleanliness, that the Selli or Helli of Homer were barbarians, because they did not wash their feet, being, according to the poet, ἀνιπόδες, χαμαιεῦναι. He adds, that the country about Dodona was called Hellopia, and quotes another fragment of Hesiod, preserved more at large by the Scholiast of Sophocles, Trachin. 1183, from which we learn that Dodona was situated in the extremity of Hellopia, a country fertile in flocks and pastures, where, if any one brought a handsome present he should not fail of receiving an answer from the oracle of Jupiter. The origin of the term Hellopia, which is then subjoined by Strabo from Apollodorus, is important with regard to the situation of Dodona. He says that the Helli are so called from ἕλη, *a lake or marsh*, and that these people were situated about the temple, which consequently must have stood not far from a lake. With regard to the river Selleis, which we have seen mentioned by Eustathius, probably on the authority of Homer, Il. B. 659 et alibi,

—— ποταμῷ ἀπὸ Σελλήεντος,

Strabo denies the existence of any such river in Thesprotia or Molossia, and refers it to Elis. He then proceeds to give an account of the origin of the oracle, and informs us that Dodona was formerly under the Thesprotians, as was the mountain Tomarus or Tmarus, *on which the oracle was situated*, and that the tragedians and Pindar agree in the same account, but that afterwards it was considered as in the district of the Molossians. Strabo then adds, that the priests of Jupiter were called Tomari or Tomuri, quoting for his authority a passage in the Odyssey, Π'. 401.

Ἦν μέν κ' αἰνήσωσι Διὸς μεγάλοιο Τομῆροι,

where he acknowledges the usual reading to be θέμιστες, but prefers Τομῆροι, asserting that Homer no where uses θέμιστες for oracles. Without digressing into that inquiry, and the priority of the oracles of Themis to those of other

gods, we may resume our account from Strabo, who states, in continuation, that the first priests were men, but that afterwards Dione being admitted as an associate, or if I may be allowed to coin a word for the purpose, a contemplar deity, three old women became priestesses. He then proceeds to relate two acknowledged fabulous accounts from Suidas (not the lexicographer) and Cineas, which we may take the liberty to omit. The latter indeed is not preserved in Strabo, but may be found in the fragment of Stephanus of Byzantium, on Dodona. The above account we may observe agrees in many points with that already given from Eustathius, except in the omission of some particulars which were probably contained in the remainder of this book now lost.

From the epitomiser of Strabo, however, we have a farther anecdote respecting the brazen vessels at Dodona already mentioned in Eustathius. He tells us that this was an offering of the Corcyreans, consisting of a brazen vessel, with a statue near it holding a whip with three long lashes or chains, at the ends of which were appended little brazen pellets, which, being driven by the wind against the vessel, made a long continued sound. I might here terminate the extract, but that the remaining part of the passage, which occurs also in the same form in the Geographi Minores, vol. ii. p. 102, contains a difficulty, and it is not my custom to slur such matters over. It runs thus, οἱ (ἀερράγαλοι) πλήθοντες τὸ χαλκεῖον συνεχῶς, ὁπότε αἰωροῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων, μακρὸς ἦχος ἀπειργάζοντο· ἕως ὁ μετρῶν τὸν χρόνον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ ἤχῳ μέχρι τέλους, καὶ ἐπὶ υ προελθεῖν. In order to make Greek of this we must read προέλθοι, or τὸν μετρεῖται. But what is ἐπὶ υ. I presume it means till the person who wished to note the duration of the sound could count four hundred. We have a curious illustration of this in a writer who probably never heard of Strabo or his epitomiser, I mean our own immortal bard.

Ham. Staid it long?
Hor. While one with moderate haste might tell an hundred.

This I think the easiest mode of interpreting the passage, more so than by supposing the sound only to last till a man could say the alphabet as far as υ, or perhaps the whole alphabet, if the epitomiser copied his account from Strabo, and he from some earlier writer who wrote before φ, χ, ψ, ω, were added to the alphabet. It is quite sufficient for me to adopt the first interpre-

tation, but if any one is disposed to cavil at it, I can help him to a brace of conjectures which come into my mind, and at the same time assure him that I prefer the above explanation to either of them. The first is to suppose the word πόδας, βάσεις, or ὀργυίας, to have dropped before υ. i. e. till a man could go 400 feet, paces, or ells. The former seems rather short, the latter, especially the paces, a reasonable distance. The other conjecture is to read ἐπὶ [πολ] ὑ, which may be plausibly defended from Steph. Byzant. in his fragment on Dodona, ἤχει δ' ἐπὶ ΠΟΛΥΝ χρόνον, and Philostratus, Icon. ii. 34. ἤχθν ἐπὶ ΠΟΛΥ τῆς ἡμέρας. But enough of this.

In the 9th Book of Strabo we have an account from Ephorus of an horrible outrage committed at Dodona by the Bœotians, the substance of which is as follows. The Thracians, though they had made a truce with the Bœotians, attacked them by night, and justified their treachery on pretence of having agreed to a truce by day only. (The same story is told by Polyænus [illegible] vii. 43, and alluded to by Cicero Offic. I. 20.) The Pelasgians, who joined with the Thracians in a former war against the Bœotians, and who seem to have again united with them in this, went to consult THE Oracle (we may observe this happened soon after the Trojan war, before the oracle of Dodona had been eclipsed by that of Delphi), and received some answer which is not recorded; but the priestess answered the Bœotians that if they would be successful they must do something impious. Hereupon the Bœotians suspecting that the priestess gave this answer in reality to draw the vengeance of Heaven upon them, and so to favour the Pelasgians, as the oracle was in their country, seized and burnt her alive. Arguing thus, that whether the action was pious or impious they must have done rightly. For if the prophetess had been suborned by the Pelasgians they had inflicted a just punishment on her, if not, they had acted impiously according to her own oracle. The affair was referred by the guardians of the temple to the two remaining prophetesses, to whose decision the Bœotians objected, as being females, and two men were then added as judges, when the voices being equal, as might have been expected, those of the men prevailed, whence arose a custom that the oracles should be delivered to the Bœotians by men only. The explanation of this answer of the priestess is subjoined by Strabo, and affords a proof that the *saints* of Dodona were not such spotless characters as they are now-a-days. The oracle of Dodona was probably beginning to fear its rival at

Delphi, or some other in Bœotia, and by this command to the Bœotians signified, as was interpreted by the two surviving priestesses, that the Bœotians ought to steal the tripods from their own temples and send them annually to Dodona. Accordingly it became a custom afterwards to steal a tripod by night every year from one of their own temples, and convey it privately to Dodona. Indeed we may conclude that these sanctified pretenders and their successors at Dodona always paid a very pious regard to the good things of this life; for we learn from an oracle recorded by Demosthenes in his oration against Midias, p. 106, edit. Taylor, that the Athenians having neglected to send their Theoria at the usual time, the priests had the conscience to demand no less than nine oxen and eighteen heifers, or as Taylor reads it, sheep, for Jupiter; an ox and other victims and a brazen table for Dione; besides the other customary offerings; and this is followed by another, not exacting quite so much for themselves, but otherwise much to the same purport.

While I am on the subject of the Dodonæan oracles I may as well give a specimen of them from Strabo. Alexander King of the Molossi had received from Dodona the following two oracles:

Αἰακίδη προφύλαξο μολεῖν Ἀχερήσιον ὕδωρ,
Πανδοσίαν θ', ὅθι τοι θάνατος πεπρωμένος ἐστί.

and

Πανδοσία τρικόλωνε, πολύν ποτε λαὸν ὀλέσσεις.

The former of these he interpreted of Pandosia and Acherusia in Thesprotia, when he ought to have interpreted it of Pandosia and Acherontia in Italy: the latter he conceived to foretel the destruction of his enemies when he ought to have understood it of his own. The same story is to be found in Justin, xii. 2.

The account given in the Geogr. Min. Hudson, tom. ii. p. 101 and 102, is that Dodona is in Molossia, and Thesprotia, whence we may collect that it was on the confines of both those countries. That the priests were called τόμαροι quasi τομάρεροι, ὡς ἂν τῇ Τομάρῳ φύλακες. That it was first possessed by men, afterwards by three old women: and that the oracle at first was near Scotussa in Pelasgiotis, but that the tree being burnt down, it was removed by the advice of the oracle of Apollo to Dodona. That the answers were not given by words, but by certain signs, as at the oracle of Jupiter Hammon in

Libya, probably by the flight of *the three doves*, which the priestesses observing, predicted accordingly. But as the Molossians and Thesprotians called old women πελίας and old men πελίους, perhaps, says the geographer, they were not real doves, but old women who waited about the temple.

I may here mention the mode of consulting the oracle described by Suidas in Δωδώνη. As the article is short, and evidently transcribed from different authors, I shall translate it entire. "Dodona, a Pelasgian city in Thesprotia, in which was the oak and oracle of the prophetesses. They who wished to consult the oracle entered the grove, upon which the oak was shaken and gave a sound which the prophetesses interpreted, saying, thus and thus says Jupiter. Here was a statue also in an elevated situation holding a wand, and near it a caldron which being struck by the wand gave an harmonious sound: but the voices of deities are inarticulate." This last abrupt sentence evidently refers to the oak and caldron, and the mode of declaring the oracle, which was by the interpretation of those sounds. We know that even the Delphic oracles were generally uttered by the Pythoness in rude and dissonant or incondite sounds, and afterwards reduced by the priests into hexameters. The Dodonæan oracles appear sometimes to have been delivered in prose, and the priest seems to have spoken in his own person as the interpreter of the will of the god. The two oracles recorded by Demosthenes in his oration against Midias, p. 106, begin thus: ὁ τῦ Διῖος σημαίνει, *the son, or rather the priest of Jupiter, signifies to the Athenians*, &c. That the oracles were sometimes given by lot appears from Cic. Divin. i. 24, who relates a story of a favourite ape belonging to the King of Molossia overturning the urn which contained the lots, when the Lacedæmonians had sent to consult the oracle, whereupon the priest told them they must think rather of providing for their safety, than of victory. Perhaps, however, these lots were only preparatory to admission to the oracle, as we know was the custom at Delphi.

Pausanias, in his account of Theseus Attic. c. 18, places Dodona in Thesprotia, and immediately mentions the *lake* Acherusia near Cichyrus. In his account of the unhappy loves of Coresus and Callirhoe, Achaic. c. 21, he speaks of the oracle of Dodona as having been in high reputation among the neighbouring people of Ætolia, Acarnania, and Epirus. Coresus had probably paid the priestesses handsomely, for their answer was well calculated to disarm the cruelty of disdainful maids. It commanded Coresus to sacrifice Callirhoe,

by whom he had been slighted, at the altar of Bacchus, unless some one could be found to devote himself for her. The catastrophe was affecting. She could find no one, and was led to the altar, when Coresus immolated himself as a voluntary victim, and Callirhoe, touched by his generous devotion, slew herself near a fountain, which afterwards bore her name. In the Arcadia, c. 23, Pausanias speaks of the vine of Juno at Samos, the *oak* of Dodona, ἡ ἐν Δωδώνῃ δρῦς, the olive of Minerva in the acropolis at Athens, the palm-tree of Latona in Delos, and the plane of Menelaus, as still existing in his time, *if the traditions of the Greeks were to be believed about them.* In the Phocica, c. 12, in his account of prophetic women, he mentions Phaennis, daughter of a king of Chaonia, and speaks of the Dodonæan doves, or Peleiades, which he says were earlier than Phemonoe, and were the first females who uttered these verses:

Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστί, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται, ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ,
Ἀ καρπὸς ἀνίει διὸ κλῄζετε μητέρα γαῖαν.

Upon which lines, if I had not already drawn out this Essay to a far greater length than I had intended, I might make several observations.

Stephanus of Byzantium gives us but a scanty account of Dodona in the regular course of his works. He tells us that it is a city of Molossia in Epirus, and observes that Philoxenus, though erroneously, says there were two Dodonas, a Thesprotian and Thessalian, which we have seen hinted before by Eustathius, who probably copied from Philoxenus, who was himself a commentator on the Odyssey. We farther find from Stephanus that the Dodonæan Jupiter was also called Cænæan, and Phegonæan (Φηγωναῖον) for so the passage should undoubtedly be corrected, as is evident from the context, and the larger fragment hereafter to be quoted. He adds, that Dodona was so called from Dodo one of the Oceanides, or from Dodonus, the son of Jupiter and Europa; or from the river Don, ἀπὸ Δῶνος πόλεμῶ, for which we should undoubtedly read Δωδῶνος, Dodon, as is manifest from the large fragment. He then alludes to the proverb about the Dodonæan caldrons, which he says was applied to those who were always talking, as the vessels there were always sounding. With regard to the etymology of Dodona we must not here omit the probable and learned conjecture of Spanheim, who, in his notes to Callimachus, Del. 284, derives Dodona

from דודה *duda*, and יונה, *jona, the lovely dove*, or דוד or דודא *dud*, or *duda, a caldron*. If I mistake not, but I cannot now make the reference, Bochart gives a similar derivation.

In the larger fragment however of Stephanus, first published by Tennulius, from the MS. of Seguier, we have a long and much more diffuse account, the substance of which, in addition to that already given, is as follows. We are there informed from Hecatæus that Dodona was in the south of Molossia Μολλοσσῶν πρὸς μεσημβρίης οἰκέουσι Δωδωναῖοι, and from a passage of Cratinus there quoted as prose, but which I will take the liberty to versify *en passant*,

Δωδωναίῳ κυνὶ βωλοκόπῳ τίτθῃ γεράνῳ προσοικώς,

we cannot but conclude that a lake or marsh much frequented by water fowl must have been in its neighbourhood. With regard to the story of the Dodonæan brass, we are told from Menedemon (or Demon, as Suidas calls him in his article on the same subject) that the temple of Dodona had no walls about it (about its peribolus I suppose), but many tripods (he means caldrons) standing near each other, so that if any body struck one of them, the sound ran through the whole, and lasted *a long time*, till the vibration was stopped by touching it again. Stephanus, however, prefers the story of the boy holding the whip on the authority of Polemon Periegetes, who, he says, was intimately well acquainted with Dodona, and whose account was transcribed by Aristides, who, by the way, is called Aristotle by Suidas and Eustathius. Yet both accounts may be true, the sounds might have come from the caldrons, and those caldrons have been placed on tripods, which were the usual supporters of such vessels, and when we consider the order given by the priestess to the Bœotians to steal tripods, it seems not improbable. Suidas, however, in the article Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον treats it as erroneous, observing that Aristotle (he means probably, Aristides) says there were two pillars, on the one of which was a boy with a whip and chains, having brazen pellets at their extremities, on the other a brazen caldron, which being struck by them when the wind blew, gave out the sound. Possibly there might be both these contrivances. At any rate, as Suidas observes, the term Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον became proverbially applied to great talkers. In proof of which he refers to Menander in the Ἀρρηφόρος, without quoting the passage, which is however preserved to us in

the fragment of Stephanus, and though omitted by Le Clerc, is duly noticed by the immortal Bentley in his Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, with whose emendations I shall give it, for the sake of brevity, without further commentary.

Ἐὰν δὲ κινήσῃ μόνον τὴν Μυρτίλην
Ταύτην τις, ἢ τίτθην καλῇ, πέρας ἐ ποιεῖ
Λαλιᾶς. Το Δωδωναῖον ἂν τὸ χαλκίον,
Ὃ λέγουσιν ἦχεῖν, ἂν παράψηται ὁ παρίων,
Τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην καταπαύσαιτο θᾶττον ἢ
Ταύτην λαλοῦσαν, νύκτα γὰρ προσλακβάνει.

Even Virgil and his commentator Servius mention these brazen vessels. Among the presents made by Helenus to Æneas, Æn. iii. 466. he speaks of

Ingens argentum, Dodonæosque lebetas.

Where Servius says,

Vasa ænea in Dodone, quæ uno tactu solebant sonare.

Philostratus in his Icones, ii. 34, says that a brazen statue of Echo, holding her finger on her mouth, was in much honour at Dodona, because there was a brazen vessel there, sacred to Jupiter, which resounded a great part of the day, and did not cease unless some one touched it. But it would be endless to quote all the passages in the ancient writers where this Dodonæan brass, which is mentioned as a proverbial expression by Zenobius, is alluded to.

Dionysius Periegetes must be understood to speak very loosely when he places Dodona, Perieg. 430., to the west of Mount Hæmus. In fact, his expressions are very vague:

—— τῇ δ' ἄντα (Αἵμῳ) ποτὶ ῥιπὴν Ζεφύροιο
Δωδώνης ἤπειρος ἀπείριτος ἐκτετάνυσται.

Which, perhaps, may be understood to signify no more than that Epirus, in which Dodona is situated, is an extensive tract to the west of Macedon and Thessaly. Eustathius, in his commentary on this passage, observes, that Dodona was Thesprotian, that is, under the dominion of the Thesproti. He is somewhat more particular when he adds, to the south of Dodona are the plains of Ætolia, under Mount Azacynthus, through which runs the river Achelous, and to the east of it, Phocis.

Mela, ii. 4, places Dodona in Epirus, and says that there was a sacred fountain of cold water there, which extinguished burning torches when dipped into it, and kindled them when they were brought there unlighted. Probably the water extinguished the lighted torch, and the gas rekindled those which had been recently quenched, but whose wick was not perfectly extinguished. Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 104, tells the same story, adding, that it always became dry at noon, and full at midnight, whence it was called Ἀναπαυόμενον, or the ebbing well. In another passage, N. H. iv. 1. he places Dodona in Molossia, and describes with considerable minuteness the neighbouring districts. The whole passage is important, as it serves to shew that Dodona was inland in Molossia, but that the Thesproti, in whose power it had formerly been, were near the sea, which may have given occasion to some writers to place it near the coast. *Epiros in universum appellata Acrocerauniis incipit montibus. In ea primi Chaones, a quibus Chaonia, dein Thesproti Antigonenses; locus Aornos* (let no prurient critic imagine *lacus* here) *et pestifera avibus exhalatio: Cestrini, Perrhæbi, quorum mons Pindus, Cassiopæi, Dryopes, Selli, Hellopes* (this seems very like *Shropshire* and *Salop*) *Molossi, apud quos Dodonæi Jovis templum oraculo illustre. Tomarus mons centum fontibus circa radices, Theopompo celebratus.* Mount Tmarus, or Tomarus, we know from Strabo was the very mountain upon which Dodona stood, and the hundred springs which issued from it must have been very likely to create a marsh or lake in its neighbourhood. Solinus mentions the burning fountain in the same words, and adds, that Dodona was high up on Mount Tmarus.

Servius tells us, Georg. i. 149. that Dodona was a city in Epirus with a sacred grove close to it, in which was the oracular oak. But in his note on Æn. iii. 466. he is more diffuse. He there informs us, that Dodona was on the *confines* of Ætolia, where was a temple antiently dedicated to Jupiter and *Venus.* (Dione he should have said.) Near this was a huge oak, at the root of which flowed a fountain, the murmurs of which, by divine appointment, were prophetical, and were interpreted to those who consulted the oracle by an old woman named Pelias. (Πελειὰς of course.) After this oracle had existed many ages, the oak was cut down, he tells us, by an Illyrian freebooter named Arces, after which the oracle ceased. Others, he observes, say that Jupiter gave two doves endued with human voice to his daughter Thebe, one of which settled on the oak at Dodona, and enjoined the person

who was about to cut it down, to desist; upon which the oracle of Jupiter was fixed there, and the brazen vessels, all of which sounded if one was touched. The other dove settled upon the head of the ram in Libya, and commanded that an oracle should be founded to Jupiter Hammon.

With regard to the destruction of the oracle by Arces, we may rely much more certainly on the account given us by the accurate Polybius, who tells us, Hist. iv. 7. that Dorimachus the prætor of the Ætolians, in the first year of the 140th Olympiad, made an incursion *into the upper parts* of Epirus, and arriving at Dodona (evidently on his return, *and therefore Dodona must have been in the south of Epirus*) burnt the porticoes, destroyed many of the votive offerings, and levelled the sacred edifice to the ground, κατέσκαφε τὴν ἱερὰν οἰκίαν. And though Philip took afterwards a severe vengeance for this sacrilege, as is related in the first chapter of the Book following, yet it is probable that the oracle never recovered from this calamity, as the affairs of Greece immediately afterwards declined, but sunk by degrees into that obscurity from which I have made this humble attempt to recover it.

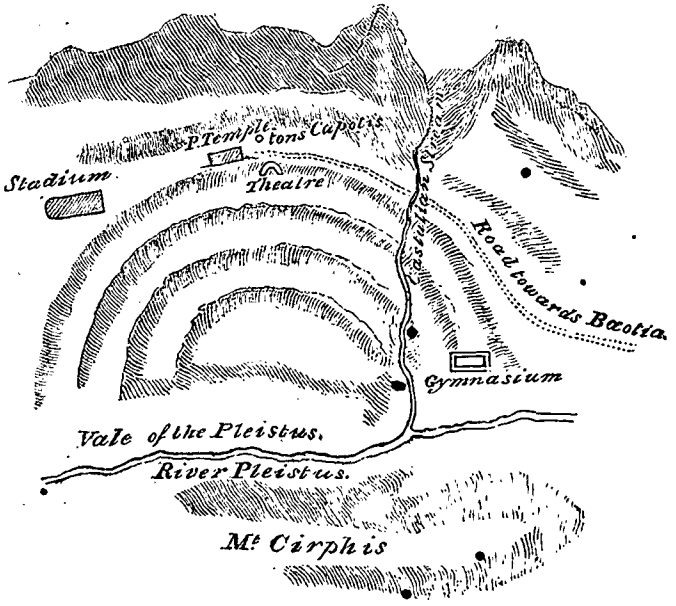
What now is the result of all our investigation? It may be reduced into a narrow compass. Dodona, by the general consent of writers who must have known the fact, stood on a hill, either at the foot of, or actually forming part of a chain of mountains. It was in an angle of Molossia, bordering on Perrhæbia, to the west of Pindus, to the east of Thesprotia, to the south of Upper Epirus. A chain of mountains led westward from Dodona through Thesprotia to the sea. About Dodona was a plain, stretching probably to the south-east, and yet more to the east; towards Pindus, was a marsh or lake. These are features which must still remain. And if you find a place in the neighbourhood of Ioannina, bearing ruins on a hill, and whose local situation seems to correspond with that I have mentioned, search diligently for inscriptions, in the hope of finding Dodona.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A FEW REMARKS ON THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE OF DELPHI.

THE oracle of Delphi is so well known, and the passages relating to it in ancient writers so much more numerous and accessible than those concerning Dodona, that it seems unnecessary to enter into any full details on the subject. Indeed any thing like a regular history of it would exceed the limits of a treatise, and any thing short of such an account, yet professing to give a detail, would be unsatisfactory. I shall confine myself therefore to an investigation into the actual site of the temple, a point which has hitherto been much controverted, but which, as far as I can judge, appears capable of being ascertained with very considerable precision from the documents which may be collected from the writers of antiquity.

In order to make this discussion more intelligible, I must beg to accompany it with what I conceive to be a rude outline of the place.



Every one knows that the city of Delphi rose in a succession of terraces, the very first of which was considerably elevated above the vale of the Pleistus, till it was bounded by the rocks of Parnassus. It was nearly semicircular, and in the annexed plan the curved line will represent about a mile and a quarter, the straight line joining its extremities about three-fourths of a mile; in all about two miles, or rather more. The temple of Delphi was no doubt far more splendid and extensive than that of Dodona, which, if we may argue from analogy, was probably but of moderate size, for we know that the kindred temple of Hammon was far from being on a magnificent scale. For this assertion we have the indisputable authority of Lucan Pharsal. ix. 515.

Non illic Libyæ posuerunt ditia gentes
Templa, nec Eoïs splendent altaria gemmis.
Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atque Indis, unus sit Jupiter Hammon,
Pauper adhuc Deus est, nullis violata per ævum
Divitiis delubra tenens, morumque priorum
Numen Romano templum defendit ab auro.

The riches and splendour of Delphi however are universally known, and I shall now proceed just to notice some of the principal passages which indicate its situation. Pausan. p. 817. Τραπομένῳ εἰς ἀριστέραν μοι ὑποκατάβαντι ὀλίγον πλέον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἢ τρία στάδια, ποταμός ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενος Πλειστός.—Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ γυμνασίου τὴν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνιόντι, ἐστὶν ἐν δεξίᾳ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Κασταλίας. So that from the gymnasium at the eastern end of the semicircle you descended somewhat less than half a mile to the bed of the Pleistus, and *turning, ascended* in a N. N. W. direction to go to the temple, leaving the Fons Castalius on the right. Again, p. 818. Δέλφοις δέ τι πόλις ἀναντὲς διὰ πάσης παρέχεται σχῆμα. Κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ τῇ πόλει τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς περίβολος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Οὗτος δὲ μεγέθει μέγας, ΚΑΙ ΑΝΩΤΑΤΩ ΤΟΥ ΑΣΤΕΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ. So that the whole city was built on a slope, as was also the peribolus of the temple, at the very top of the city, not only ἀνὼ but ἀνωτάτω, *at the very top, as high as possible.* It must therefore have been at the very vertex of the arc. Again, p. 877. Τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ θέατρον ἔχεται, θεᾶς ἄξιον. ΕΠΑΝΑΒΑΝΤΙ ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου Διονύσου ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα Κνιδίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα. Στάδιον δὲ σφισὶν ΑΝΩΤΑΤΩ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΣΤΙΝ. Here we see a theatre joined the peribolus, perhaps on the east. Going out, I suppose to the west, you come to a statue of Bacchus and the stadium, ΕΠΑΝΑΒΑΝΤΙ, *a little* rising, and we again find the

same word ΑΝΩΤΑΤΩ used to describe the situation of the temple and stadium. Again p. 858. Ἐξελθόντι δὲ τῦ νάϐ, καὶ τραπέντι ἐπ' ἀρίστερα περίϐολός ἐστι καὶ Νεοπτολέμϐ τῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐν αὐτῷ τάφος . . . . . ΕΠΑΝΑΒΑΝΤΙ δὲ ἀπὸ τῦ μνήμαλος λίθος ἐστὶν ϐ' μίγας . . . . . ἴϐσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν νέων αὖθις μετὰ τῦ λίθϐ τὴν θεάν ἐστιν ἡ Κασσῶλις καλϐμένη πηγή. So that if you go out of the temple and turn to the left, or east (for I suppose it to have fronted the south, and had a magnificent view towards the Sinus Crissæus) you come to the tomb of Neoptolemus with its peribolus, and between this and the temple, higher than the former, but lower than the latter, is the stone of Saturn and the fountain Cassotis. If the fountain Cassotis could be found, this would point directly to the site of the temple, which must have stood a little to the N. N. W. of it. But in a limestone country at the foot of a mountain many fountains may be found, and some may have been choked up or diverted from their former channels by the fall of rocks or earthquakes.

Strabo agrees with Pausanias in his account of Delphi, p. 418. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ νότιον οἱ Δέλφοι, πέτρῶδες χώριον, θεατροειδες, ΚΑΤΑ ΚΟΡΥΦΗΝ ΕΧΟΝ ΤΟ ΜΑΝΤΕΙΟΝ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ϛαδίων ἐκκαιδέκα κύκλον πληρῶσαν.

That the adytum or cave was in the temple is certain. Diod. Sic. xvi. 26. Ὄντος χάσμαλος ἐν τύτῳ τῷ τόπῳ καθ' ὃν ἐστιν νῦν τῦ ἱερῦ τὸ καλϐμένον ἄδυτον. The same thing is said nearly in the same words by the scholiast on Aristophanes, Plut. 9.

The authority of Justin is perhaps questionable, unless he may be considered as an epitomiser of Trogus, who himself indeed was but a Latin historian. Yet it contains a passage so remarkable that even while I am studying conciseness I cannot help inserting it. It occurs lib. xxiv. 6. *Templum autem Apollinis positum est* IN MONTE PARNASSO IN RUPE UNDIQUE IMPENDENTE. MEDIA *saxi rupes in formam Theatri recessit.*—IN HOC RUPIS ANFRACTU MEDIA FERE MONTIS ALTITUDINE, *planities exigua est, atque in ea profundum terræ foramen quod in oracula patet.* By these expressions I understand Justin to mean that the temple was on the highest terrace above the town, and about half way up the nearest crags of Parnassus measured from the vale of the Pleistus below. And that this is his meaning is evident from a subsequent passage, c. 8. *Contra Delphi——scandentes Gallos* E SUMMO MONTIS VERTICE *partim saxo, partim armis obruerunt.* Here the SUMMUS VERTEX can only mean the crags that overhung the town. Temples of Diana, Minerva, and the earth, were near the Pythian temple, as we learn from Justin and Plutarch.

I must add one word upon the celebrated *foramen*. It is well known that caverns of this nature are not unfrequent in limestone countries. At the foot of a great mountain range like Parnassus there might be several; some it appears even now exist, but it is said that the spiracle of the prophetic vapour is now unknown. We have, I think, ascertained the site of the temple beyond dispute; and I rejoice to find it must be very near the spot fixed on by our enterprising and scientific friend Dr. Clarke in the fourth volume of his most interesting Travels. We have ascertained farther, beyond dispute, that the sacred fissure was in the adytum of the temple. That it may be searched for there now in vain, supposing the site of the temple accurately described, is not impossible. It may be covered over with the ruins of the temple, or by injuries of the weather in the lapse of ages; but I conceive it to be merely covered over, and not actually filled up, because such fissures are usually very deep, and we know this to have been also very small, so that a tripod could stand over its mouth, and therefore a large stone placed there by design or accident might easily cover it. Now my belief is that it was covered by design, having been closed, as I suppose, by order of Constantine, when he removed the brazen tripod from Delphi which is now at Constantinople, an account of which may be found in Eusebius de Vita Constant. iii. 54, and Sozomen Eccles. Hist. ii. 5, who, after speaking of the statue and tripod of Apollo brought from Delphi, and some other statues, adds, respecting the temples themselves—Νέῳ δὲ οἱ μὲν θυρῶν, οἱ δὲ ὀρόφων ἐγυμνώθησαν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀμελέμενοι ΗΡΕΙΠΟΝΤΟ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΦΘΕΙΡΟΝΤΟ. I will only add, that if I could be at Delphi with the power of making excavations, I would try to discover the spiracle at the risk of becoming φοιβόληπτος by the exhalation.

END OF VOL. I.

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